CONCLUSION

It is impossible to draw an abrupt line of division between one period and another, above all in the history of so vast and complex a process as the rise of a civilisation; and consequently the date which I have chosen to mark the end of this survey is a matter of practical convenience rather than of scientific definition. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the eleventh century marks a decisive turning-point in European history—the end of the Dark Ages and the emergence of Western culture. The previous revivals of culture in the age of Justinian and that of Charlemagne had been partial and temporary, and they had been followed by periods of decline, each of which seemed to reduce Europe to a lower stage of barbarism and confusion than it had known before. But with the eleventh century a movement of progress begins which was to continue almost without intermission down to modern times. This movement shows itself in new forms of life in every field of social activity—in trade and civic life and political organisation, as well as in religion and art and letters. It laid the foundations of the modern world not only by the creation of institutions that were to remain typical of our culture, but above all by the formation of that society of peoples which, more than any mere geographical unit, is what we know as Europe.

This new civilisation was, however, still far from embracing the whole of Europe, or even the whole of Western Europe. At the beginning of the eleventh century Europe was
still, as it had been for centuries, divided up between four or five distinct culture-provinces, of which Western Christendom appeared by no means the most powerful or the most civilised. There was the Nordic culture of north-western Europe, which was just beginning to become part of Christendom, but still preserved an independent tradition of culture. In the South there was the Western Moslem culture of Spain and North Africa, which embraced practically the whole basin of the Western Mediterranean. In the East, the Byzantine culture dominated the Balkans and the Aegean and still possessed a foothold in the West through South Italy and the Adriatic and the Italian trading cities, such as Venice and Amalfi and Pisa; while further north, from the Black Sea to the White Sea and the Baltic, the world of the Slavs, the Balts and the Finno-Ugrian peoples was still mainly pagan and barbarous, though it was beginning to be affected by influences from the Byzantine culture of the South, the Nordic culture of Scandinavia and the Moslem culture of Central Asia and the Caspian.

Thus the culture that we regard as characteristically Western and European was confined in the main within the limits of the former Carolingian Empire, and found its centre in the old Frankish territories of Northern France and Western Germany. In the tenth century it was, as we have seen, hard pressed on every side and even tended to contract its frontiers. But the eleventh century saw the turn of the tide and the rapid expansion of this central continental culture in all directions. In the West the Norman Conquest took England out of the sphere of the Nordic culture that had threatened for two centuries to absorb it, and incorporated it into the continental society; in the North and East it gradually dominated the Western Slavs and penetrated Scandinavia by its cultural influence; while in the South it embarked with crusading energy on the great task of the reconquest of the Mediterranean from the power of Islam.

In this way the peoples of the Frankish Empire imposed their social hegemony and their ideals of culture on all the surrounding peoples, so that the Carolingian unity may be regarded without exaggeration as the foundation and starting-point of the whole development of mediaeval Western civilisation. It is true that the Carolingian Empire had long lost its unity, and France and Germany were becoming more and more conscious of their national differences. Nevertheless
they both looked back to the same Carolingian tradition, and their culture was compounded of the same elements, though the proportions were different. They were still in essence the Western and East Frankish realms, though, like brothers who take after different sides of their family, they were often more conscious of their difference than of their resemblance. In both cases, however, the cultural leadership lay with the intermediate regions—the territories of the Empire that were most Latinised, and those in France where the Germanic element was strongest: Northern France, Lorraine and Burgundy, Flanders and the Rhineland. Above all, it was Normandy, where the Nordic and Latin elements stood in sharpest contrast and most immediate contact, that was the leader of the movement of expansion.

It was this middle territory, reaching from the Loire to the Rhine, that was the true homeland of medieval culture and the source of its creative and characteristic achievements. It was the cradle of Gothic architecture, of the great medieval schools, of the movement of monastic and ecclesiastical reform and of the crusading ideal. It was the centre of the typical development of the feudal state, of the North European communal movement and of the institution of knighthood. It was here that a complete synthesis was finally achieved between the Germanic North and the spiritual order of the Church and the traditions of the Latin culture. The age of the Crusades saw the appearance of a new ethical and religious ideal which represents the translation into Christian form of the old heroic ideal of the Nordic warrior culture. In *The Song of Roland* we find the same motives that inspired the old heathen epic—the loyalty of a warrior to his lord, the delight in war for its own sake, above all the glorification of honourable defeat. But all this is now subordinated to the service of Christendom and brought into relation with Christian ideas. Roland's obstinate refusal to sound his horn is entirely in the tradition of the old poetry, but in the death scene the defiant fatalism of the Nordic heroes, such as Hogni and Hamdir, has been replaced by the Christian attitude of submission and repentance.

"Towards the land of Spain he turned his face, so that Charles and all his army might perceive that he died as a valiant vassal with his face towards the foe. Then did he confess him in right zealous wise and hold forth his glove to heaven for his transgressions." 

*1*
It is true that the heroic ideal had already found expression in the literature of the Christian peoples, above all in the noble Lay of Maldon with its great lines: "Thought shall be harder, heart the keener, courage the greater, as our might lessens." But here there is as yet but slight trace of Christian sentiment.  The old tradition still survives intact. Indeed, throughout the Dark Ages, Western Society had been characterised by an ethical dualism that corresponds to the dualism of culture. There was one ideal for the warrior and another for the Christian, and the former still belonged in spirit to the barbaric world of northern paganism. It was not until the eleventh century that the military society was incorporated into the spiritual polity of Western Christendom by the influence of the crusading ideal. The institution of knighthood is the symbol of the fusion of Nordic and Christian traditions in the mediaeval unity, and it remains typical of Western society from the time of The Song of Roland to the day when its last representative Bayard, "the good knight," died like Roland with his face to the Spaniards at the passage of the Sesia, in the age of Luther and Machiavelli. For the Middle Ages are the age of Nordic Catholicism, and they endured only as long as the alliance continued between the Papacy and the North—an alliance which had been inaugurated by Boniface and Pepin and consolidated by the work of the northern movement of ecclesiastical reform in the eleventh century, which had its source in Lorraine and Burgundy. This alliance was first broken by another Boniface and another king of the Franks at the close of the thirteenth century, but though it never wholly recovered its strength it remained the corner-stone of Western unity, until the time when the Papacy became completely Italianised and the peoples of the North ceased to be Catholic.

