Lecture Twenty-Five

Late Antiquity: Crisis and Response

Scope: From the death of Marcus Aurelius (180) to the accession of Diocletian (284), the Roman Empire experienced a century of crises and challenges. Taken together, these changes wrecked the Augustan Principate and ushered in the Late Empire. The crises touched various areas of life, including: (1) The imperial office—armies increasingly elevated their generals to the imperial office, and the Roman state seemed to be afflicted by endemic civil war. (2) The frontiers—the Persians in Mesopotamia and the Germanic peoples along the rivers Rhine and Danube began to threaten, and even to breach, the Roman boundaries, upsetting the delicate Pax Romana and highlighting the dangers of a politicized military establishment. (3) The economy—a devastating inflationary spiral permeated the Roman world at the very time when vastly more expensive military and governmental structures were called for. The prosperity that people had taken for granted for two centuries was called into question. (4) The moral sphere— everywhere one encounters gloom and despair instead of the buoyant optimism of the principate. Public building, always a sign of Roman robustness, ceased suddenly. Rome was in deep trouble. Then, from 284 to 337, Rome was ruled by two emperors, Diocletian and Constantine, who pushed through massive reforms that addressed the third-century crisis imaginatively but that in doing so, forever changed the Roman system.

Outline

This lecture opens a series of four in which we will explore the period from about 300 to about 700. To the extent that it has been thought about at all, this is the period when the Roman Empire "fell," when classical antiquity suffered a civilizational collapse and succumbed to the forces of chaos and barbarism, became the "Dark Ages."

A. Hollywood, journalists, and high school history books may still speak that way, but specialists in the period that is now called "Late Antiquity" (and has been for about two generations) take a very different view.

B. The traditional view owes much to Renaissance humanists, about whom we will say more as we go along, but also to Edward Gibbon and his masterpiece, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Gibbon saw internal and external reasons for Rome's fall.
   1. Gibbon spoke of Rome's ~~immoderate greatness": Basically, he meant that the empire was too large, too complex to be kept together for much longer.
   2. Gibbon also said that Rome succumbed to "barbarism" and '~superstition." He meant by the former, the barbarians—of "barbarian invasions" fame (we'll meet them in the next lecture)—and by the latter, Christianity.
   3. Historians still speak of internal and external forces in Rome's transformation.

   C. But the critical point is that today, specialists speak of *transformation;* of continuity and change working in tandem; of slow, sometimes almost imperceptible alterations in age-old patterns of life.
   D. Historians are generally suspicious of any theory that claims direct, abrupt, wholesale, and calamitous change.
   E. There has always been the interesting problems of just whatfall is supposed to mean: A civilizational catastrophe? The collapse of a political regime? A change in the basic conditions of life for the great mass of people'?

IL In this lecture, we will look closely at selected aspects of the history of the Roman regime itself.
   A. Our starting point must be the "crisis of the third century."

1. The Roman world experienced one long period of civil wars, usurpations, and violent transfers of power. The army made and unmade emperors with disconcerting regularity. The contradictions implicit in a despotic magistracy had come home to roost.
2. The empire, which had ceased expanding in the time of Traj an, now began to feel challenges along its frontiers, especially along the Rhine-Danube frontier in the north and in Mesopotarnia.
3. The Roman economy was spiraling into deeper and deeper inflation with irregularly rising prices and falling wages. The prosperity of the Pax Romana was gone.
4. Everywhere there is evidence of a lack of confidence: A sense of gloom and dread pervades literature; wills and temple prayers are full of angst; private contributions to public building stopped almost completely.

B. At this critical juncture, Rome found two rulers who, in nearly a half-century of rule, addressed the problems of the third century and put Rome on sound footings.

C. But they also changed the empire fundamentally. And here is one theme we must pursue: the degree to which Rome managed her own transformation.

III. Diocletian (284—305) came from a poor Dalmatian family and rose through the military. He was clever, decisive, and an astute judge of the problems faced by his world.

A. In 293, he introduced the *tetrarchv,* or "rule by four."
1. He chose a colleague as *Augustus* (this was now a title, not a name, as before).
2. He also assigned each Augustus a subordinate *Caesar* (again, a title).
3. The idea was to provide more rulers with authority in the huge and challenged empire and to provide for more orderly succession.

B. Over the course of his reign, Diocletian reorganized the provincial administration of the empire.
1. He more than doubled the number of provinces by carving large ones into smaller ones.
2. He dramatically increased the size of the imperial adminis tration, from a few hundred to 30,000 to 40,000.
3. He created overarching administrative structures: prefectures and dioceses. These were governed by Prefects and Masters of the Soldiers chosen by the Augusti.

C. He significantly expanded the size of the Roman army.
1. His aim seems to have been to double the standing army from about 300,000 to 600,000 men, but he probably never got more than 450,000.
2. Rome was faced with the terrible problem of long, exposed frontiers.

D. Hoping to get some control of inflation, Diocletian froze prices, wages, and occupations.

E. Diocletian accentuated third-century trends toward a more despotic form of rule: pompous titles, elaborate courtly ceremonies, and so on (many of these were borrowed from Persia). Historians often speak of a shift from the principate—the ruler as *princeps* or "first citizen"—to the '~dominate"—4he ruler as *domin us,* lord and master.

IV. True to his ideals, Diocletian retired in 305 to his magnificent palace at Split. His tetrarchy did not, however, provide for an orderly transmission of power. There was a brief, sharp civil war that saw Constantine (306—337), a soldier whose roots were in Britain, come out on top, although he continued struggling against rivals for two decades.

A. Constantine continued the work and policies of Diocletian.

B. He extended the military reforms of Diocletian (who had himself built on some precedents of his predecessors).

1. He generalized the use of "mobile field armies": These were armies stationed inside the provinces, back behind the frontiers, where they could respond effectively to incursions.
2. This changed Roman strategy from a relatively static line of defense to defense in depth.
3. Frontiers were left to inferior auxiliary forces and to barbarian allies called "federates" (because they had concluded a *foedus,* a treaty, with Rome).

4. At one time, the army had been a path to citizenship, but in 212, the government had granted citizenship to almost everyone in the empire—largely to tax them; therefore, military service was now attractive to foreigners living along the frontiers.

C. Constantine issued the *solidus* with a constant weight of gold. This remained the basic money of account in the Roman world for a millennium. This reform eased but could not end the rampant inflation.

D. Constantine refounded the old Athenian colony of Byzantium and named it after himself—Constantine's polis, or Constantinople (Istanbul today).

1.

2.

This move took some of the prestige away from Rome. However, emperors had rarely ruled from Rome since the second century, and Diocletian's tetrarchy had foreseen rulers in several places.

2. As a result of sheer bad luck, the West rarely had competent political or military leadership after 395, whereas the East had a number of extremely gifted rulers.

VI. It should be clear, then, that Rome responded creatively and effectively to the challenges that the empire faced. Yet, by 500, the Western empire was gone, even as the Eastern survived for another thousand years. To understand how this happened, we must turn in more detail to those barbarians we have been talking about.

Essential Reading:
Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine.*

Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-430.*

MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis.*

Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Put yourself in the shoes of Diocletian and Constantine. You know what the third-century problems were. How would you have addressed them?
2. Can you see evidence for the "law of unintended consequences" in the history of the Roman Empire in the fourth century?

V. These reforms sensibly addressed the third-century crisis, but they also altered the Roman regime forever and provided a stable framework for even more changes.

A. The Roman world became an armed camp.
   1. People lived with soldiers in their midst as never before.
   2. The fiscal apparatus of the state was now more intrusive and extracted more and more money for military causes.

B. Political stability was achieved but at a price.
   1. Because familial loyalties could not be overcome, Rome was governed by a combination of the tetrarchal and dynastic systems.
   2. The army still mattered a great deal in politics.

3. The roles of barbarian military officers grew greater and greater. They did not seek the throne but were often the power behind it.
4. The increasingly intrusive Roman government damaged Rome's historic ties with local elites, who were less loyal to the regime and more loyal to their particular localities.

C. Increasingly, the courts in the East and West were rivals and reacied differently to their challenges.
1. Threats posed by barbarians along the Danube frontier induced the government at Constantinople to move those barbarians to the West.

Lecture Twenty-Six

Barbarians and Emperors

Scope: The idea of the "fall of the Roman Empire" is one of the commonest elements in any educated person's understanding of Western historical development. Yet, today, it is denied or ignored by specialists in the period from about 300 to 700, the period usually called ~'Late Antiquity." This lecture continues a series of four that explore not the fall or the disappearance but, rather, the slow transformation of the Roman world. We will begin with an examination of the "barbarian invasions." Actually, we will find that there was no such thing, but we will see that over the course of 200 or 300 years, the western provinces of the Roman Empire turned into a series of Germanic kingdoms. We will study who these people were and how this change happened. Having already looked at how Diocletian and Constantine responded to the third-century crisis, we'll look at the long-term effects of their reforms down to the reign of Justinian in the sixth century.

Outline

To open up our discussion of the barbarians, let's pose a series of questions.

A. What or who is a barbarian?
1. In an earlier lecture, we learned that, to the Greeks, barbarians were babblers, people who did not speak Greek.
2. The Romans adopted and adapted this point of view: Barbarians were those who lived outside the empire.
3. Naturally, the word had negative connotations, but it was not fundamentally a cultural concept.

B. What are we to make of the Cecil B. de Mille, "cast of thousands" picture of the "barbarian invasions"'? Surely, this is one of the most familiar images of the late Roman world.
1. The Romans knew, traded with, made treaties with, fought with, and spied on the barbarians for centuries. Right away, we must get rid of all ideas about surprise.
2. We can say that the barbarians were primarily Germanic peoples, that is, people who spoke Germanic languages (we must be careful to avoid seeing them as the direct ancestors of today's Germans).
3. There was no single, coordinated barbarian invasion. The Romans and barbarians did not face each other like teams at the kickoff of a football game. There were a thousand incidents all of which demand individual explanation.
4. The Romans wrote about "tribes" and many moderns have been duped into following them, but in fact, the various peoples formed, unformed, and reformed many times. The peoples who entered into the history of the late Roman world were polyethnic confederations.
5. We can assign a coherent history to "peoples" only *after* they

entered the Roman Empire, wherever it was, and why it was, that they did so.

6. The barbarians were not nomads. They were settled agriculturalists; therefore, whenever we find any group of them on the move, we need to explain this movement, not attribute it to migratory habits.

C. What is at stake in our discussion?

1. As we saw in the last lecture, Diocletian reorganized the Roman administration. In, say, 300, the western half of the Roman Empire consisted of several dozen provinces.
2. In, say, 600, that Roman Empire was gone in the west and, in its place, were several barbarian kingdoms.
3. We need to assess the relative roles of the Romans and the barbarians in this transformation.

II. A case study of the Visigoths will help us to understand the dynamics of the late Roman world. But remember, we could, and for a full understanding would have to, make case studies of a couple of dozen peoples.

A.

The people whom we later know as the Visigoths were a loose confederation living along the central Danube in the early fourth century when Constantine made a treaty with them, assigning them responsibility for guarding a stretch of the river.

B. In the 370s, some of the Visigoths formally requested permission from the Roman government to cross the Danube and enter the Balkans.

1. They were being hard pressed by the Huns, who really were nomadic and who had come on the scene a generation or so earlier in the Black Sea region.
2. The government had just experienced a dynastic struggle and had lost an emperor in battle with the Persians in Mesopotamia.
3. Rome had admitted modest-sized groups before but had tended to disperse them in the military. A request for a large number of people to enter the empire *en bloc* was unprecedented.

C. Thinking themselves loyal allies and fearful of the Huns, the Vis igoths crossed the Danube in 376 and immediately began negotiating to regularize their status. They wanted land to settle on and farm.

1. The government panicked, and Emperor Valens marched north with a small army, which the Goths defeated thoroughly at Adrianople in 378.
2. Now, the Emperor Theodosius came to the east and pacified the situation.
3. After Theodosius's death in 395, his sons ruled, one in the east and one in the west. They were bitter rivals.
4. The Goths. meanwhile, continued to press for a generous landed settlement and now began asking for a Roman military command for their king. Basically, it was during these years that a gaggle, so to speak, of peoples (some of whom were ethnically Goths) became *the* Visigoths.