But though mediaeval culture was the culture of the Christian North, its face was turned, like Roland's, to the Islamic South, and there was not a land from the Tagus to the Euphrates in which the northern warriors had not shed their blood. Norman princes ruled in Sicily and Antioch, Lorrainers in Jerusalem and Edessa, Burgundians in Portugal and Athens, Flemings in Constantinople; and the ruins of their castles in the Peloponnese and Cyprus and Syria still bear witness to the power and enterprise of the Frankish barons.

This contact with the higher civilisation of the Islamic and Byzantine world had a decisive influence on Western
Europe and was one of the most important elements in the development of mediaeval culture. It showed itself, on the one hand, in the rise of the new aristocratic courtly culture and the new vernacular literature, and, on the other, in the assimilation of the Graeco-Arabic scientific tradition and the rise of a new intellectual culture in the West. And these influences remained in the ascendant until they were checked by the Renaissance of the classical tradition, which coincided with the Turkish conquest of the East and the separation of Western Europe from the Islamic world. With the ending of the Middle Ages, Europe turned its back on the East and began to look westward to the Atlantic.

Thus the mediaeval unity was not permanent, since it was based on the union of the Church and the Northern peoples, with a leaven of oriental influences. Nevertheless its passing did not mean the end of European unity. On the contrary, Western culture became more autonomous, more self-sufficient and more occidental than ever before. The loss of spiritual unity did not involve the separation of the West into two exclusive and alien cultural units, as would almost certainly have been the case if it had occurred four or five centuries earlier. In spite of religious disunion, Europe retained its cultural unity, but this was now based on a common intellectual tradition and a common allegiance to the classical tradition rather than on a common faith. The Latin grammar took the place of the Latin Liturgy as the bond of intellectual unity, and the scholar and the gentleman took the place of the monk and the knight as the representative figures of Western culture. The four centuries of Nordic Catholicism and oriental influence were followed by four centuries of Humanism and occidental autonomy. To-day Europe is faced with the breakdown of the secular and aristocratic culture on which the second phase of its unity was based. We feel once more the need for spiritual or at least moral unity. We are conscious of the inadequacy of a purely humanist and occidental culture. We can no longer be satisfied with an aristocratic civilisation that finds its unity in external and superficial things and ignores the deeper needs of man's spiritual nature. And at the same time we no longer have the same confidence in the inborn superiority of Western civilisation and its right to dominate the world. We are conscious of the claims of the subject races and cultures, and we feel the need both for protection from the insurgent forces of the
oriental world and for a closer contact with its spiritual traditions. How these needs are to be met, or whether it is possible to meet them, we can at present only guess. But it is well to remember that the unity of our civilisation does not rest entirely on the secular culture and the material progress of the last four centuries. There are deeper traditions in Europe than these, and we must go back behind Humanism and behind the superficial triumphs of modern civilisation, if we wish to discover the fundamental social and spiritual forces that have gone to the making of Europe.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 There is a still lower depth that has been discovered by those modern writers who seem to regard the past as a kind of menagerie stocked with strange beasts whose peculiarities are exhibited by the showman-biographer to the public on the payment of rather a large fee.
2 Of his "Pro monachis," printed in his Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften, and his son's preface to that volume.
3 A glance at any of the books dealing with royal descents will show that a considerable portion of the English middle classes can claim some direct descent not merely from Edward III or Henry II, but from Charlemagne and St. Vladimir, and Boleslav of Poland and the leaders of the Vikings.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

2 E.g., the thesis of Strzygowski in Alca-Iram and his more recent books.
3 The auxiliary troops attached to the legion were, on the other hand, raised from the less Romanised population of the outlying provinces. But they also were commanded by Roman officers and received rights of citizenship at the end of their twenty-five years of service.
4 In Egypt the artaba of corn, which had been worth seven or eight drachmae in the second century, cost no less than 120,000 drachmae in the time of Diocletian. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, p. 419.
5 Rostovtzeff, op. cit., chs. X and XI.
Notes

*M. Aurel, I, 14 (Long's trans.).
*E.g., the lines of Prudentius, contra Symmachum, II, 816-819:
"Romanian differs from barbarian as a man differs from an animal
and as he that has speech from the dumb and as Christianity
differs from paganism." Cf. also the letter of Gregory the Great
to Leontius (Epp. XI, 4).
*There is, however, one striking exception, the work of Salvian, De
Gubernatione Dei, which is an uncompromising condemnation of
the vices of Roman society and even to some extent an apology
for the barbarians. There was, as I have shown elsewhere, an under-
current of hostility to the Roman Empire and to secular civilization
in the Christianity of that age which finds its strongest expression
among the Donatists but is not entirely absent from the writings
of St. Augustine. Cf. A Monument to St. Augustine, pp. 36 and
58-64.
**Dumque offers victis propriis consortia juris
Urbem fecisti quod prius obris crat.
Rutil, Itin, 63.
**Hace cet in gremio victos quae sola receptit
Humanumque genus communi nomine fuit.
Claudian On the Second Consulate of Stilicho, 150.
***Contra Symmachum, II, 578-636.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

I
Qualis Bereцевtia mater
Invehitur cœrre Phrygias turrita per urbes
Laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes
Omnis caelestias, omnis supera alta tenetis.
Aen., VI, 785.

In recent years particular attention has been devoted to the Man-
daean or "Christians of St. John," of Southern Babylonia, the only
one of these sects that has survived to modern times. Lidzbarski
and Reitzenstein have attempted to prove that this sect was originally
connected with the Essenes and with the disciples of John the
Baptist, and consequently that the Mandaean writings have
an important bearing on the question of Christian origins. S. A.
Fallis, however, has shown (in his Mandaean Studies, 1919) that
the parallels with Judaism are superficial and of relatively recent
origin and that Mandaeanism is essentially a Gnostic sect which
subsequently, in Sasanian times, came under the influence of
Zoroastrian ideas. He also rejects the earlier theory of Brandt that
the fundamental stratum in Mandaean beliefs is based on ancient
Babylonian religion.
Notes 247

* I Peter ii. 9.

* So clear is this, that Sohm went so far as to regard this epistle as the starting-point of the juridical conception of the Church, which in his view abruptly replaced the earlier "charismatic" view. But, as Harnack points out, the conception of a divine apostolic authority is as old as the Church itself and appears clearly enough in the decree of the Council of Jerusalem. Acts xv, 23-27.

* I Clement, XX, XXXVII, XL-XLIV, etc.

** "By its (the Roman Church's) tradition and by its faith announced to men, which has been transmitted to us by the succession of bishops, we confound all those who in any way by caprice or vainglory or by blindness and perversity of will gather where they ought not. For to this Church, on account of its higher origin, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful from all sides, should resort, in which the tradition from the Apostles has always been preserved by those that are from all parts" (Irenaeus, Against Heresies, III, iii).

The expression "propter potentiorum principatatem" which I have translated as "higher origin" is somewhat disputed. It has often been translated as "more powerful headship" or as "pre-eminent authority" (e.g., in the Ante-Nicene Library translation, Vol. I, p. 261). I think there can be little doubt that principatum = ἀρχή and refers to the origins of the see, as in the passage of Cyprian, Ep. LIX, 13—"navigare audent ad Petri cathedram et Ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est," where "principalem" means the original or earliest church.

It is the same argument that Optatus and St. Augustine were to use against the Donatists, as in the lines:

Numera sedes a semper Petri sedis,
et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit videte:
ipsa est petra quam non Vincent superbae infernorum portae.

Padras c. partem Donat. 18.

* The question has recently been discussed by Mr. Norman Baynes in the Raleigh Lecture for 1929. He maintains that the dominant motive in Constantine's career was his "conviction of a personal mission entrusted to him by the Christian God," that he "definitely identified himself with Christianity, with the Christian Church and the Christian creed"; and that he believed the prosperity of the Empire to be bound up with the unity of the Catholic Church. Thus the Byzantine ideal of a Roman Empire founded on the orthodox faith and united with the orthodox Church has its source in the vision of Constantine. Constantine the Great and the Christian Church by N. H. Baynes; Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XV. (with very full bibliographical notes on the subject).

* Ordon in Praise of Constantine, XVI.


** St. Hippolytus is the last Roman Christian to write in Greek. Novatian in the middle of the third century already writes Latin,
although Greek probably remained the liturgical language until the following century.

Harnack writes: "In all cases it was a political institution, invented by the greatest of politicians, a two-edged sword which protected the endangered unity of the Church at the price of its independence." (History of Dogma, Eng. trans., III, 127.)

Cf. H. Gelzer, Die Konzilien der Reichsparlamente in Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften (1907). He argues that the Councils followed the precedent of the ancient Senate in their arrangement and forms of procedure.

Dom Cabrol has shown how the liturgical cycle was evolved from the local ceremonies connected with the Holy places at Jerusalem in the fourth century. The ceremonies of Holy Week at Rome were in origin an imitation of this local cycle, and the group of churches round the Lateran at Rome, St. Maria Maggiore, Sts. Cosmas in Jerusalem, St. Anastasia, etc., in which these ceremonies were performed, reproduced the sanctuaries of the holy places at Jerusalem. Cabrol, Les Origines Liturgiques, Conf. VIII.

"Que l'on c't été bien inspiré, si au lieu de tant philosopher sur la terminologie, d'opposer l'union physique a l'union hypostatique, les deux nature qui n'en font qu'une à l'unique hypostase qui règne les deux natures, on se fût un peu plus préoccupé de choses moins sublimes et bien autrement vitales. On alambiquait l'unité du Christ, un mystère; on sacrifiait l'unité de l'Église, un devoir." Duchesne, Églises Séparées, p. 57.

"The backwardness and isolation of the West in theological matters is shown by the fact that St. Hilary himself admits that he had never heard of the Nicene faith until the time of his exile in a.d. 346. (De Synodi, 91.)"

We may also note the introduction of liturgical poetry into the West by Hilary and Ambrose.

The letter is given in Greek by Athanasius, History of the Arians, 44. I follow Tillemont's French version in Memoires, Tom. VII, 213.

Contra Constantium imperatorem, 5.

De Fide, II, xvi, 116, 142 (trans. H. de Romestin).

Ambrose, Ep. XXIV, 4, 5.

Cf. the whole of his Oration in Praise of Constantine. E.g., he writes, "Let me lay before thee, victorious and mighty Constantine, some of the mysteries of His sacred truth: not as presuming to instruct thee who art thyself taught of God; nor to disclose to thee those secret wonders which He Himself not through the agency or work of man, but through our common Saviour and the frequent light of His Divine presence has long since revealed and unfolded to thy view; but in the hope of leading the unlearned to the light of truth and displaying before those who know them not, the causes and motives of thy pious deeds." Cap. XI.