D. At the opening of the fifth century, the Goths, tiring of being pawns in Roman politics, entered Italy. They threatened Rome, then, in 410, put the city to the sack. This seemed a cataclysmic event to some people, but the Visigoths were only trying to bring maximum pressure to bear on the Romans.

E. The Visigoths marched north through Italy into southern Gaul. They settled around Toulouse and continued to request recognition.

1. In 418, the Romans accorded the Goths a new treaty.
2. They were settled under their king in Gaul and assigned responsibility for protecting Gaul's western coasts against pirates, suppressing brigandage, and guarding the Pyrenees frontier.

F. There was now a kingdom on Roman soil amidst Roman provinces.

1. A barbarian people were acting on behalf of the Roman government but were nevertheless largely autonomous.
2. It is hard to see this as an invasion.
3. Clearly, Roman policy had as much to do with all of this as anything the Goths did.

III. A brief look at the ongoing situation in Gaul shows further developments.
   A. An allied people called the Burgundians were living in the Savoy region of Gaul and began to press to the north.
   B. The Roman military commander in Gaul, Aetius (c. 396—454), had grown up among Goths and Huns. He decided to try to use the Huns as mercenaries against the Burgundians.
   C. The Huns realized the tenuousness of the Roman position and began widespread depredations in Gaul.
      1. The Frankish kingdom in northern and central Gaul.
      2. The Visigothic kingdom in southern Gaul, but they were about to be defeated by the Franks and driven into Spain, where they persisted until 711.
      3. A Burgundian kingdom in east-central Gaul, but this kingdom would be absorbed by the Franks.
      4. An Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy that would collapse amidst attacks by Roman forces sent by Constantinople. The Ostrogoths were followed in Italy by the Lombards.
      5. A Vandal kingdom in North Africa that was also defeated by Roman forces.
      6. Rome had pulled its troops out of Britain between 370 and 410. What would happen in Britain was not yet clear in 500.
   C. Historian Walter Goffart has said that Rome's experience of accommodating the barbarians was "an imaginative experiment that got a little out of hand."
   D. Historian Patrick Geary has called the barbarian kingdoms "Rome's last creative act."

Essential Reading:

Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans.*

Heather, *Goths and Romans.*

Pohl, ed., *Kingdoms of the Empire.*

Thompson, *The Hans.*
Wolfram, *History of the Goths.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Does the account presented here persuade you that it is fruitless to speak of "barbarian invasions"?
2. The lecture ends with quotations from two historians. Do the conclusions offered by Goffart and Geary seem sensible to you?
   D. Aetius put together a coalition consisting chiefly of Visigoths and Franks, which defeated the Huns in 451. Contemporary sources called Aetius's forces ~'Romans."

IV. In 476, the pathetic Romulus Augustulus was deposed, and a barbarian general sent his imperial insignia to Constantinople, saying that the west no longer needed its own emperor but would carry on under Constantinople's authority.
   A. If there was a "fall of the Roman Empire," that's all it was.
   B. By 500, the former western provinces of the empire had changed into several kingdoms:

Lecture Twenty-Seven

The Emergence of the Catholic Church

Scope: Our next foray into the late antique scene focuses on the rise of the Catholic Church. Once the Roman state ceased persecuting Christianity and the new faith could function publicly, a vast, hierarchical organization took root and spread throughout the Roman world. We will explore the nature of this institution and its key officers, the bishops. Among the bishops, we will pay particular attention to the bishops of Rome, the popes. Our attention will also be drawn to the evolving relationship between the emerging Catholic Church and the Roman state: We will track the change from persecution to promotion. Finally, we will look carefully at numerous attempts to achieve a universal, a catholic, definition of dogma.

Outline

We saw in an earlier lecture that the Christian church was spreading in the Roman Empire, that it was creating an organizational structure, and that its members had some sense of belonging to a community larger than their own local church. Now, we must turn to the emergence of an empire-wide church that can be called Catholic in three senses: institutionally, legally, and doctrinally. First, then, we address the institution.

A. The key question is how did the primitive Christian communities grow into the Roman Catholic Church? There are (as always!) hints in language: *ekkiesia* and *kuriakon.*
B. Bishops gradually became important personages in towns throughout the empire. They commanded respect, wore distinctive clothing, controlled important forms of patronage, and provided an outlet for talents.
C. Institutionally, the key step was the emergence of the bishops of Rome, the popes (originally a term of endearment), to a position of leadership.
   1. "Apostolic succession" applied everywhere to the legitimacy of the local clergy, and Rome was doubly apostolic, with Peter and Paul.
   2. From the third century, Rome placed great stress on the '~Petrine" text in Matthew (16.16-19) to assert that just as Peter had been the leader of the apostles, so, too, were Peter's successors leaders of the whole Church.
   3. In reality, the historical associations of Rome itself were important, although the Roman Church did not emphasize this.
   4. In the midst of great theological battles (we will speak of these later), people frequently turned to Rome for advice or even decisions. This slowly turned into a precedent.
   5. The Emperor Theodosius commanded all people in the empire to believe as the bishop of Rome believed.
   6. Pope Leo 1(440—461) was the great theoretician of papal leadership.
   7. Pope Gregory 1(590-604), in the absence of an imperial government in Rome, took over much responsibility for the food supply, urban amenities, and even defense against the Lombards. He was a quasi-ruler in the old imperial capital.
   8. But there were quarrels over *monarchical* versus *colic gial* models of Church government.
   9. In late antiquity, the popes generally lacked the power to impose their will.

II. Ironically, the very Roman state before whose officials Jesus was tried eventually became a major supporter of the Christian faith and the Catholic Church.

A. Christians encountered the Roman state only sporadically for a long time.

1. Nero made them scapegoats in Rome.
2. Domitian outlawed Christianity.
3. Pliny wrote to Trajan to ask what to do about Christians.
4. Provincial officials occasionally moved against individuals or communities but usually in circumstances about which we are ill-informed.
5. In 250—251, Emperor Decius undertook the first systematic persecution of Christians.
6. Diocletian undertook the "Great Persecution" from 303 to 306. This was part of his ideological realignment. He attacked clergy and assemblies, gathered and burned books, required people to appear in temples to make an act of sacrifice, and encouraged denunciations.

B. Diocletian's efforts failed, and Constantine began the close association between the emperors and the Church. His mother was a devout Catholic, and he seems to have converted very late in his life.

1. In 313 in the Edict of Milan, Constantine granted Christianity legal toleration in the empire.
2. He granted tax exemptions and fiscal privileges to the Church and made massive personal donations, not least the Lateran basilica in Rome; he also saw to the building of St. Peter's and St. Paul's basilicas in Rome.
3. For a brief time, Emperor Julian the "Apostate" attempted a pagan revival, but he failed.
4. Between 378 and 380, Theodosius passed laws effectively making Roman Christianity the state religion of the empire.
5. Pope Gelasius (492—496) wrote a famous letter to Emperor Anastasius in which he explained that the world was governed by the *authority* of priests and the *power* of kings. This was to elevate the religious hierarchy over the secular, a remarkable transformation.
6. The record of imperial relations with the Church is a mixed one involving both benevolence and ruthless interference.
   a. We must remember that Roman officials had always seen their duties, at least to some degree, in religious terms, and emperors were the state's chief religious authorities.
   b. There was no concept of the "separation of church and state."

III. Catholicism as a matter of belief involved the development of a canon of scripture and the elaboration of a creed, a basic statement of faith.

A. From the early second century, it became clear that the scriptures were central to the authentic teaching of the emerging church. But what scriptures?

1. Palestinian rabbis established the Masoretic (that is, "traditional") Text of the Hebrew Scriptures.
2. But this posed two problems for Christians: Should they use the Hebrew Bible at all, and what use, if any, should they make of the Greek text of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint?
3. Eventually, it was decided that the "Old Testament" would be retained. But there were disagreements in antiquity, which persist today, on the authority of the seven books that appear in Septuagint and not Hebrew.
4. By the fifth century, a canon of "New Testament" writings had become definitive. A substantial amount of post-biblical material was, thus, left out.
5. The earliest versions of the New Testament were in Greek. An "Old Latin" version began to circulate too, as well as other Latin versions. In 382, Pope Damasus (366-384) commissioned St. Jerome (342—420) to prepare a new Latin translation. He spent the rest of his life working on the "Vulgate."

B. Once Christianity could function publicly, some serious differences in teachings began to appear.

1. The differences turned around two basic elements of Christian doctrine: that God was triune, three persons in one God, and that Jesus was true God and true man.

2. In an attempt to preserve strict monotheism Anus (c. 250-336), a priest of Alexandria, taught that Jesus was slightly subordinate to God the father.
3. Fierce controversies drove Constantine to call the Council of Nicaea in 325. Anus was condemned, and the Nicene Creed (still recited in many churches in a version revised at a council in Constantinople in 381) spelled out Trinitarian theology.
4. Arianism did not die immediately, however. Some of Constantine's successors were Arians, and many of the barbarians were converted to Arian Christianity.
5. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, the great controversy turned around the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ. At the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the teaching that Jesus was fully God and fully man was defined and affirmed.
6. Some *monophysite* (literally, "one-nature-ite") Christians persisted in their beliefs, especially in the eastern provinces.

IV. By the end of the fifth century, then, Christianity had an empire-wide organization at least nominally under Rome's authority; a well-defined legal status in the empire; a definitive body of authoritative writings; and officially proclaimed definitions of some of its most important and difficult doctrines. All in all, that is a remarkable achievement in a relatively short time.

Essential Reading:
Chadwick, *The Early Church.*

Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World.*

Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Would you say that the Church, in the end, gained or lost from its relationship with the Roman state?
2. Is it surprising that Christians disagreed on the sources of their faith and some of its basic teachings?

Lecture Twenty-Eight

Christian Culture in Late Antiquity

Scope: This lecture will ask this question: How and why did it matter that Christianity triumphed in the Roman world? To answer that question, we will look at three sets of issues. First, we will talk about the "Church fathers," the great theologians, such as Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and John Chrysostom, who brought classical and Jewish learning to bear on the central problems of Christian doctrine. Second, we will look at the Christians who opted out: the monks and nuns who, in leaving the world, exerted a profound influence on it. Third, we'll speak of a range of social values touched by Christianity.

Outline

Our final look at the world of late antiquity will involve asking how and where we can see the impact of Christianity on the culture of the Roman world. Three main areas of inquiry will hold our attention:

A. Under what circumstances did Christianity go from struggling for intellectual respectability to becoming intellectually dominant?

B. If many Christians made their peace with classical culture and the Roman world, what are we to make of the monks, those who opted out?
C. If by the end of late antiquity the vast majority of people were Christians, how did this affect their daily lives?

II. The intellectual culture of Christianity is inextricably bound up with the "Church fathers," the figures who dominated cultural life in the "patristic" (from *pater*, father) era.
A. Already in the second and third centuries, Christian writers had addressed important questions.
1. How did Christianity differ from Judaism and from pagan philosophy? How could one live as a Christian in a pagan world?
2. Some pagan writers had also begun to take Christianity seriously enough that they critiqued some of its teachings.
B. Once Christianity became legal, the patnistic era dawned and lasted until about 600 in the West and 750 in the East. The greatest work was done in the period from 350 to 450. This was also the time when Christian art and architecture began to emerge.
C. The Church fathers addressed three big sets of questions:
1. Flow is the Bible to be understood?
2. How are fundamental Christian doctrines to be explained?
3. How does Christianity relate to classical culture: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" as one of them asked.
1). This was the third great age of Latin literature (and there were Greek fathers, too).
E. The first great Latin father was Ambrose (339—397) a local nobleman who was elected bishop of Milan.
1. His greatest contribution was to translate Greek philosophical ideas and the writings of Greek Christian writers, such as Origen of Alexandria, into intelligible form for Latins.
2. He also developed and propagated the use of allegory in the Latin West as a key mode of biblical interpretation.
F. Jerome (342—420) we met in the last lecture as the translator of the Vulgate.
1. He, too, was a blueblood attracted to the Church.
2. He wrote numerous letters to explain Christian teachings.
3. He played a key role in opening up Christian doctrine for small groups of high-born Roman women.
4. His writings were much prized in the Renaissance for their elegance.
G. The greatest of the Latin fathers was Augustine (354—430). He was born in North Africa to a middling sort of family, and his mother, Monica, was a devout Catholic. He studied in local schools and became a teacher of rhetoric before moving to Rome, then to Milan, where he fell under the influence of Ambrose.
1. Augustine was not a systematic thinker. He addressed problems as they came up. In the course of his long life, he spoke to many problems of Christian theology.
2. His *Confessions* chronicled his conversion and stands as the first work of true introspection in Western literature.
3. His *On Christian Doctrine* was the first systematic exposition of how Christianity related to classical learning.
4. His *City of God* was a magnificent theology of history occasioned by the Gothic sack of Rome. His aim was to show that in the grand scheme of things, Rome did not matter much. This was a decisive break with the classical ideal that the world would last exactly as long as Rome itself.
H. The last of the Latin fathers was Pope Gregory I, who wrote biblical commentaries, letters, lives of saints, and the *Pastoral Rule*, a book in the classical

tradition that explicated the responsibilities of bishops. It was influential for centuries.

In the eastern Mediterranean, there were fathers, too.

1. The "Cappadocian fathers," Basil the Great (c. 330-379), his brother Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330—395), and Gregory of Nazianzus (329—389), were formidable biblical scholars and spiritual writers but most important for their participation in the Trinitarian and Christological struggles of the age.
2. John Chrysostom ("Golden Throated") (347—407) was patriarch of Constantinople and a preacher of great skill and power. Above all, he charted the Christian moral life, going so far as to criticize the imperial court for immorality and setting a bad example.

III. In this age of great intellectual achievements, when the Church gained power and status in society, there were those who opted out, who turned their backs on the civic society of antiquity. These were the monks.
   A. There had always been an ascetic tradition in Judaism, early Christianity, and most religious traditions.
      1. There were people who believed that by rigorous self-denial and discipline, it might be possible to gain virtual union with God.
      2. Sometimes, these were solitaries and, sometimes, they lived in community.
   B. Christian monasticism rose in fourth-century Egypt.
      1. Anthony (25 1?—356) was a solitary and established the eremitic ideal (from *heremos,* desert).
      2. Pachomius (290-346) began as a solitary, then created the first communities, men and, later, women, living the cenobitic life (from *koinos bios,* meaning "common life").
   C. Monks are, therefore, *monachoi,* "lone ones," who live in a *monasterion,* a "monastery." Especially after Pachomius, they follow a Rule *(regula)* and are called "regulars."
   D. From Egypt, monasticism spread for several reasons:
      1. A *Life* of St. Anthony that became a late antique bestseller.
      2. Collections of wise sayings and teachings of the "desert fathers."
      3. Popularization by Jerome's writings.
      4. People who traveled to Egypt to sit at the feet of great religious masters.
   E. Eremitic monasticism spread in the eastern Mediterranean through the work of St. Basil, whose Rule was normative for centuries.

   F. Eremitic monasticism originally got a foothold in Gaul through St. Martin (c. 336-397) at Tours and St. Honoratus (c. 350—429) at Lérins. This form spread in Ireland through the work of St. Patrick (390?— 460?).
   G. In the West, the future belonged to St. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480—c. 550). He came from a modest Roman family, then abandoned secular studies to pursue a life of Christian retreat and virtue. Eventually, a community gathered at Monte Cassino, where in about 540, he wrote what has become the most famous and widely adopted Rule in all of monastic history.
      1. Benedict composed his Rule for his own monastery, but Pope Gregory I admired it and popularized it, and Benedict, with a biography.
      2. Benedict's Rule was particularly prized in early England, and English missionaries promoted it on the continent.
      3. Anglo-Saxons influenced the Franks, whose greatest king, Charlemagne, imposed the Benedictine Rule on all monasteries.

IV. How did Christianity affect culture and life?
   A. Christians continued to use Latin and Greek and, thus, assured the preservation of these languages while enriching them with new vocabulary and conceptual frameworks.

1. One should not press too hard the famous thesis of Adolf von Harnack that classical culture captured Christianity.
2. Christians knew how to "spoil the Egyptians."

B. Christian patronage put an end to the building bust of the third-century world and created a new and dynamic architecture.

C. Christian art spread widely and found creative ways to reinterpret classical motifs and styles while adding new ones.

D.

E.

Christian poets carried on the classical tradition.

By assigning power to celibate men, Christianity created a new kind of society that also was a "democracy of sin."

F. Christian martyrs and saints created a new kind of hero-figure.

G. A new morality assured women a more secure place in society.

H. Slowly but surely, Christian ethics pervaded secular law.

V. In the lands that had been the western provinces of the Roman Empire, we see that power had come to be shared between Germanic warrior elites and urban bishops. The rich were still, as for centuries, landowners. Much of the cultural landscape still looked classical, but in fact, the dominant cultural orientation had become Christian. Europe's Middle Ages were dawning, although no one really recognized this at the time.

Essential Reading:

Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* and *Cult of the Saints.*

Chitty, *The Desert a City.*

Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity.*

Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture.*

Markus, *The End of Ancient Christian itv.*

Recommended Reading:

Augustine, *Confessions.*

Brown, *Augustine.*

Kelly, *Jerome.*

McLynn, *Ambrose.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Why do those who opt out always exert such a powerful magnetic pull on the societies they have left behind?

2. Review and assess some of the ways in which Christianity altered the patterns of life in the Roman world.

Lecture Twenty-Nine

Muhammad and Islam

Scope: This lecture inaugurates a set of three that explores the world after Rome. We begin with the least predictable of Rome's heirs: the Islamic faith and the Arab peoples. We will start with a look at the Arabian peninsula and the Arab peoples before Muhammad, then consider the life and teachings of the prophet. We'll talk about the Quran, the revelations of Allah communicated by Muhammad, and the *sunna,* the "good practice" of the prophet and his sayings, captured in the later *hadith.* Then, we will explore the creation of the vast caliphate, the Islamic Empire under the caliphs, the "commanders of the faithful." We will explore how the caliphate was created, why it experienced political convulsions in 661 and 750, and why it eventually dwindled away as a unified political force. We will conclude with a look at early Islamic culture, its debts to Greece and Rome, and its contribution to the West.

Outline

The world of late antiquity produced three heirs: the Islamic world, the Byzantine Empire, and the Germanic West. This lecture examines the first of these.

A. The Islamic world was the least predictable of the three as an heir for anyone looking at the ancient world.
B. Arabia was large, turbulent, and contested among various powerful neighbors, chiefly, the eastern Roman Empire and the Persians.
C. The area was subject to a wide array of influences from neighbors and from both Christianity and Judaism.

D. But the Arab lands had never been fully conquered by anyone; therefore, autonomous development was important, too.

II. A key moment can be found in the career of the prophet Muhammad (570— 632).

A. Muhammad came from an old, wealthy, and well-connected Meccan family. He entered the caravan trade as a young man and earned a reputation for probity. He married Khadijah, a widow some years older than he.
B. As a young man, he began to retire to the hills and caves outside Mecca, where he received a revelation from Allah.
C. He was soon preaching a new monotheist, ethical, and exclusive faith that galvanized followers.
    1. His teachings were contrary to traditional Arab religion.
    2. His teachings also threatened the privileged status of the *ka'aba,* a shrine in Mecca visited by pilgrims from all over the Arab world.
D. Facing grave problems in Mecca, Muhammad and a few followers departed for Medinah in 622, an event remembered as the Hijra (622), the beginning of the temporal era for the world made by Muhammad and his followers.

III. The basic teachings of Muhammad are contained in the Quran, *hadith,* and *sunna.*

A. The Quran constitutes the scriptures of Islam (defined just below). They are ~'recitations," not interpretations, and Muhammad is not the "author."
B. The *hadith* are collections of Muhammad's own sayings.
C. The *sunna* is, in effect, the "good practice," the customs of Muhammad himself.

D. Taken together, these teachings add up to a faith with just a few basic requirements.
   1. First and foremost, people had to make *al-Islam*, the ~~surrender" to Allah. Those who had made *al-Islam* were Muslims.
   2. The essential requirements are usually called the Five Pillars. These are a profession of faith ("There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet"); fasting (especially during the month of Ramadan); prayer (five times daily facing Mecca and, if possible. Friday in a mosque); generous almsgiving; and at least once in one's lifetime a pilgrimage to Mecca.
   3. The faith is one of "orthopraxy" more than "orthodoxy."
   4. The critical idea is the Umma Muslima—the community of all those who had made *al-Islani*.

IV. On Muhammad's death, his old associate Abu Bakr became *caliph*, or "successor to the prophet."
   A. Abu Bakr fought wars against "apostates" (632—634). These were people in Arabia who felt that their loyalty died with Muhammad.
   B. Then, he and his successors fought lightning campaigns that, in just over a century, brought Muslim armies to central Gaul in the West and to the frontiers of China in the East.
   C. It is possible to identify some reasons for this astonishing military success.
      1. Constantinople and Persia had worn themselves out in a series of wars.
      2. There were deep religious divisions in the eastern Mediterranean going back to the patristic era.
      3. Raiding and plundering had been a way of life in Arabia for centuries before Islam prohibited Muslims from raiding one another.
      4. The prophet himself taught the need to expand the faith: *jihad*.
   D. In 661, a new family of caliphs emerged, the Umayyads.
      1. They were soldiers from Syria who settled down to building the basic institutions of the caliphate.
      2. They moved the capital to Damascus.
   E. In 750, another change took place; the Abbasids came to power.
      1. These were ordinary soldiers and peoples from the frontiers.
      2. They moved the capital to a newly founded city, Baghdad.
      3. This was a period of brilliant cultural achievements. The caliphs were great patrons of scholars, and Muslim scholars began to tackle the massive Greek corpus of learning, especially the philosophical and scientific works.
   F. Eventually, the caliphate began breaking up. Spain fell away in 750; Egypt and much of North Africa, in the ninth century.
      1. The once mighty Arab army was increasingly made up of uncontrollable Turkish mercenaries.
      2. The Abbasids ruled nominally until 1258.

V. What had been achieved in a remarkably short time was a newly dominant people, a new universal faith, a new chosen people, a new holy book, and a culture deeply rooted in antiquity.

Essential Reading:
Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph.*
Denny, *An Introduction to Islam.*

Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates.*

Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society.*

Von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam.*

Questions to Consider:

1. How does Islam compare with Judaism and Christianity? Note similarities and differences.
2. Compare the emergence of the caliphate with that of the Roman Empire.

Lecture Thirty

The Birth of Byzantium

Scope: In about 330, Constantine refurbished an old Greek town, Byzantium; made it the eastern capital of the Roman Empire; and renamed it after himself: Constantine's polis, or Constantinople. That city gave its name to a thousand-year extension of Roman history that scholars call '~Byzantine" but that contemporaries always and only called ~'Roman." We'll look at how Roman imperial institutions were several times reformed until a distinctive regime was created. We will discuss the slow emergence of Orthodox Christianity and the dawning awareness that Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy were different. Finally, we'll discuss the elaboration of a Greek culture that derived its core from both classical antiquity and Christianity. In short, we will examine Byzantium as a distinctive component of Western civilization.

Outline

The second of Rome's heirs is Byzantium.

A.

As the western Roman Empire evolved into a series of kingdoms in the fifth century, the eastern empire persisted.

1. Fewer and less acute frontier problems challenged the rulers.
2. Generally, the eastern rulers were more skillful and competent.
3. The east was more prosperous, urbanized, and intellectually cultivated.
4. But there were deep religious divisions because of large monophysite communities.

B. No one in the fifth century thought of the empire based on Constantinople as anything but Roman. Only in hindsight can we see that the two cultural realms were drifting apart.