Ambrose, Ep. LII, 11.
History of Dogma (Eng. trans.), III, 226. He goes on to say, "Yet this nimbus was not sufficiently bright to bestow upon its possessor an unimpeachable authority; it was rather so nebulous that it was possible to disregard it without running counter to the spirit of the universal Church." The Greek ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and Sozomen, both of them laymen and lawyers, are impartial witnesses to the position accorded to the Roman see at Constantinople in the fifth century, as Harnack notes (ibid., note 2). Cf. Batiffol, Le Siège Apostolique, 411-416.

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION
AND CHRISTIANITY

1 Set. xv, 110-112.
2 This ideal of a liberal education dates from the Sophists themselves, above all from Hippios of Eles, but it was not until the time of Martianus Capella and the writers of the later Empire that the number of the Liberal Arts was definitely fixed. The subdivision between the Trivium and the Quadrivium is later still, and is probably due to the Carolingian Renaissance. On the other hand, the mediaeval idea of the Liberal Arts as essentially preparatory—a preparation for theology—is very ancient, since it goes back to Posidonius and Philo, from whom it passed to the Christian scholars of Alexandria. Cf. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, pp. 670-579.
3 Corinthians i. 20-27.
4 Tertullian, De Testimonio Anima, 1. (Translated by Roberts and Donalson.)
5 Epist. XVI.
6 Philo de Vit. p. 13. (Trans. W. M. Metcalfe.)
7 Panegyricus, Panegyric of Origen, xiii. (Trans. W. Metcalfe.)
8 His chief work—the Symposium of the Ten Virgins—is an elaborate imitation of a Platonic dialogue.
9 Dialogus de claris oratoribus 30.
11 From the preface to the Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim, Cavallera. St. Jerome, app. P., p. 105. "If such a man as Cicero," he says, "could not escape criticism, what wonder if the dirty swine grunt at a poor little man like me!"
12 Rufinus, Apol. II, 8.
13 E.g., Erasmus speaks of Jerome as "that heavenly man, of all Christians beyond question the most learned and the most eloquent.

... What a mass there is in his works of antiquities, of Greek literature, of history and then what a style! What a mystery of language, in which he has left not only all Christian authors far
behind him, but seems to vie with Cicero himself."—Ep. 134,
Like the humanists, Jerome pillories his opponents under sobri-
quits drawn from classical literature. Rufinus is Lucius Lavinius or
Calpurnius Lanarius (from Sallust). Pelagius and his supporters
are Catiline and Lentulus. In the famous quarrel between Poggio
and Francisco Filelfo the latter actually appeals to the precedents
of Jerome and Rufinus in order to justify the violence of his invec-
tives. Cf. his letters, printed in the Appendix to Walker’s Poggio
Florentinus, Nos. 40 and 42.
16 Peristephanon, II, 433.
17 Peristephanon, II, 517.
18 Peristephanon, IV, 197.
19 Sermo, 141.
20 Cf., e.g., de Trinitate, VIII, iii.

THE BARBARIANS

1 Professor Macalister writes: “A Tuath was a community of people,
not necessarily united by ties of blood, and therefore, not to be
called a tribe, which is always a misnomer whereas used in
reference to Celtic Ireland.” (The Archaeology of Ireland, p. 25).
But, as we have pointed out, the tribe is not necessarily a union
of kinsfolk. In the majority of cases it consists, as in Ireland, of a
number of such groups or septa.
22 The importance of the Celtic element in Dacia and the Danube
lands is well shown by Parvan (Dacia, by V. Parvan Ch. IV.,
“Carpato-Danubians and Celts”).
23 Parvan (op. cit., p. 166) insists particularly on the co-operation of
Celtic and Roman elements in the culture of the Empire in
Central Europe. “Once again a great Celtic unity crossing Northern
Italy made its appearance in Europe, but this time Rome was the
gainer. From Lugdunum in Gaul to Sirmium near the mouth of
the Theiss we see one world making use of one great line of
communication upon which all other highways, whether the Celtic
Rhine or Danube, or from Latin Italy, converge. Every country
traversed by this mighty route flourished the more because it
shared in the prosperity of the whole.”
24 H. Skjelvig, Frøhstofte de la Norwège, 154-159. (Oslo, 1926.)
THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS
AND THE FALL OF THE
EMPIRE IN THE WEST

Recent continental writers, such as Doppch (Grundlagen, I, 241-5), Schumacher (III, 273, etc., 351-6), suggest that the Germanic Hufe or Hide may be derived from the Sors of the Roman settler, which consisted of separate allotments of agricultural land, with rights of pasture and common.

The Sarmatian graves even contain objects of Chinese origin, such as jadeite sword-hilts and, in one case, a Chinese bronze mirror.

The Romans had already begun to recognize the importance of heavy cavalry. Constantius II owed his victory at Mursa in 351 to his cuirassiers, the "Cataphracts."


Ep. 123, 35-16.

Debian, VIII, 48.


Trautlow Leeds, Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Settlements, pp. 58, etc., and R. Smith, Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, pp. 25 and 34.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE
AND THE RISE OF THE
BYZANTINE CULTURE

This parallelism is discussed with full bibliographical notes by E. Körnemann, in Gecke and Norden, Vol. III (Die römische Kaiserzeit, Appendix 4, New Rome and New Persia).

Cf. Eusebius, Panegyric on the Triumph of Constantine, cap. ii.

Byzantine silver plate dating from the sixth century has been found at Perm in Eastern Russia.

The life of St. John the Almoner, by Leontios of Neapolis, mentions the case of a corn-ship which was driven as far west as Britain and which returned with a cargo of tin at the beginning of the seventh century.