II. East Rome in the age of Justinian (527—565) provides some hints of the new directions.

A. Justinian waged wars against the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths in an attempt, vain as it turned out, to recover Rome's lost western provinces. *We* can see that Constantinople's sphere of influence was effectively reduced to the east.

B. The imperial administration and finances were massively reformed, the first such comprehensive undertaking since Diocletian. *We* can see that a new

kind of regime with an even less civilian character was emerging.

C. Justinian issued the Corpus Iuris Civilis (529—533: Tribonian as chief legist) in Latin as a major analysis, organization, and updating of Roman law, but it had to be translated into Greek to be useful. *We* can see that Roman would not mean Latin.

I). The Ecumenical Council of 553 was called to attempt to deal with monophysitism, and Rome and the western bishops were largely ignored. *We* can see that the east was going its own way in matters of theology.

E. In building Hagia Sophia (Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles, two mathematicians, were the chief architects), Justinian created a church that made nods in the direction of traditional Roman architecture but that was, on balance, something new. *We* can see the evolution of east Rome

III. If we fast-forward to east Rome in the Age of Heraclius (610-641), we can see an accentuation of the changes evident in the age of Justinian.

A. The military policies of the Roman state were now oriented differently.

1. Wars against Persians and Muslims showed that the eastern frontier was critical.
2. Wars in the Balkans against Slays and Bulgars showed that the northern frontier was critical.
3. Little attention was paid to the west–apart from Italy, none at all.

B. Heraclius laid the beginnings of *theme* system.

1. Soldiers were settled on the land and led in local contingents by military officers who answered up a hierarchy to *strategoi.* These were no longer citizen soldiers recruited and trained by the state and paid out of tax revenue.
2. This system continued to evolve for centuries and was a natural extension of the increasing combination of civil and military authority in the hands of individual officials.

C. Heraclius and his successors called themselves "Basileus ton Romaion." This means "emperor of the Romans." That's traditional enough, but they did so in Greek, not Latin. Official acts were rarely issued in Latin any longer.

IV. Byzantium in the age of Leo III (7 17—741) and Constantine V (741—775), the Isaurian dynasty, shows the degree to which changes had seated themselves permanently.

A. Wars were fought exclusively in Anatolia and the Balkans.

B. Italy was no more than a source of conflicts with Italians and popes.

C. Elaboration of the *theme* system continued unabated.

D. Leo III issued a new law code, the *Ekloga* (c. 726), that was deliberately a summary of the Corpus Iuris Civilis.

E. Distinctive religious customs now marked sharp differences between east and west. It is possible to speak of Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic (although as yet neither side admitted or desired a rupture).

1. Byzantine priests could marry.
2. The Byzantine church used leavened bread in the Eucharist.
3. Byzantine monks were tonsured differently than those in the west.
4. Icons—despite a harsh but sort-lived reaction against them—came to play a critical role in worship.

F. It seems safe to say that we can now speak of Byzantium and Byzantine (although *they* continued to say ~'Roman").

V. In 867, with Basil I, the Byzantines got a new dynasty of rulers: the Macedonians.

A. They tended to be capable soldiers who secured the northern Balkans and, for a time, even rolled back the Muslim advance into Anatolia.

B. They practiced clever missionary and diplomatic policies that won eastern Europe and incipient Russia for Orthodoxy.
C. They promoted learning but always in Greek and in continuation of the Greek tradition.

VI. We see also in Byzantium, a universal faith, a new chosen people, a foundational holy book, and an orientation toward classical culture.

Essential Reading:

Browning, *Justinian and Theodora*.

Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*.

Obolensky, *Byzantium and the Slays*.

Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Granted that Byzantium owed more to the Roman past than the caliphate did, can you compare the two historical newcomers in terms of the degree of their indebtedness to the past? In what ways were these historical siblings alike? In what ways, different?
2. Thinking about the period from Constantine to Basil, when would you say that there is something present that is clearly *Byzantine?*

Lecture Thirty-One

Barbarian Kingdoms in the West

Scope: This lecture will look at the kingdoms that emerged inside the frontiers of the old Roman world—chiefly, those of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons—and those that emerged outside Rome's reach—the Celtic and Slavic realms. We will ask what these kingdoms had in common; what they owed, or did not owe, to Rome; how Christianity and the Catholic Church influenced them; and finally, why some of them succeeded while others failed. We will talk about basic institutions, law, social structures, ideology, and political behavior. This lecture lays the groundwork for most of our remaining lectures, which focus on the western European world.

Outline

The period from 500 to 750 saw transformation of the Germanic West:
Some kingdoms failed and others proved durable; the lands of Europe were
Christianized. In Latin traditions, a cultural blend of classical, Christian, and
Germanic elements formed.

A. The early Mediterranean-centered kingdoms failed.
   1. The Vandals were militant Arians, tyrannical, pirates in the western Mediterranean, and finally, defeated by Justinian in 532—534.
   2. The Ostrogoths, although Arians, were promising under Theodoric (493—526) and blended with Roman society. But they fell to Justinian's wars of reconquest (535—555).
   3. For the Visigoths, the legacy of their defeat by the Franks, Justinian's attack, Arianism (until 589), and political disunity left them in a weakened state, and they fell to Muslim invaders from North Africa in 711—716.
   4. The Lombards entered Italy in 568—569 in the wake of the Ostrogothic defeat. The Byzantines did not accept them (although they did little about them), but the popes opposed bitterly their attempts to extend rule all over Italy and, until about 680, their Arianism. Finally, the popes turned to the Franks, who defeated the Lombards in 755, 756, and 773—774.

B. The future was left, in a sense by default, to the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks.

C. The Anglo-Saxons were many peoples who entered Britain circa 450— 600 in the wake of the Roman withdrawal.
   1. They built several small kingdoms (traditions speak of the '~heptarchy") that competed with one another.
   2. The most effective kingdoms were those that were capably led and had room to expand: Kent and Northumbria, initially; then Wessex; and finally, Mercia.
   3. Kings ruled from impressive wooden halls, used scepters, and issued coins, laws, and documents.
   4. A few documents speak of *bretwaldas* ("Broad-wielders," or perhaps, "Britain-wielders"), and some scholars take this to be evidence of an awareness of political unity long before it really existed.
   5. Offa of Mercia (757—796) was the first to call himself~~~King of the English," but in truth, it is hard to know what he meant by this.
   6. Kings maintained widespread commercial relations, as we can see from the fantastic ship burial at Sutton Hoo discovered in 1939.

D. The Franks were a confederation of peoples whom the Romans first encountered along the Rhine in the 250s. Rome made treaties with them, and they played an important role in the history of northern Gaul.
   1. Gradually, the Franks moved—by slow agricultural expansion— across modem Holland and Belgium into what is now France.
   2. The Franks expanded against their neighbors, defeating the Visigoths and driving them into Spain and conquering the Burgundians. They also expanded along, and to the east of, the Rhine.
   3. Franks blended with Gallo-Romans, especially through intermarriage.
   4. The Franks converted from paganism to Catholicism (although some leaders may have had a brief flirtation with Arianism).
   5. From the late fifth century, Frankish leaders allied with the leading churchmen, abbots and bishops.
   6. The Franks maintained Roman traditions of rule: The official language was Latin; wills and laws were issued; courts were held.
   7. Clovis (486-511), the greatest of the Merovingians, divided his kingdom among his sons; thereafter, there were usually three sub-kingdoms: Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy.
   8. Frequent strife among the Merovingians led to aristocratic leadership. The greatest of these aristocratic families was the Carolingian, the family that eventually produced Charlemagne (next lecture!).

E. Ireland's political evolution was embryonic, with literally dozens of tiny kingdoms on the island.

F. No clear movement toward larger political entities, let alone kingdoms, was evident in Wales or Scotland by 800.

II. The second great development of the years from about 500 to about 750 was the development of the Catholic Church.

A. In Rome, the popes gradually turned away from the Mediterranean world and entered into relationships with the emerging political leaders of Western Europe.

1. Popes continued to build their institutional leadership in central Italy—the papal state.
2. Popes became great patrons of art and learning in and around Rome.

B. Bishops remained important local leaders.
1. As new kingdoms grew, more bishoprics were created. In the Frankish world, this meant east of the Rhine. In Britain, this meant first Canterbury and York, then a whole network.
2. Bishops coming together in councils could legislate for their whole realms long before kings could do so.
3. Bishops became key advisers to kings.

C. Monasteries spread all across Europe.
1. Monks played a key role in converting the people of the countryside.
2. Many missionaries were Irish or Anglo-Saxon monks who traveled far to preach and teach.
3. Monasteries were often important centers of learning.

III. A new cultural life began to manifest itself across Europe.
A. Exuberant decorative motifs entered art with the Celts and AngloSaxons.
B. Schools were generally located in monasteries or, sometimes, at cathedrals (from *cathedra*, meaning "seat"; a cathedral is the seat of a bishop).

C. Learning, based on the Bible and Church fathers, was intended to foster salvation, not bring pleasure or prepare people for jobs.
D. The greatest centers of education were in the north of England.
1. Lindisfame was a monastery with strong Irish connections that produced a gospel book, now in the British Library, that is a testament to biblical scholarship and a masterpiece of book art.
2. The greatest single figure was the Anglo-Saxon Bede (673—735), who in a lifetime at Wearmouth amid Janow, wrote history, biblical commentaries, theology, and books on time reckoning. He popularized **A.D.** dating.

IV. By about 750, there was another region with peoples professing a universal faith, looking to one holy book, thinking of themselves as a chosen people, and entertaining complex relationships with the classical tradition.
A. This shows us the shift of the center of power in the West from the south to the north.
B. We can see a volatile situation in the Mediterranean world.
C. We can see the evolution of the world of late antiquity into three kindred but distinct heirs of Rome.

Essential Reading:
Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion.*

McKitterick, ed., *The Early Middle Ages.*

Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West.*

Recommended Reading:
Bede, *A History of the English Church and People.*

Gregory of Tours, *The Histoty of the Franks.*

Questions to Consider:
1. What patterns of similarity and difference do you see in the historical development of the Islamic, Byzantine, and European worlds?
2. What long-term consequences do you discern in the roles of religion in forming Rome's heirs?

Lecture Thirty-Two

The World of Charlemagne

Scope: The family of Charlemagne—called Carolingian—created the largest European state to its time, the largest before Napoleon. How and why the family accomplished this will be one theme of this lecture. We will also speak of how Charlemagne tried to give institutional coherence to the lands of Western Europe. Why was Charlemagne crowned emperor in Rome in 800, and what did this mean? What do we really know about Charlemagne? (In fact, we know more than about any person who preceded him!) Why did the Carolingian Empire survive Charlemagne by only a generation? What is the significance of the Carolingian period in the total sweep of Western civilization?

Outline

Charlemagne was the greatest member of the Carolingian family, which arose in the early seventh century in Austrasia (northeastern Frankish kingdom).
- A. Initially, the family's power was based on vast landed patrtmonies.
- B. Creative marriage policies unified even more lands in the family's hands and built relationships with other powerful families.
- C. The Carolingians long controlled the office of Mayor of the Palace, sort of a prime minister to the Merovingian kings.
- D. They built up close relations to leading members of the clergy, both bishops and abbots.
- E. They waged military campaigns along frontiers that maintained the integrity of the kingdom. Charles Martel, for example, defeated a Muslim army near Poitiers in 733 and dramatically enhanced the prestige of his family.

II. In 751, the Carolingians finally took over the throne.
- A. Pippin III (751—768) wrote to Pope Zachary to ask if it was right that the person in Francia who had all the power lacked the title of king.
- B. Zachary needed help against the Lombards and told Pippin that he should be king.
- C. Pippin had already carefully prepared his usurpation with Frankish elites, but papal approval conferred additional legitimacy.
- D. Pippin ruled effectively for seventeen years and began rebuilding the prestige of the monarchy, which had suffered under the last Merovingians.

III. The reign of Charlemagne (768—814) marked a turning point in European history.
- A. He was a great but complex figure: moral and profligate, humane and vicious, barbarous and learned.
- B. His long reign provided many opportunities.
- C. His immense patronage brought key people to court, and he was a keen judge of people.
- D. Slowly, he worked out and implemented a coherent plan.

IV. The historical work of Charlemagne falls under several distinct heads.

A. His military campaigns helped to maintain the realm.
   1. He waged fifty-three campaigns in forty-six years.
   2. Charles rarely led armies himself. His great talent was organization, not generalship.
   3. Essentially, he restored the borders of the Merovingian kingdom while rounding off some frontiers.

B. Institutional developments involved both reform and innovation.
   1. He made the royal court and courtiers key players in both government and politics. He created the impression of wide consultation and consensus.
   2. Annual assemblies were held at which the Franks assented to royal initiatives.
   3. Capitularies—legislation in *capitula* ("chapters")—were issued at almost every assembly.
   4. Key members of the Frankish people were made royal vassals and, thus, entered into personal relationships with the king.
   5. *Missi dominici* were wandering envoys sent out to inspect the work of all other officers and report back in an effort to avoid dishonesty and oppression of the weak and poor.

C. Ecclesiastical developments took place on several fronts.
   1. A close alliance with the papacy was a hallmark of Carolingian history.
   2. An extension of the Church hierarchy followed closely on Charles's institutional reforms and military advances. He saw Church organization as a complement to, and even an advance on, political organization.
   3. His attempts to attain uniformity in canon law, liturgy and worship, and monastic practices went far toward achieving a common culture in Western Europe.

V. The imperial coronation of Charlemagne is one of the signal events in Western civilization.

B. It was also prepared by an emerging idea of a universal, imperial, hegeinonic tradition in Francia.

C. The events of Christmas Day 800 led to the creation of a ~~New Israel" in Erancia.
   1. By artfully altering St. Augustine's theology, Charlemagne's courtiers created a ~~political Augustinism" that served as the ideological foundation for the new regime.
   2. The idea of *Christendom* was born in Charlemagne's reign.

VI. The break-up of the Carolingian Empire was perhaps inevitable.

A. Internal factors included:
   1. Family rivalries among the sons and grandsons of Charlemagne tore the realm apart. These reached a culmination of sorts in the Treaty of Verdun in 843.
   2. The sheer complexity of the lands and peoples over which the Carolingians ruled made uniformity difficult. Still, we should be impressed with what they achieved.
   3. There was, over most of Europe, an absence of any tradition of unified rule.

B. External factors included:
   1. Viking, Muslim, and Magyar attacks that began in the middle years of the ninth century.
   2. The militarization and localization of society as responses to the unpredictable attacks forced people to fall back on locally available resources.
   3. Bonds between the center and the localities were slowly dissolved.

C. Still, the century of unified Carolingian rule went far toward stamping a

commo n historical and cultural imprint on Western Europe.

Essential Reading:
Collins, *Charlemagne*.

Riché, *The Carolingians* and *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne.*

Roesdahl, *The Vikings.*

Recommended Reading:
Einhard, *The Life of Charlenzagne*.

Questions to Consider:
1. Does Charles ~'the Great" appear to deserve his epithet?
2. Can you think of things the Carolingians might have done to stave off the dissolving tendencies of the ninth century'?

A. It was occasioned by problems in papal Rome.

Lecture Thirty-Three

The Carolingian Renaissance

Scope: In 1839, a French scholar spoke of "la renaissance carolingienne." What did he mean? Why have scholars persisted in speaking of a "renaissance" in the eighth and ninth centuries? This lecture will look at the basic curriculum of the Carolingian schools, the '~seven liberal arts," and ask what intellectual, ideological, and social purposes the schools served. We will look at the important and interesting topic of patronage, especially of royal patronage. We'll talk about poets, historians, and theologians. We will also look into Carolingian art and architecture. Our goals will be to discern what is distinctive about Carolingian culture, what the Carolingians owed to the Greco-Roman and Christian past, what the Carolingians bequeathed to the future, and how the Carolingians differed from their Muslim and Byzantine contemporaries.

Outline

As early as 1839, Jean-Jacques Ampere referred to "Ia renaissance carolingienne." He was writing a literary history of France. What can he have meant?

A.

One approach is to reflect on the terms *renaissance, reform,* and *revival* because each has been attached to the Carolingian period as a whole and to its cultural life.

B. Another approach is to inquire into the inspirations for Ca rolingian activity.
   I. The Bible was central—as a book, as a source of information, as a literary model.
   2. The Christian Roman Empire was important, too; that is, the empire of Constantine, not of Augustus.

3. The fathers of the Church were copied, studied, and transmitted by the Carolingians.
4. Classical texts and authors are more difficult to assess in terms of their influence.

C. Another approach is to emphasize that the movement—whatever we call it—was encouraged, supported, and financed by the Carolingian family. They gave it a coherence and impetus that it could not otherwise have had.

II. The development of schools and the provision of basic education was the first step.
A. The "seven liberal arts," the basic curriculum in antiquity, still fonned the basis of education.
1. These arts were grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music.
2. Alcuin divided these into the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the *quadrii'ium* (arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music). Thereafter, the former were the basic education and the latter, the advanced.
B. The school tradition on the Continent had not collapsed but was in serious disarray.
C. The Carolingians came into contact with Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent, especially Boniface, in the time of Charles Martel and Pippin III.
D. By the time Charles came to the throne, he attracted Alcuin (735—804), the greatest contemporary product of the Northurnbrian tradition started by Bede.
I. Alcuin became a friend and trusted adviser to Charlemagne.
2. He prepared theological works, biblical commentaries, poems, and letters. His works have sometimes been dismissed, unfairly, as elementary and unoriginal. But he was a teacher preparing basics.
3. Alcuin urged Charlemagne to insist that every monastery and cathedral have a school where even lay boys could be educated.
E. Charlemagne also brought in scholars from elsewhere in Europe. They were attracted by his vision and impressed by his commitment of resources.
1. Important grammarians came from Italy.
2. Specialists in theology and liturgy came from the Spanish borderlands.
F. The scholars who came brought books and sought out copies of books they already knew. Slowly, libraries were built up.
G. Many monasteries and cathedrals developed a *scriptorium,* a writing department where manuscripts were copied. As a measure of the work, we have some 180 manuscripts before 800 and more than 6,000 from the ninth century.

III. The movement had several conscious goals.
A. Enhancing the intellectual quality of members of the clergy to make them better preachers, better teachers, and less susceptible to heresy.
B. The Carolingian ide'al of rule derived from the Bible and Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule:* "ministerial kingship."
1. This held that office was a burden entrusted by God to his servants and to be exercised on his behalf. It did not bring rank, wealth, or prestige. One would be answerable for it. The clergy were to explain this.
2. ~'Secular sanctity" is a good name for the ideal preached to the laity. Carolingian teachers did not urge everybody to go off to a monastery. Instead, they were urged to be good, to be holy, to be saintly, in their current status and occupation. Christian ethics were to be taught.

IV. There were also several unexpected results.
A. Latin was improved from a technical point of view but, ironically, "killed," turned into a dead language. ~Jhe natural evolution of Latin was arrested; henceforth, Romance continued to evolve as a living language and Latin became a precisely fixed scholarly language.

B. Large amounts of Latin literature were produced, some of it of a very high quality.
   1. Several major figures were poets who had mastered classical meters, had a fine sense of theme and language, and could write with real feeling.
   2. Einhard (c. 770-840) wrote letters, saints' lives, and a biography of Charlemagne based on the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius. He also happened to be an accomplished architect.
   3. Theologians debated such questions as the meaning of baptism, the issue of predestination, and the proper role of religious images.

C. Between 768 and 855, 27 cathedrals, 417 monasteries, and 100 royal residences were built. Of this awesome productivity, not too much survives because buildings were rebuilt again and again.

D. Although most manuscripts were homely books with no images, the Carolingian period witnessed the production of several dozen surviving books—and, one supposes, many more—whose painted images are masterpieces of European art.
   1. Some of these were produced for the court, such as the great Bibles produced for Charlemagne.
   2. Many more books were produced in *scriptoria* at such places as Tours, where Alcuin was abbot for the last eight years of his life.

E. A figure such as Theodulf (c. 75(1-821) reveals many trends of the age.
   1. He came to court as a theologian to formulate the Frankish response to Byzantine views on religious art. He seems to have been the only significant Carolingian writer who knew Hebrew and who could, therefore, deal intelligently with the Old Testament.
   2. Charlemagne used him as a *missus* in the south of France.
   3. He was appointed bishop of Orleans and issued important legislation governing the life and activities of the clergy of his diocese.
   4. He almost single-handedly produced an edition of the Bible that remains a marvel of learning.
   5. He was perhaps the finest poet of his age.
   6. He designed a beautiful chapel at Germigny.

F. Theodulf may have been unusual, but versatility was a hallmark of the age.
   1. Hrabanus Maurus (776/784—856) was Alcuin's greatest pupil, a key adviser to Charlemagne's heirs, abbot of Fulda, Archbishop of Mainz, a poet, a biblical scholar, and an encyclopedist in the tradition of Pliny the Elder.
   2. Hincmar of Reims (806-862) was an archbishop, an adviser to kings, a historian, a theologian of some renown, and the greatest legal mind of the early Middle Ages.

V. The Carolingian period provided the basis for a common European culture, at least at the highest levels of society.
   A. This period also built Catholic Christianity into every aspect of life in Europe.
   B. At the most basic level, the Carolingians established the framework for European intellectual life until the emergence of the universities in the twelfth century.

Essential Reading:
McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture.*

Porcher, et al., eds., *The Carolingian Renaissance.*

Sullivan, ed., "*The Gentle Voices of Teachers.*"

Questions to Consider:
1. Do you think *-enaissance* is an apt word to use of the Carolingian period?
2. In what ways was the Bible formative and fundamental for the Carolingians?

Lecture Thirty-Four

The Expansion of Europe

Scope: In the ninth century, Europe was battered by Muslim, Magyar, and Viking attacks and invasions. By 1095, a confident, aggressive Europe struck out against its neighbors in a movement, the Crusades, that was sustained over two centuries. Political Europe expanded physically as new states emerged in the Celtic world, Scandinavia, and the Slavic lands. The European population grew as never before. The European economy achieved unprecedented levels of prosperity. New technologies were introduced. This lecture will focus on the material conditions of life between about 900 and 1300.

Outline

The period from 900 to 1300 was one of the longest eras of sustained growth in world history.

A. Growth was evident in almost every aspect of life.

B. This growth is the crucial background to political and cultural achievements of the period.

II. The first fundamental fact is long-term rise in population.

A. The increase began slowly in the Carolingian period, became most intense from 1050 to 1200, then slowed from 1200 to 1275, finally leveling off.

B. The evidence is qualitative, not quantitative, including larger families; people living longer; no plague or famine; warmer, drier climate; new land under cultivation; and better diet.

III. There was modest technological innovation and dissemination.

A. The Romans generally were not interested in technological gains.

B. Medieval people vastly expanded cereal production. How?
   1. Production was expanded through greater use of horses as draft animals.
   2. This necessitated better harnessing and virtually universalized the horseshoe.

C. The new heavy, wheeled plow, with an iron share, first introduced from the Slavic world in the Carolingian period, became more widely disseminated.

D. Water mills were widely used from the eleventh century.
   1. Mills demanded engineering gains in gearing.

2. Mills were imperative because of the increased availability of grain; this made more flour available for bread, the staple food.

E. Land began to be more efficiently used. The three-field system, a Carolingian-era innovation, spread to much of Europe.

F. With more land under the plow and a greater variety of crops, there was insurance against a season of bad weather.

G. There was a growing tendency to agricultural specialization. People and regions combined to produce what they were best suited to produce.

H. Improved roads and transport vehicles made it possible for more goods to travel farther and faster.

I. Agricultural gains in the countryside served to promote far-flung urban markets.

J. Church and secular governments worked to protect trade and traders; agricultural specialization was also a major impetus to trade.
   1. Trade was facilitated by fairs (as in the Champagne region); leagues of cities and ports; banking agencies; and contracts, partnerships, and insurance.
   2. Several vast commercial networks emerged in addition to intense local exchange: North and Baltic Seas; Danube Basin; Rhone-Saone route; Italian cities and eastern Mediterranean; Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean via caravan routes.