So numerous were these that Ammianus Marcellinus complains that the imperial transport service was quite disorganised by the bands of bishops travelling hither and thither in government conveyances. (Amm. Marcell., XXI, 16, 18.)

Codex Theodosianus, XVI, 1, 2.

The civil diocese was a group of provinces under the authority of a vicar. Of the five dioceses of the East, Egypt, with five provinces, corresponds to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Orient with fifteen provinces to the Patriarchate of Antioch, while Asia, Pontus
and Thrace, with a total of twenty-eight provinces, finally went to form the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

8 E.g., the Dionysiac of Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century); the Rape of Helen by Kolluthus of Lykopis (sixth century); the Hero and Leander of Museus, and the lost epic of Tryphiodorus.


10 E.g., the verses of Agathias and Theodorus Scholasticus on Frapanus of the Anchorage, Anth. Pal., v, 14 and 16, and the dedication to Pan by Agathias, Anth. Pal., VI. 79.

11 He even influenced the West through early mediæval chronicles such as the eighth century Chronicon Palatinum. Cf. Krambacher, pp. 327-331.

THE AWAKENING OF THE EAST
AND THE REVOLT OF THE
SUBJECT NATIONALITIES

1 Syriac Documents in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. XX, p. 120.

2 Syriac Documents, p. 114.


4 The Parabolani were originally a kind of ambulance corps whose business it was to care for the sick and the pestilence-stricken. But they justified their title—"the venturesome" or "the reckless"—by acting as the ringleaders of the mobs of Alexandria in every religious disturbance, and were a constant source of anxiety to the civil authority. Cf. Codex Theodosianus, XVI. 2.

5 Some modern historians, such as E. Schwartz, tend to exaggerate the political motive in Athanasius' policy and to depict him primarily as an ambitious hierarch. But there is no doubt that he found his most powerful ally in the national feeling of the Egyptian populace. As Duchesne writes, "Tout ce que l'Egypte comptait d'honnêtes gens était pour lui. C'était le défenseur de la foi, le pape légitime, le père commun, c'était aussi, grande recommandation, l'ennemi, la victime du gouvernement... Sauf quelques dissidents qui ne se montraient que derrière les uniformes, la population était entièrement à ses ordres." Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise, II, 268.


THE RISE OF ISLAM

1 On the origins of this South Arabian civilisation, cf. my Age of the Gods (1928), pp. 78-9, 125-128, 470.
Notes

Compare Sura IX, 90-105. E.g., "The Arabs of the desert are most stout in unbelief and dissimulation, and it is not likely that they should be aware of the laws which God has sent down to his apostle."

* Quoted in Browne's Hist. of Persian Lit., I, 188-189.
* Sura IX, 102. Tr. Rodwell.
* The Iasians who originated from Germanicia in Commagene.
* Between 685 and 741 there were five Syrian Popes—John V, Sergius I, Sisinnius, Constantine and Gregory III.

THE EXPANSION OF MOSLEM CULTURE

2 Ibn Hazm (994-1064), who as a Spaniard was partial to the Umayyad family, wrote as follows: "The Umayyads were an Arabic dynasty, they had no fortified residence or citadel; each of them dwelt in his villa where he lived before becoming Khalif; they did not wish that the Moslems should speak to them as slaves to their masters, nor kiss the ground before them, or their feet. . . . The Abbasids, on the contrary, were a Persian dynasty, under which the Arab tribal system, as regulated by Omar, fell to pieces, the Persians of Khurasan were the real rulers and the government became despotic as in the days of Chosroes." Quoted by de Goeje in Encyclopædia Britannica, Volume 5, p. 426 (11th edition).


* He was known to mediaeval Europe as Johannisus, and his Introduction to Galen was one of the first Arabic books to be translated into Latin.

* Authors of the Liber Trium Fratrum, translated by Gerard of Cremona.

* His treatise on Algebra was translated by Robert of Chester in 1145, while the translation of his arithmetical work Algorismi de numeris Indorum was probably due to Adelward of Bath. His astronomical tables, the Khurasanian tables (trans. 1145) were also of great importance in the history of mediaeval science.

* His introduction to astronomy, De scientia storum, was translated by Pisto of Tivoli in 1115. It was from him also that the West derived its first knowledge of Trigonometry.

* His essays are like the set pieces of the classical schools of rhetoric, imaginary pleadings or arguments on such subjects as the superiority of negroes to whites or the contest between autumn and spring. Both the Rhetoric and the Poetics of Aristotle were known to the Arabs.


* Salamiyya, near Homs.
According to Druze teaching, al Hakim’s habit of riding upon an ass typifies his relation to the earlier revelations. The ass represents the Speakers or Prophets of the previous dispensations.


THE BYZANTINE RENAISSANCE
AND THE REVIVAL OF
THE EASTERN EMPIRE

* We must except Theophilos, the last of the Iconoclast emperors, who took a genuine interest in art and culture and was the patron of two Iconoclast scholars, Leo of Thessalonica and his brother the Patriarch John.

* At the same time, the Paulician heresy reached the Bulgarians from the Armenian colonists near Philippopolis, and gave birth to the Slavonic sect of the Bogomils. It rapidly spread throughout the Balkans, especially in Bosnia, where it became for a time the national religion, as well as to Russia (as early as 1004), and at a later date to Western Europe.

* It is right, they said, that in the Church things should follow the course of the sun, and that they should have their origin in the same part of the world where God Himself deigned to be revealed in human form. S. Greg. Naz., *Carmen de vitis se*, 1650-1653.