K. There were greater efficiencies in surface mining.
   1. This made available more iron and stone, which facilitated farming, warfare, and construction.
   2. Transport was crucial in this realm, as well.

IV. These factors put more money into circulation, facilitated economic specialization, and promoted the growth of towns.

A. Early medieval towns were usually seats of government or bishops' sees.

B. In the Carolingian period, many towns had faux-burgs or sub-urbs, where peddlers and part-time merchants gathered.

C. After 1100, townspeople were increasingly permanent and engaged in trade or industry (artisanal more than "heavy," apart from cloth).

I). Townspeople needed different things than the rural elites who dominated society and politics: peace, security, order, supplies of food, and raw materials:

V. Changed economic circumstances spawned reflections on the economy.

A. The condition of the poor became more evident.

B. Legislation and preaching turned against usury, the lending of money at interest.

C. Theologians and lawyers defined the concept of the "just price."

VI. Europe in what we call the High Middle Ages was dynamic and prosperous. Such widespread prosperity had not been evident since the Pax Romana.

Essential Reading:

Bartlett, *The Making of Europe.*

Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy.*

Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Consider the signs of economic growth discussed in this lecture and look for ways in which they are interrelated and interdependent.

2. Do the factors that generated urban growth in medieval Europe still sustain cities today?

Lecture Thirty-Five

The Chivalrous Society

Scope: An oft-quoted medieval maxim held that a society needed three kinds of men: those who fight, those who pray, and those who work. We'll use that notion to explore, first of all, the major groups of men. Those who fight are the nobles, the secular leaders of society, the ruling class. Because chivalry was their ethos, we will examine that concept. Those who pray are the clergy, the spiritual leaders, and for a long time, the intellectual elite. Those who work are the peasants, the farmers whose daily exertions made possible the lives of those who fought and prayed. We'll also consider those who were omitted from this tidy medieval scheme, including, of course, women, given that the scheme envisioned only men.

Outline

Who were the people involved in this expanding Europe?

A. King Alfred the Great said a kingdom needed men who fought, men who prayed, and men who worked.

B. This point of view led to conflicts about the natural leadership of society.
C. Some people were left out of this scheme, notably townsfolk and Jews.

D. The place of women was ambiguous in this society.

II. By those who fight, Alfred (and others) meant the nobility.

A. The nobility initially consisted of large, loosely structured families who held large tracts of land and monopolized offices.

B. By the eleventh century, families began to practice primogeniture *(prtmus genitus* means "first born") and to form into lineages.

C. Such families worked to create compact blocks of land and sometimes took their names fromlands or castles.

D. There were always several levels of nobles.
   1. The truly great (royal families at the top) who could operate on a kingdom-wide scale.
   2. The families of largely local power and influence.
   3. Ordinary knights, who often had to struggle to find a lord, a bride, an office, or an estate.

E. The nobility was basically the governing class of Europe. They monopolized office holding in both Church and state until kings could bring others into service.

F. The nobility had a specific ethos: chivalry.
   1. The word *(chevalerie,* that is) comes from *cheval* (horse) and meant, basically, "horsiness"—conduct becoming men who ride horses.

2. More specifically, chivalry was a code of conduct for a warrior aristocracy, not rules governing relations between the sexes.
3. The code laid stress on prowess, courage, loyalty, and generosity.
4. One encounters the code in literary works, such as *The Song of Roland* (c. 1100). This poem is full of medieval "guy stuff."

III. Those who pray were the clergy of the medieval church.

A.

B.

C.

There were quarrels over whether monks or bishops should lead society, which order was the holier and stood nearer to God. Clergy members everywhere were, increasingly, aristocratic. The clergy was not a dumping ground for unwanted children.

1. Clerical office brought prestige, a secure life, education, a decent diet, and better housing.
2. Convents provided opportunities for women to live free of male domination and to have the amenities they might otherwise have missed.

D. The clergy shared in governing society.
   1. The clergy often played a role in defining the ideology that was dominant in any period.
   2. Clerics had excellent social and institutional connections; they came, after all, from the same families as the public office holders.
   3. The clergy shared the culture, values, and outlook of the nobility. The worldly clerics of medieval literature are not caricatures or exaggerations.

E. Clerical society was hierarchical: pope, bishops, priests. The clergy promoted hierarchical ideas in society, which tended to reinforce aristocratic ideas of rank and status.

F. The clergy constantly sought to reform itself and the wider society.
   1. In 910 in Burgundy, the monastery of Cluny was founded to be free of all lay control.
   2. From Gorze, Hirsau, Fleury, Worcester, and other places, reforms spread all over Europe and influenced both clergy and laity.
   3. Sometimes, reformers called for abandonment of the world and "freedom" for the Church; sometimes, they called for active engagement.
   4. In the twelfth century, the Cistercians, from a strict monastery at Citeaux, tried to create a purer Benedictine ideal. They thought the Cluniacs had grown too worldly and lax in their monastic life. The Cistercians were greatly facilitated by St. Bernard (d. 1153), whom we will meet again in a later lecture as one of the great intellectual figures of the twelfth century.
   5. There were also eremitic monks and communities, especially in Italy but also in rural France and England.
   6. Regular canons sought to reform cathedral clergy and to make their life more like that of monks, even though they were not cloistered.
   7. Military orders, most prominently Templars and Hospitallers, were a curious sign of the times.
   8. The ~~mendicant" (begging) orders were crucial, too. Most prominent were those of St. Francis (1181/1182—1226) and St. Dominic (1170-1221).

G. The clergy sought to promote its own idea of a perfect layman: *Miles Christi—the* "Soldier of Christ." This was another species of chivalry.
   1. In the turbulent tenth century, the clergy promoted the Peace of God and Truce of God.
   2. These were movements aimed at limiting the incidence of violence in society.

H. Finally, members of the clergy played other crucial roles, as well.
   1. They led the worship of the church and, thus, brought ordinary people face to face with their religion and their God.
   2. As we saw in the last lecture, the clergy began to speak on great social issues, such as poverty and wealth.

3. Clergy were, for the most part, teachers in schools.
4. Clergy officiated at the decisive moments of people's lives: baptism, marriage, death.

IV. Those who work were, in the tripartite scheme, peasants, that is, farmers. In this reckoning, only those who worked the land truly worked.

A. There was a tremendous variation from slaves (especially in frontier regions) to well-off free farmers.

B. The period from 900 to 1100 saw an increasing concentration of rural populations near castles.
1. The presence of water, wood, iron, a church, and a cemetery anchored populations in one spot.
2. The power of local notables-who were consolidating their holdings—more easily reduced people to subordination.

C. People lived in communities we usually call "manors."
1. Again, there was tremendous local variation in how manors were set up and operated.
2. Basically a manor was a ~'bipartite" estate: One part of the estate directly benefited the aristocratic holder of the land, and one part of the estate benefited the people who lived and worked there.
3. The point of the system was to free important laymen for the duties of ruling.

I). The growing prosperity of high medieval Europe produced major changes in some areas.
1. Personal services were sometimes comnmuted into cash payments. Aristocrats wanted disposable money to buy the fine things that merchants were making available.
2. More serfs became free in France and England than elsewhere.
3. Peasants began banding together to enforce "customs": These were regulations governing the operation of a manor and, in prosperous times, were often shifted to benefit the peasants.

E. The village community was the locus of life for a majority of the population.
1. People worked 250 to 270 days per year; there was a good deal of free time and time for celebration.
2. Peasant villagers shared routines of work, worship, celebration, market, and court.

V. In Europe in the High Middle Ages, the traditional order of European society, the order that persisted until the French Revolution, took shape.

Essential Reading:

Bisson, ed., *Cultures of Power.*

Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave, and Noble.*

Bridenthal, et at., eds., *Becoming Visible,* chs. 4 and 5.
Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century.*

Glick, *Abraham's Heirs.*

Rösener, *Peasants in the Middle Ages.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Think about all the roles played by the clergy in medieval society and ask yourself who plays those roles today.
2. Medieval society was hierarchical in every way. How many examples can you think of?

Lecture Thirty-Six

Medieval Political Traditions I

Scope: In 1066, a Norman duke conquered England. In 1154, an Angevin count became king of England. In 1204, France's king seized most of England's French possessions and, throughout the thirteenth century, France and England contested a wide swath of territories. The histories of England and France are inextricably bound together. This lecture will look at relations between the two realms but will devote more time to building an understanding of the two different kinds of governmental and legal systems that emerged in each. In sum, England built stable institutions and France built a powerful monarchy. We'll also discuss feudalism, one of the great bugaboos of medieval history (actually, we'll talk about why historians almost never talk about it any more).

Outline

In this lecture and the next one, we will explore several central themes in medieval European political development. This lecture focuses particularly on England and France, while the next one will took at Ireland, Iberia, Italy, and Germany.

A. The first critical theme that we will follow is the development of—or the failure to develop—the territorial integrity of the state.

B. The second theme is the elaboration of—or the failure to elaborate—effective central institutions of government.

C. A third theme is the expansion of government activity.

1. This can mean the emergence of new states along the frontiers of the old Carolingian world.

2. Or it can mean the growing size, complexity, and sophistication of governmental institutions within particular states.

D. A fourth, and somewhat less prominent, theme is a look at changes in the governing classes.

II. England survived several conquests, foreign entanglements, and dynastic instability to create a well-defined state.

A.

England is relatively small and more homogeneous than other European states. This made coherent development somewhat easier than elsewhere but, by no means, inevitable.

B. As we saw, the little kingdoms of the "heptarchy" often produced one leading member but never a truly national monarchy.

C. Then, England had a long and complex encounter with the Vikings.

1. The first attack was at Lindisfarne in 793.
2. Sporadic attacks took place down to 865, when the ~'Great Army," having been defeated in France, attacked and began the conquest of England.
3. Alfred the Great (87 1—899) began an English rally in Wessex and, by the time of his death, had moved the Viking—mainly Danish—frontier to the Thames valley.
4. Through the first half of the tenth century, Alfred's successors continued to move the frontier farther and farther north into the Danelaw—4he part of England under Scandinavian control and centered on Jorvik (=York).

D. In the late tenth century, political consolidation in Scandinavia led freebooting warriors to attack England again.

1. England was conquered in 1014 by Swein Forkbeard who was succeeded by his son Cnut in 1016.

2. Cnut reigned until 1035 and was succeeded by his sons until 1042, when the son of the last Anglo-Saxon king returned.

E. Edward the Confessor (1042—1066) had no heir and seems at different times to have recognized the claims of Harold of Wessex, the leader of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and of William the Bastard, the duke of Normandy. Harald Hardrada, the king of Denmark, claimed England in succession to Cnut.

1. Harold Wessex defeated Harald Hardrada, only to be defeated in turn by Duke William at Hastings in 1066.
2. William's was the famous "Norman conquest, but it is important to see it as the culmination of two and a half centuries of Norman (that is, Northmen) attacks.
3. William retained Normandy when he conquered England. This ushered in a centuries-long English territorial involvement with France.

F. William was succeeded by two sons in succession, but the second, Henry 1(1100-1135), died without a male heir (the Anglo-Norman elite would not accept his daughter).

1. Thus, a grandson of William the Conqueror on the French side was chosen, Stephen 1(1135—1154), but he, too, died heirless.

2. In 1154, Henry 11 became king. He was the son of Henry I's daughter and the Count of AnjoD. He had also married Eleanor of Aquitaine.
3. The accession of Henry II created the "Angevin Empire": The king of England had a controlling interest in sixty percent of France.

G. Henry was succeeded by his sons, Richard Lionheart (1189—1199) and John (1199—1216). John, called by some contemporaries "Softsword" and '~Lack1and," went to war with King Philip II of France and lost. At a gulp, France swallowed up most of England's continental holdings.

H. For the next three centuries, En gland and France repeatedly squabbled over their competing claims to various bits of France.

I. Through all of this, however, the basic shape of England did not change, although the English kings pressed claims to overlordship in Wales and Scotland without actually taking over either region.