* Viz., the Arian schisms, 343-351; that concerning St. John Chrysostom, 404-415; the Acacian schism, 484-519; Monothelitism, 640-681; the Iconoclasts, 726-787 and 815-843. Thus the seeds of strife are to be found neither in the eleventh nor the ninth centuries, but as far back as the time of the Arian Controversy, “that abominable and fratricidal war, which,” as Duchesne writes, “divided the whole of Christendom from Spain to Arabia, and ended after sixty years of scandal only to leave to future generations the germs of schisms of which the Church still feels the effects.” (Histoire ancienne de l’Eglise, II, 157.)

* An even more extreme instance of this insistence on points of ritual is to be found in the rubric that appears in the old editions of the Lenten Triodion on the Sunday before Septuagesima. “On this day the thrice accursed Armenians keep their disgusting fast which they call Azizbarion. But we eat daily cheese and eggs, in refutation of their heresy.” N. Nilos, *Kalenderium Utrosque Ecclesiae*, II, p. 8. The same tendency characterised the Russian Church in modern times, and its greatest crisis arose out of the liturgical reforms of the Patriarch Nikon.

* So far from supporting the reforming movement in the Eastern
Church, the Papacy was partly responsible for the appointment of the boy patriarch Theophylact, which was one of the most discreditable episodes in the history of the Byzantine Church in the tenth century.

*E.g., the Patriarchs Photius, Tarasius (784-806), Sisinnius (996-998) and Michael Cerularius himself.

THE WESTERN CHURCH
AND THE CONVERSION OF
THE BARBARIANS

3 Largior existens angusto tempore priusulis
Destinat mundo deficit interpres
4 "St. Augustine's theory of the Civitas Dei was in germ that of the mediaeval papacy without the name of Rome. In Rome itself it was easy to supply the insertion and to conceive of a dominion still welded from the ancient seat of government, as world-wide and almost as authoritative as that of the Empire. The inheritance of the imperial traditions of Rome, left begging by the withdrawal of the secular monarch, fell as it were into the lap of the Christian bishop."—Professor C. H. Turner in Camb. Med. Hist., Vol. I, p. 175.
5 S. Leon. Mag. Sermones, 82. Cp. Prosper, de Ingratia, 51 ff. So, too, Columbanus contrasts the wider sway of Christian Rome with that of the pagan Empire. "We Irish," he writes, "are specially bound to the See of Peter, and however great and glorious Rome itself may be, it is only this See that is great and renowned for us. The fame of the great city was spread abroad over the rest of the world, but it only reached us when the chariot of the Church came to us across the western waves with Christ as its charioteer and Peter and Paul as its swift coursers." Epistle to Pope Boniface (Ep. V).
6 There was also a current of foreign influence that derives from St. Ninian's foundation of Whithern in Galloway and is represented in Ireland by St. Enda of Aran, but it is secondary in importance to the tradition of Llancarvan and Clohard.
7 Ryan, Irish Monasticism, pp. 172-184. So unique was the position held by St. Bridget that some legends even went so far as to assert that she herself had received episcopal orders.
8 There is also evidence for the existence of non-monastic tribal bishops, for the laws seem to take for granted that every tuath should possess a bishop of its own, who occupies a position second
Notes

to that of the king. (Ryan, op. cit., p. 320, n. 2.) These fourth
bishops were the origin of the later mediaeval Irish sees, but in
early times they were of far less importance than the great monastic
jurisdictions, and their authority was weakened by the existence
of the numerous wandering bishops such as those of whom St.
Boniface complains on the continent in the eighth century.

1 Jonas, Vita Columbani, I, 17.

2 In some cases in Brittany, the menhir itself was christianised by
the addition of a small cross.

3 Quoted from the Leonine Sacramentary by Grisar (op. cit., III,
285). Grisar also draws attention to the remarkable coincidence
between the Lesson from Isaiah in the Mass for the Ember
Wednesday in Advent and the verses of Ovid to Cores on the
Feriae Sementivae (Fasti, I, v. 597 f).

4 A most remarkable example of the survival of the old fertility magic
in a Christian dress has been preserved in the elaborate Anglo-Saxon
charm for barren land. Mass is sung over four sods from the four
quarters of the field, incense and blessed salt is placed in the body
of the plough, and as the first furrow is driven the ploughman
repeats the following invocation to the Mother Goddess:

"Hail to thee, Earth, mother of men!
Be fruitful in God's embrace
Filled with food for the use of men."

Anglo-Saxon Poetry, trans. R. K. Gordon (Everymans Library),
pp. 98-100.

5 According to Dom Chapman, St. Benedict drew up his Rule as an
official code for Western monasticism at the suggestion of Pope
Hermogenes and Dionysius Exiguus, and he sees traces of its influ-
ence in the monastic legislation of Justinian (Novella) and in the
writings of Cassiodorus. This view, however, involves serious diffi-
culties. Cf. Chapman, St. Benedict and the Sixth Century (1929),
and Dom Cabrol's criticisms in the Dublin Review, July, 1930.

6 This is the view of Bröndsted, Early English Ornament, p. 92.
Professor Baldwin Brown, on the other hand, ascribes the Lindis-
farne Book to native Anglian genius.

7 E.g., the following passage from The Wanderer: "Thus did the
Creator of men lay waste this earth, till the old work of giants
stood empty, free from the revel of castle-dwellers. Then he who
has thought wisely of the foundations of things, and who deeply
ponders this dark life, wise in his heart, often turns his thoughts
to the many slaughters of the past and speaks these words:

'Whither has gone the horse? Whither has gone the rider? Whither
has gone the giver of treasure, Whither the place of feasting?
Where are the joys of hall? Alas the bright cup! Alas, the warrior
in his cosulet! Alas, the glory of the prince! How that time has
passed away, grown dark under the shadow of night, as if it had
never been," Gordon, op. cit., p. 82. Cp. also The Ruin, Deor,
The Seafarer, etc.
THE RESTORATION
OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE
AND CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE

1 Libri Carolini, I, 1, 3; II, 11, 19; III, 15, etc. Alcuin, Ep. 198, etc.
   He writes that there are three supreme powers in the world—the
   Papacy at Rome, the Empire at Constantinople, and the royal
dignity of Charles, and of these the last is the highest since Charles
is appointed by Christ as the leader of the Christian people. (Cf.
Cambridge Medieval History, II, 617.)
   In accordance with these ideas Alcuin substituted imperium
christianum for Romanorum in his revision of the liturgical books.