III. The situation in France is somewhat simpler to describe.

A. The last Carolingians and, after 987, their Capetian successors began by controlling not much more than the Paris basin—the Ile-de-France.

B. The Ile-de-France was strategically situated, and the early Capetians were clever at governing it well.

C. When French princes started involving themselves in English affairs, the Capetian kings meddled effectively in their Continental holdings, creating expensive and troublesome distractions.

D. Then, Philip 11(1180-1223) defeated John and secured a large portion of France.

E. As the thirteenth century wore on, the French monarchy extended its authority in the southeast by leading or promoting campaigns against religious heretics centered on the town of Albi.

IV. Despite military and dynastic turmoil, the core of England was well, and remarkably consistently, governed.

A. Conquerors did not come to plunder and destroy but to rule (and perhaps, indeed, to profit from ruling).

B. England's Anglo-Saxon kings already had some important centralizing tools at their disposal.

1. Key nobles, *thegns,* came to court, provided advice, and received appointments.
2. Local officials—the shire reeves *(*= sheriffs)—were royal appointees.
3. Kings could summon all free men to serve in the militia.
4. Kings could always collect some taxes and, during the Viking period, they extended this prerogative with danegelds—literally, ~~Dane money"—taxes collected to buy off the Danes when it was inopportune to fight them.

C. William the Conqueror and his successors retained and advanced this system.
1. William conducted the Domesday survey in 1087 to find out the wealth and resources of his new kingdom.
2. Henry I began the long evolution of the Exchequer, the chief financial branch of the royal government.
3. Henry also began sending out "itinerant justices" who, in effect, extended the royal court throughout the realm.

4. Henry II vastly increased the scope and quality of the royal courts, gradually drawing in most nontrivial business. This laid the foundations for a "common law."

D. By the time of King John, the English barons were distressed at the evolution of royal institutions over which they had little control.
1. They forced John to sign the Magna Carla in 1215.
2. This document insisted that the king was not above the law and demanded that the king cease abusing "feudalism."

E. It was long assumed that one could easily speak of medieval government in terms of a tidy "feudal pyramid." The king stood at the top. He had vassals, who had vassals, and so on, right on down to the lowest knights.
1. There were lords and vassals. Vassals did indeed swear homage and fealty; agreed to provide *auxilium et consilium* (aid [usually military servicel and advice); and received, in return, something of value (often a fief *[feudum* in Latin, whence "feudalism"l), plus moral and legal protection from a more powerful person.
2. It is also true that feudalism played a role in governance: Royal vassals performed imp ortant jobs; John had outrageously abused his feudal prerogatives.
3. But there never was a system: Not all vassals had fiefs; not all royal officers were vassals.

F. In thirteenth-century England, there were two great political and institutional questions: How can political decisions be made without recourse to violence? Who gets to participate in decision making?
1. It was always assumed that the king would take advice in his council.
2. Great barons tried in vain to control the council.
3. Then, in 1265 and 1295, meetings were held in which powerful nobles and the higher members of the clergy, as well as prominent but not necessarily aristocratic local men, met to talk *together—parliament* in the then-dominant French.
4. Thus, somewhat accidentally, a great institution was born. But it was not yet clear what its powers were, who would attend, or how often it would meet.
5. But the point had been made that there was a "community of the realm" consisting of the king's "natural advisers" that was to have a share in governing.

V. Had we looked a little more closely at the household of the English kings, we would have detected the extension of personal, domestic responsibilities to the kingdom as a whole. This is also true for France.

A. An officer kept the king's treasure, initially a chest in his bedchamber. This was the origin of the treasury that kept the revenues of the kingdom as distinct from the personal income of the monarch.

B. The king had clerics who handled his correspondence and prepared fonnal documents. Gradually, some of these men became less personal servants of the king than public officers of the realm. They made the chancery.

C. The transport officer of the royal household—4he *comes stabuli* (whence ~~constable")—gradually became a military and police officer.

D. One could go on like this, deriving the offices of state from the household.
E. In France, the question was over what territories would this system extend. Initially, the kings ruled little more than the Ile-de-France, but we have seen how the kings gained more and more territory.
F. One great advantage for France was that a dynasty arose in 987 and ruled until 1328. This provided great continuity and stability. And in St. Louis (Louis IX 1226-1270), the family produced a revered saint of the Church.
G. The innovation in the French system was that after lands were conquered from the English, the French kings either assigned them in large chunks (called *appanages)* to members of the royal family or introduced direct royal officials into them.
H. This means, in effect, that French kings used non-feudal policies as soon as they were strong enough to do so.
I. The result of French policy was that royal government was stronger than in England because, in England, a significant local elite had existed and played key roles since Anglo-Saxon times.
J. But France is large and ethnically, socially, and economically complex; therefore, it was less cohesive than England.

VI. England and France were quite different, but each had developed essentially the modern territorial limits of its state and an effective central government. This shows us two models of government. We should not assume either of them to be the normative situation in Europe.

Essential Reading:
Abels, *Alfred the Great.*

Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus.*
Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England.*

Hull, *Magna Carta*.

Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals.*

Van Caenegem, *The Birth of the English Common Law*.

Questions to Consider:

1. War played an important role in the development of both England and France. Compare its varying effects in each realm.
2. In the seventeenth century, an English Parliament executed a king while a king of France said, "I am the state." Can you see the roots of those two very different situations in the thirteenth century?

Biographical Notes

Abelard, Peter (1079—1142). Philosopher, poet, theologian, lover of Heloise.

Abraham. Hebrew patriarch who, in the early second millennium **B.C.,** moved from Ur to Palestine.

Aeneas. Central figure in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Aeschylus (525—456 **B.C.).** First author of tragedies whose works survive. His *Oresteia* is the only surviving trilogy.

Alcuin (735—804). Anglo-Saxon scholar, product of Bede's (q.v.) intellectual revival in Northumbria, who came to Charlemagne's court circa 786 and promoted intellectual reforms. Abbot of Tours from 796 to 804.

Alexander the Great (356-322 **B.C.).** King of Macedon (336-322) after his father, Philip II, led military campaigns that defeated the Persian Empire and extended Greek influence into central Asia.

Alfonso da Albuquerque (1453—15 15). Portuguese sea captain and soldier who created naval bases in the Indian Ocean region to facilitate Portuguese trade.

Alfred the Great. Anglo-Saxon king (r. 87 1—899) who rallied the people of southern England after Viking attacks, laid the foundations for English recovery, and fostered an intellectual revival.

Ambrose (339—397). High-born citizen of Milan who became bishop of the city and wrote extensively, bringing to Latin theology the conceptual frameworks of Greek thought. Church father.

Aneirin (fl. c. 600). British poet, author of *Gododdin,* an account of the AngloS axon defeat of the Picts at Catterick.

Anselm (1033—1109). Monk, philosopher, greatest logician since antiquity, theologian, archbishop of Canterbury.

Anthony (25 1 [?]—356). Egyptian solitary who established the ideals of *eremitic* (solitary) monasticism.

Apollonius of Rhodes (born c. 295 **B.C.).** Alexandrian scholar and author best known for *Argonautica,* in which Jason and his argonauts go in search of the golden fleece.

Archimedes (287—212 **B.C.).** Hellenistic scientist and inventor.

Aristarchus. First formulated the "heliocentric" theory (that the earth revolves around the sun, which is at the center of the "universe") circa 275 **B.C.**

~ristotle (384—322 **B.C.).** Philosopher, pupil of Plato. Prolific writer on biology, ohitics. ethics, poetics.

~rius (c. 250-336). Priest of Alexandria who, in an attempt to preserve absolute monotheism, taught that Jesus Christ was slightly subordinate to God the Father. Condemned by Council of Nicaea in 325 but influential among Germanic peoples who were converted to *Arianism.*

Attahis III. King of Pergamum, a small but rich Hellenistic kingdom, who willed his kingdom to Rome in 133 **B.C.**

Augustine (354—430). Prolific Christian theologian and greatest of Latin Church fathers. One of the most influential writers in Christian history.

Augustus Caesar. Honorific title of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, the adopted heir of Julius Caesar who inaugurated the principate.

Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de (1475—15 17). Spanish explorer who crossed Central America at the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 and became the first European to see the Pacific Ocean by going west.

Bede (673—735). Anglo-Saxon monk and scholar at Wearmouth-Jarrow who wrote biblical commentaries, a book on time reckoning, and history. Greatest scholar of his day.

Benedict of Nursia (c. 480—c. 550). Italian ascetic who founded a community at Monte Cassino where he wrote his Rule, eventually the most influential of all monastic rules.

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Greatest of Cistercians (see Glossary), prolific author, adviser to kings and popes, the most influential religious figure in the middle decades of the twelfth century.

Boccaccio (1313—1375). Florentine scholar and storyteller, author of *The Decameron,* a series of 100 stories told over ten days.

Brahe, Tycho (1546-1601). Astronomer supported by the Danish court who collected a huge amount of direct observational data on the heavens, thus supplanting ancient texts, such as those of Ptolemy (q.v.).

Brian Boru (976-1014). First Irish king to exert real authority over much of Ireland.

Cabot, John (1450-1499). English explorer who sighted Newfoundland in 1497 in an early attempt to find a "northwest passage" to Asia.

Calvin, John (1509—1564). French scholar and theologian, author of *Institutes qf the Christian Religion,* founder of "reformed" tradition of Christianity, led reform of the Church in French Switzerland.

Cato the Elder (234—149 **B.C.).** Conservative Roman author and statesman. Catullus (84—54 **B.C.).** Roman lyric poet.

Charlemagne (747—814). Greatest member of the Carolingian (see Glossary) dynasty. King from 768 to 800; emperor from 800 to 814. Secured frontiers of the Frankish kingdom, promoted cultural and institutional reform, formulated ideology of Christendom.

Cicero (106—43 **B.C.).** Roman lawyer and states man who struggled for peace and concord in the crumbling Roman Republic.

Cleisthenes. Aristocratic Athenian who made major constitutional reforms around 508 **B.C.,** thereby speeding the emergence of democracy.

Clovis. Greatest Frankish king of the Merovingian dynasty (r. 486-511) who consolidated Frankish rule in Gaul, defeated the Visigoths in 507, and accepted Roman Catholicism.

Colet, John (1466—15 19). London Christian humanist, trained in Oxford and Italy, studied Pauline epistles, called for Church reform, founded St. Paul's school.

Colombo, Cristoforo (145 1—1506). Genoese sailor and entrepreneur who secured support from the Spanish crown to find a western route to Asia. Made four voyages (1492, 1493, 1498, 1502) and explored the Caribbean region.

Coluccio Salutati (1331—1406). Chancellor of Florence, founded many schools, attracted scholars to the city, took Cicero as his ideal and republicanism as his ideology.

Constantine. Roman emperor (r. 306-337) who continued reforms of Diocletian, restructured the Roman army, granted toleration to Christianity, and became Christian himself.

Copernicus, Nicolaus (1473—1543). Astronomer and, in 1543, author of *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies,* which carefully advanced the "heliocentric" theory.

Crassus (d. 53 **B.C.).** Wealthiest man in Rome; joined in various political alliances in a quest to earn respectability.

Cyrus. King (shah) of the Persians (559—529) who began building the Persian Empire. He permitted the Jews to rebuild a temple in Jerusalem.

Dante Alighieri (1265—1321). Italian poet and scholar, author of *Dc nionarchia, De vulgari c/a quentia, La vita nuova,* and the *Comedy.*

Demosthenes (384—322 **B.C.).** Athenian orator and statesman who warned his fellow citizens against the dangers of the Macedonians.
Cartier, Jacques (1491—1557). French explorer who, in an early effort to find a "northwest passage" to Asia, sailed up the St. Lawrence River in 1534.
)ias, Bartolommeo (c. 1450— 1500). Portuguese navigator who explored the vest coast of Africa and finally rounded the Cape of Good Hope, demonstrating hat Africa could be circumnavigated.

)iocletian. Roman emperor (r. 284—305) who instituted the tetrarchy (see Zilossary), reformed the Roman administration, and persecuted Christians.

Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221). See Dominicans in Glossary.