2 Under the Carolingians the Capella became a kind of Holy Synod
   as well as taking an important share in the secular administration.
The Capella was originally the body of ecclesiastics who guarded
the cloak (capa) of St. Martin, the palladium of the Frankish
kingdom, and who were consequently in close attendance on the
court.

3 Fustel de Coulanges, Les transformations de la royauté franque,
p. 588.
   This attitude was maintained by Charles in his later years and by
his successor, Lewis the Pious, who attempted to play the part
of mediator in 824-825 between the Byzantine Empire and the
Papacy. Even as late as 870 Hincmar still rejected the Second
Council of Nicaea and regarded the Council of Frankfurt as
ecumenical and orthodox.

4 The greatest scholars of the Carolingian period, with the exception
   of Alcuin and Theodulf, were all either monks or pupils at Fulda,
e.g., Einhard, Rabanus Maurus, who was abbot from 823-842, and
his pupils, Walafrid Strabo, and Severus Lupus.

5 Fulda for example was largely an Anglo-Saxon colony and the
   copying school, which was one of the most important on the
continent, still used insular script of the English type.

6 Similar basilicas had already been built in England by Wilfred
and Benedict Biscop, and they were the normal type of church in
Merovingian Gaul.
*Cf. A. Goldschmidt German Illumination (Carolingian period),
pp. 7-10.
1 "Sed togeta quiritum more seu trabeata latinitas suum Latium in
a ipso latidi palatio singulariter obtinebat." Johannes Diaconus, Vita
"Poesis Aevi Carolini, ed. Traube, III, 555.
Nobilibus quondam fueras constructa patronum;
Subita nunc servis leue male Roma ruis.
Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges
Cessit et ad Graecos nomen honoque tuns.
In te nobilium rectorum nemo remanuit
Ingenuique tui rura Pelangi column.
Vulgar ab extremis distinctum partibus orbis
Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini.
*Cf. Berlière, l’Ordre Monastique, pp. 103-106 and notes.
*We possess in the famous Chronicle of St. Gall by Ekkehard the
Fourth (eleventh century), a remarkably vivid picture of the social
and intellectual life of a great abbey during this period. It shows
that the abbey and its school were at the height of their prosperity
during the age when conditions in Western Europe as a whole
were at their worst, i.e., from 892 to 920.

THE AGE OF THE VIKINGS
AND THE CONVERSION OF THE NORTH

*A. Orluk, Viking Civilisation, pp. 102-103.
*We must, however, remember that in Viking times it was not Frey
but the warrior Thor who was regarded as the god of the farmers.
*The historian of the Normans, Dudo, attributes the Viking move-
ment to a crisis of over-population, caused by the practice of
polygamy. There is no doubt that this did have a certain influence,
as we see in the case of the struggle between Eric Bloodaxe and
the other sons of Harold Fairhair, but it was restricted to the
ruling class of kings and chiefs, from whom the Viking leaders
were usually drawn.
*H. Shetelig, Préhistoire de Norvège, pp. 182-188.
*Denmark had already accepted Christianity in the reign of Harold
Bluetooth (950-986), which also marks the establishment of a
powerful and united Danish State.
*Professor Orluk writes, "Considered as a whole, this Irish element
in Scandinavian culture is a phenomenon in itself, which does not
coincide with the principal current of the Christian movement as
it passes over Europe. It appears rather as an enrichment and
expansion of the native North European stage of civilisation than
as a part of the new trend accompanying the introduction of Christianity. In so far as it swept away a portion of the ancient heritage, this tendency might have made a breach for the entrance of the new main current; and furthermore certain Christian impulses did emanate from Ireland. But in at least equal measure this Irish influence contributed to the production of a special civilisation which somewhat impeded the rapid absorption of the North into Christian Europe.” *Viking Civilisation*, p. 120.

*Arn* writes of Helge, “He was very mixed in his faith. He put his trust in Christ and named his homestead after Him, but yet he would pray to Thor in sea voyages and in hard stresses and in all those things that he thought were of most account to him.” *Landnámabók*, III, xiv, 3.

*cf.* the index to the first volume of Vigfusson and Powell’s *Origines Islandicae*, in which all the Celtic names are marked with an asterisk.

*cf.* Ohlín, *Viking Civilisation*, pp. 107-120, where the author gives a general statement of the case for Irish influence on Scandinavian literature, which he regards as established in the case of the saga and probable in the case both of the later heroic poetry and of the new “court poetry” of the Skalds. It is true that the Skaldic poetry has its beginnings in Western Norway, but as Professor Ohlín notes, “the first known skald, Bragi Boddason, had an Irish wife and uses at least one Irish word in his Auslandshrunar,” while the system of rhyme recalls that of Irish poetry (op. cit., p. 120).

11 Of old was the age when Ymir lived:
   Sea nor cool waves nor sand there were;
   Earth had not been nor heaven above
   But a yawning gap and grass nowhere.
   The sun, the sister of the moon from the south
   Her right hand cast over heaven’s rim;
   No knowledge she had where her home should be,
   The moon knew not what might was his,
   The stars knew not where their stations were.
   (Trans. Bellows.)


*Trans. B. S. Philpotts, in Edda and Saga*, p. 137.

*Here are the concluding stanzas in which Egil finds compensation for his misfortunes in the thought of his art. (The epithets in the first verses refer to Odin. The sister of the Wolf is Hel, goddess of death.)*

Worship I not, then, Valir’s Brother,
The Most High God, of my own liking,
Yet Mimir’s friend hath to me vouchsafed
Boot for my bale that is better, I ween.
Mine Art He gave me, the God of Battles,
Great Foe of Fenrir, a gift all faultless,
And that temper that still has brought me
Notable foes mid the knavish-minded.

All's hard to wield now. The Wulf's right sister
—All Father's Foes—on the sea-nest stands.
Yet will I be glad, with a good will,
And without grief, abide Hell's coming.


"Throrried Saga in *Origines Islandicae*, II, 705.

THE RISE OF THE MEDIAEVAL UNITY

3 Cathull's view is no doubt derived from Ambrosiaster *Questiones Vetusti et Novi Testamenti* 35 (cf. op. cit., I, 149).
5 Agobard was one of the few scholars of the period to study the works of Tertullian. Cf. Manutius, op. cit. I, 386.
6 "Wherefore we give him some writings supported by the authority of the Holy Fathers, that of his predecessors which none may gainsay, that he was the very power of God and the Blessed Peter, and he had authority towards all peoples for the Christian faith and the peace of the Churches for preaching the gospel and attesting the truth, and in him was all the supreme authority of living power of St. Peter by whom it is necessary that all be judged inasmuch as he himself is judged by none."—Radbertus, *Epistophium Arsenii*, II, 16.
7 Radbertus writes, "Tunc ab eodem sancto viro (sc. Gregorio) et ab omnibus qua convenere adjudicatum est quia imperium tam praecelerum et gloriosum de manu patris essiderat ut Augustus Honorius (Lothair) . . . cern releveret et accipere." op. cit., II, 18. This, however, does not refer to the solemn judgment by the bishops which took place at Soissons two months later under the leadership of Ebbo and Agobard. By that time both Wala and the Pope had withdrawn in disapproval.

It was at this time that the coronation ceremony and office assumed the developed form that was to be universal throughout
the West during the Middle Ages and which survives to-day only in England. The sacred rite of coronation and anointing is of immemorial antiquity in the Near East, but it is uncertain how it first reached the West. It first appears in Spain in the seventh century, and probably about the same time in the British Isles. The oldest existing order is that in the Pontifical of Egbert (ascribed to the eighth century), and it was apparently from England, and not from Spain, that the rite was introduced into the Frankish realm in 750.

*Cf. Schmüter, Kirche und Kultur, II, 31-34. The earlier date is, however, maintained by Levison, Konstantinische Schenkung und Sylvester Legend in Miscellanea Ehrle II, Rome, 1924. Another view is that of Gumier, who argues that it was the work of Hilarius of St. Denys about the year 816.

*In the letter of Lewis to the Emperor Basil preserved in the Chronicon Saeculare. Cf. Carlyle, op. cit., I, 284.

Carlyle, Medieval Political Theory, I, 289.

**"Henceforth the towns were entirely under (the bishops') control. In them was to be found, in fact, practically only inhabitants dependent more or less directly upon the Church. . . . Their population was composed of the clerics of the cathedral church and of the other churches grouped near by; of the monks of the monasteries which, especially after the ninth century, came to be established, sometimes in great numbers, in the see of the diocese; of the teachers and students of the ecclesiastical schools; and finally of servitors and artisans, free or serf, who were indispensable to the needs of the religious group and to the daily existence of the clerical agglomeration." H. Firenne, Medieval Cities, p. 66.

*The abbey of Saintes lost no less than 11,746 of its 11,860 estates (manus) (Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 9, note 3).

A similar service was performed a century later in Germany by Notker Laber (d. 1022), the famous teacher of the school of St. Gall. He translated the works of Boethius, including his version of Aristotle's Categories, Martianus Capella, and several other books. But Notker stands almost alone, since the revival of classical studies on the continent increased the supremacy of Latin, and the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture, which had always been favourable to the vernacular, was on the wane.

**Notably with regard to the resemblance of his regulations regarding the bungs and fortresses of the Wendish Mark to Edward the Elder's legislation about the burhs of the Danelaw. Cf. Cambridge Medieval History, III, p. 183 and note.

This assimilation of barbarian elements by the dominant monastic culture is also to be seen in the Waltharius of Ekkehard the First, of St. Gall (c. 920-930), a remarkable attempt to recast the native tradition of German heroic poetry in the classical forms of the Latin epic. But here the influence of Christian ideas is stronger
and points towards the coming of the new literatures of medieval Christendom. 

*The Byzantine element in Otto’s court was not due to an artificial imitation of exotic ceremonial, as some modern historians have supposed. It was the natural result of the semi-Byzantine tradition of tenth-century Rome and of the Empire itself. Thus Charles the Bald appeared in Byzantine dress at the assembly of Ponthion in 876 as a sign that he had received the imperial crown. Cf. Halphen *La Cour d’Otton III à Rome*, *Ecole française de Rome*, in *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, XXV, 1905.*

CONCLUSION


*It is true that the dying speech of Bynnoth strikes a religious note: “I thank Thee, O Lord of the Peoples, for all these joys which I have known in the world. Now, gracious Lord, I have most need that Thou shouldst grant good to my spirit, that my soul may journey to Thee, may pass in peace into Thy keeping, Prince of Angels.” But the moral climax of the poem is found, not here, but in the last words of “the old companion”: “I am old in age. I will not hence, but I purpose to lie by the side of my lord, by the man so dearly loved.”—Anglo-Saxon Poetry, tr. R. K. Gordon, pp. 364-367.

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