Draco. Aristocratic Athenian charged by his fellow citizens with codifying the **.aws of** Athens and publishing them in the *agora.*

Einhard (770-840). Author of many works but best known for a biography of Charlemagne modeled on Suetonius's (q.v.) *Lives of the Twelve Caesars.*

Epicurus (341—270 **B.C.).** Hellenistic philosopher who taught in Athens and gave his name to Epicureanism (see Glossary).

Erasmus, Desiderius (1469—1536). Dutchman, greatest of the Christian humanists, wrote widely, edited Greek New Testament, called for Church reform, eventually broke with Protestants over free will.

Eratosthenes (c. 274—194 **B.C.).** Hellenistic polymath who wrote on many subjects, including comedy, but best known for calculating the circumference of the earth.

Euclid. Formulated the rules of geometry about 300 **B.C.**

Euripides (485—406 **B.C.).** Third author of tragedies whose works survive. His works are typified by complex plots and moral confusion. Deeply influenced by the Sophists.

Farel, Guillaume (1489—1565). Collaborator with John Calvin (q.v.) in reform of the Church in French Switzerland, especially Geneva.

Francis **of** Assisi (1181/1182—1226). See Franciscans in Glossary.

Galilei, **Galileo** (1564—1642). Scientist and astronomer, demonstrated mathematically that the earth moves and was censured by the Church.

Gelasius I. Pope (r. 492—496) who spelled out respective spheres of authority of kings and priests.

Gilgamesh. The main character in the Mesopotamian epic poem first composed circa 2500 **B.C.** and surviving on clay tablets from about 800 **B.C.**

(;racchi **brothers.** Tiberius (d. 133 **B.C.)** and Gaius (d. 121 **B.C.)** who, as tribunes, were popular leaders. Both were murdered by political foes.

Gratian. Bolognese monk who, around 1140, produced the *Decretuni,* the most sophisticated and tightly organized compilation of canon law to that time.
Gregory I. Pope (r. 590-604) who wrote influential books and ruled Rome as temporal overlord in the absence of effective Roman rule.

Guarino of Verona (1374—1460). Stressed an education based on Latin and Greek in an effort to form people who were like the characters in classical literature.

Hammurabi. Lived 1792—1750 and ruled over the Old Babylonians (or Amorites). Issued a famous and influential law code.

Heraclius. East Roman emperor (r. 610-641) who defeated the Persians only to lose to the Arabs. Failed to achieve religious unity. Began to promote a more Greek culture. Initiated *theme* system as a new form of administration.

Herodotus (c. 485—425). Called the "father of history," wrote a lengthy history of the Persian Wars.

Homer. See *Iliad* in Glossary.

Horace (65—8 **B.C.).** Elegant Roman poet and Epicurean philosopher.

Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35—107). Author of letters to Christian communities that show the emerging structure of the Christian church.

Isocrates (436-338 **B.C.).** Greek orator and statesman who argued for *Panhellenism,* a union of all Greeks.

Jerome (342—420). High-born Roman citizen who became a Christian ascetic, wrote many letters, and translated the Bible into Latin (See Vulgate in Glossary). Church father.

Julius Caesar (100—44 **B.C.).** Brilliant, ambitious, and enigmatic Roman politician who held high offices, won military glory in Gaul, became dictator in Rome, and was murdered.

Justin Martyr (c. 100—c. 165). Christian apologist who wrote *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* to differentiate between Christianity and Judaism.

Justinian. East Roman emperor (r. 527—565) who reconquered some western provinces, overhauled the administration, issued the Corpus Iuris Civilis (see Glossary), failed to find religious unity, and built Hagia Sophia.

Juvenal (c. 60—c. 136). Author of sixteen verse satires full of social commentary.

Kepler, Johannes (157 1—1630). Greatest pupil of Tycho Brahe (q.v.) who developed elaborate mathematical models **to** explain planetary motion.

Lefèvre d'Etaples, Jacques (1455—1536). French Christian humanist, trained in Paris and Italy, translated Bible into French, studied Greek Church fathers.

Leo I. Pope (r. 440—46 ii, gifted writer, and great theoretician of the powers of the papal office.
~eonardo da Vinci (1452—15 19). Enigmatic painter, sculptor, inventor, ngineer; famous for a small number of completed works, such as *Mona Lisa*.

ivy (59 B.C.— A.D. 17). Grand-scale historian of Rome's foundation and early .istory.

~orenzo de' Medici (1449—1492). Financier and administrator, virtual dictator **n Florence, but great promoter of** cultural life and booster of his city.

~oyola, Ignatius (1491—1556). Spanish nobleman who studied in Paris, joined **vith** fellows, and founded the Society of Jesus (see Jesuits in Glossary).

~ucan (39—65). Author of *Pharsalia,* a verse account of the civil wars between i2aesar and Pompey.

Luther, Martin (1483—1536). German; educated in local universities; became ~ugustinian priest; became alienated from the Catholic Church over free will, ₁ood works, and indulgences (see Glossary). Initiated Church reform in Ziermany. Prolific author.

Lycurgus. Semi-legendary figure to whom the Spartans attributed their constitution.

~'Iagellan, Ferdinand (c. 1480-152 1). Set out to circumnavigate the globe in 1519. He died in 1521 in the Philippines, but one **of** his ships returned in 1522.

Marcus Aurelius (121—180). Last of the Good Emperors and author of an important Stoic work, *Meditations.*

Marius (157—86 **B.C.).** "New Man" who gained prominence through military successes, held the consulship multiple times in succession, professionalized the Roman army.

Martial (c. 40-104). Spanish author of riotously funny Latin epigrams.

Menander (342/341—293/289 **B.C.).** Hellenistic author of "new comedies," which were entertaining but not philosophically or socially significant. His only complete surviving play is *Curmudgeon.*

Merici, Angela (1474-1540). A Franciscan *tertiaty* who founded the Ursulines **in** Brescia, Italy, in 1535 as a community of women to teach girls.

Michelangelo Buonoratti (1475—1564). Florentine artist who mastered the techniques, styles, and influences of his time to produce breathtakingly original works of art, such as the statue of David and the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

More, Thomas (1478—1535). English lawyer, politician, and Christian humanist; author of *Utopia;* fell afoul of, and was executed by, King Henry VIII for opposing his divorce.

Muhammad (570-632). Meccan merchant who became the prophet of Islam.
Nebuchadnezzar. Reigned 605—562 **B.C.** as the greatest king of the NeoBabylonians, one of the peoples who overthrew the Assyrians. Ruled from Babylon, which he built into a magnificent city.

Neri, Filippo (1515—1595). Florentine who settled in Rome, studied long, embraced the ascetic life, and founded the Congregation of the Oratory to enhance the quality of worship.

Offa of Mercia. Anglo-Saxon *bretwalda* (757—796) who was first to call himself "King of the English."

Ovid (43 **B.C.—AD.** 18). Roman poet who wrote on love and mythological themes. Exiled by Augustus.

Pachomius (290-346). Egyptian monk credited with preparing the first "Rule" and thus formulating *cenobitic* (common-life) monasticism.

Peisistratus. Instituted a mild tyranny in Athens in 560 that lasted a generation and fostered civic allegiance and economic development.

Pericles. Greatest democratic leader of Athens between 460 and 429 **B.C.**

Peter Lombard (1100-1160). Scholastic theologian whose *Four Books of Sentences* served as a basic theology compendium for centuries.

Petrarch (1304—1374). Florentine, greatest figure of the early Renaissance, scholar, poet, traveler.

Philip 11(382—336 **B.C.).** King of Macedon who forged a unified monarchy and conquered Greece. Father of Alexander the Great.

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (1405—1464). Tuscan of modest means who traveled widely, wrote scholarly and popular works in Latin and Italian, and was elected pope (Pius II).

Pippin III. Reigned 751—768, first Carolingian (see Glossary) to become king. **He allied** with the popes, defeated the Lombards in Italy, and fostered Church and cultural reform.

Plato (429—347 **B.C.).** Pupil of Socrates, teacher of Aristotle, founder of the Academy. Philosopher best known for his theory of "forms," or "ideas." Prolific author of dialogues and treatises.

Plautus (254—184 **B.C.).** Brought Greek style "new conicdy" to Rome. Author of, among other plays, *The Pot of Gold.*

Polyhius (c. 200-c. 118 **B.C.).** Greek historian captured by the Romans. Lived in elegant exile at Rome and wrote a history of the Hellenistic world, emphasizing Rome's rise to greatness and the unique features of the Roman constitution.

Pompey (106—48 **B.C.).** Roman politician who won military glory and joined with Julius Caesar, then turned against him.
Ptolemy (127—48 **B.C.).** Hellenistic scientist best known for collecting enormous amounts of astronomical observations and formulating a theory of planetary motion that was dominant until Johannes Keppler (q.v.).

Pythagoras. Greek who taught in southern Italy in the late sixth century. Stressed pure contemplation as the only path to true knowledge.

Quintilian (c. 35—100). Author of *Institution of Oratory,* antiquity's most influential work on rhetoric.

Sargon (237 1—2316 **B.C.).** Ruled over the Akkadians. Built first known imperial state.

Seneca (4 **B.C.— A.D.** 65). Stoic philosopher of plays and other works.

Socrates (469—399 **B.C.).** Athenian philosopher who developed the *elench us,* a rigorous method of dissecting the arguments of others. Taught Plato, among others. Put to death by the Athenian authorities.

Solon. Aristocratic Athenian entrusted (c. 594) by fellow citizens with revising the laws to prevent social strife.

Sophocles (496—406 **B.C.).** Second author of tragedies whose works survive. Called by Aristotle the "most tragic of poets"; his *Oedipus Rex* is one of the finest

plays ever written.

Suetonius (c. 70—c. **A.D.** 140). Wrote *Lives of the Twelve Caesars.*
Thucydides (460/455—c. 400 **B.C.).** Wrote a penetrating analytical history of the Peloponnesian Wars down to 411.

Vasco da Gama (c. 1460-1524). Portuguese navigator who, between 1497 and 1499, sailed around Africa into the Indian Ocean, conducted trade, and demonstrated potential profitability of the whole region.

Virgil (70-19 **B.C.).** Roman epic poet, author of *Aeneid, Georgics, Bucolics.*

Waldseemüller, Martin. In 1507, published a map calling the lands discovered by Colombo (q.v.) the "New World."

William the Conqueror (c. 1028—1087). Duke of Normandy who conquered England in 1066 and ruled effectively as its king.

Xenophon (428/427—354 **B.C.).** Prolific writer of histories of the final years of the Peloponnesian War and the early fourth century.

Ximenes de Cisneros, **Cardinal** Francisco (1436-15 17). Church reformer and Christian humanist in Spain. Founded University of Alcala and sponsored production of Complutensian Polyglot Bible (see Glossary).

Zeno (335—263 **B.C.).** Philosopher who taught at the *stoa poikile* (painted porch) in Athens. Founder of Stoicism (see Glossary).

Zwingli, **Hildreich** (1484—1531). Parish priest who initiated reform of the Church in German Switzerland.
Sulla (138—78 **B.C.).** Unscrupulous conservative politician from a distinguished family who sought to turn back the clock in Roman public life to a time before the Gracchi.

Tacitus (c. 55—c. **A.D.** 117). Coolly analytical historian of early imperial Rome.

Terence (c. 190-159 **B.C.).** Author of Latin comedies marked by brilliant, elegant style.

Teresa of Avila (15 15—1582). Reformer of the Carmelite order and prolific author on the subject of Christian spirituality. Named a "Doctor of the Church" by Pope Paul VI.

Thales. Early materialist philosopher from Miletus, wrote around 600 **B.C.**

Themistocles. Athenian popular leader during and after the Persian Wars who got legislation passed giving the lowest classes virtually full political participation.

Theodulf of Orleans (c. 750-821). Versatile scholar under Charlemagne who **was an** administrator, theologian, biblical **expert,** poet, and architect.

Thomas Aquinas (1225—1274). Italian Dominican, trained at Paris and Cologne, taught in Paris and Rome, produced *Summa theologiae* and *Summa contra*

gentiles. Greatest scholastic philosopher and theologian.