VII

THE THIRD INVASION

The New Invasion. — The invasion which assailed the second Western Empire four centuries after the Germans had destroyed the first or Western Roman Empire, was a powerful cause in the dissolution of the Carlovingian monarchy. The movement of attack proceeded from three points, from the north, south and east, and was so prolonged toward the west as to envelop the whole empire. The Northmen were the first to appear.

The Northmen in France. — The Franks, after attaining the western limits of Gaul, had voltefaced and swept back from west to east the floods of men who had poured upon the Roman provinces. Then they undertook to subjugate Thuringia, Bavaria and Saxony. Their foes retreated toward the north to the Cimbrian and Scandinavian peninsulas, where dwelt populations of their own blood. The Northmen, restrained by the military organization which Charlemagne had given his eastern frontier, and by the Slavs who occupied the country of the Oder, found everything before them shut up except the sea. So they launched upon the water, "the path of the Swans." Familiar with its tempests, the vikings or children of the fiords were daunted by no peril. "The hurricane bears us on," they said, "wherever we wish to go." At first coasting along the shores for pillage and slaughter, they gradually established themselves at favorable points and thence roamed all over the country.

In this way they took possession of the Walcheren Islands at the mouth of the Scheldt, and of other places at the mouths of the Rhine, Seine and Loire. In 840 they burned Rouen. Three years later they pillaged Nantes, Saintes and Bordeaux. Repeatedly they ravaged the outskirts of Paris, sacked Tours, Orleans and Toulouse, and reached the Mediterranean. A royal edict ordered the counts and vassals to repair the castles and build new ones.

Soon the country was well fortified. The invaders, checked at every step, began to wish to settle in some safe and fertile spot. In 911 Neustria was assigned them. Their devastations, continued almost a century, had prepared the way for feudalism.

The Northmen Danes in England. — The Northmen had robbed France and the Netherlands of both security and property. From England they took her independence besides. In 827 the Saxon Heptarchy formed but one monarchy under Egbert the Great. He repulsed the first Danes who landed upon his shores. After his death they occupied Northumberland, East Anglia and Mercia. Alfred the Great (871) arrested their progress and gave his kingdom an organization, the main features of which have been preserved. These are: division of the country into counties; dispensation of justice by twelve freeholders as a jury; decision of general affairs by the wittenagemot or assembly of the wise, aided by a half-elective, half-hereditary monarchy. Athelstane, one of his successors, vanquished the Danes "on the day of the great fight" and drove them from England. But they soon reappeared led by Olaf, king of Norway, and Swein or Sueno, king of Denmark, who carried off enormous booty. Gold not proving an effectual means of getting rid of them, Ethelred devised a vast plot. All the Danes who were settled in England were massacred on Saint Brice's day in 1002. Swein avenged his countrymen by expelling Ethelred and assuming the title of king of England in 1013. Edmund II Ironsides fought heroically but in vain against Canute, who succeeded Swein, and the whole country recognized the Danish sway. Canute was at first cruel, but grew milder. By wedding Emma, the widow of Ethelred, he paved the way for the union of the victors and the vanquished. He made wise laws or enforced those of Alfred the Great and prevented the Danes from oppressing the Saxons. To Scandinavia he sent Saxon missionaries who hastened the fall of expiring paganism. In 1027 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where in behalf of all England he assumed the obligation of paying each year one penny per hearth to the Pope. This contribution was called Peter's Pence.

Thus in France the Northmen took only a province. In England they seized a kingdom. On both sides of the Channel these robbers showed the same aptitude for civili-

zation, and the fierce heathen became excellent Christians. Rollo in Normandy was a stern judicial officer and Canute deserved the name of the Great.

The Northmen in the Polar Regions and in Russia. — The larger number of these hardy adventurers descended toward the south where they found wine and gold. Others worked their way through the Baltic to the very end of the Gulf of Finland, or climbed above the North Cape, for the joy of seeing the unknown and doing the impossible. In 861 they made their appearance in the Faröe Islands; in 870 in Iceland, and a century later in Greenland whence they reached Labrador and Vinland, the country of the Vine. Thus they were in America four or five centuries before Columbus! Their exiles, the Varangians, penetrated at the same time by way of the Baltic to the centre of the Slavs, and sold their services to the powerful city of Novgorod, which their leader, Rurik, subjugated (862). He assumed the title of grand prince, and began the state which has become the Russian Empire.

As the Arabs, when they emerged eastward and westward from their parched peninsula, had spread from India to Spain without quitting their native southern regions, so the Northmen, starting from their sterile peninsulas, reached America and the Volga and still remained in northern latitudes. The former had in certain respects an original civilization. The latter, mastered by Christianity, were in no way different from the rest of the Christian nations.

The Saracens and the Hungarians. — The Saracens were the Arabs of Africa who, leaving their brethren to conquer provinces, took the sea for their domain and ravaged all the shores of the western Mediterranean. Tunis, or the ancient province of Carthage, was their point of departure. As early as 831 they subdued Sicily and passed over to the Great Land, as they called Italy. They seized Brindisi, Bari and Tarentum, repeatedly laid waste southern Italy and even ravaged the outskirts of Rome. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Isles belonged to them. They settled permanently in Provence at Fraxinet, which they retained until toward the close of the tenth century. They had posts in the defiles of the Alps to exact toll from commerce and pilgrimage. Thence their raids extended into the valleys of the Rhone and Po. This piracy was more terrible and more audacious than that organized in the sixteenth century by Khaireddin Barbarossa, which France suppressed only in 1830.

In the valley of the Danube, through which came the Hungarians, the invasion had not ceased since the time of Attila. There the human streams had pressed upon each other like successive waves of the sea, driven on by the tempest. After the Huns came the Slavs who still remain there; then the Bulgarians, the Avars whom Charlemagne exterminated, the Khazars, the Petchenegs who have disappeared, and lastly a mixture of Hunnic and Ugrian tribes, which the Latins and the Greeks called Hungarii or Hungarians and who gave themselves the name of Magyars. Summoned by Arnulf, king of Germania, against the Slavs of Moravia, they quickly subjected the plains of the Theiss and of Dannonia. In 899 they ravaged Carinthia and Friuli. The following year they launched their bold horsemen on both sides of the Alps into the basin of the Po, the upper valley of the Danube, and even to the other side of the Rhine. Alsace, Lorraine and Burgundy were devastated. The hordes of the third invasion, the Northmen, Saracens and Hungarians, seemed to have appointed a meeting-ground in the heart of France and they left there an awful memory. Germany at last made mighty efforts to rid herself of these invaders. Henry the Fowler defeated them on the field of Merseburg (934), and his son Otto I slew, it is said, 100,000 at the battle of Augsburg (955). This disaster hurled them back into the country which they still inhabit.

The ruinous expeditions of the Magyars had the same result as those of the Northmen. In Italy the cities surrounded themselves with walls for the purpose of defence, just as the country districts of France bristled with castles, and the Italians reorganized their military forces, which enabled them to regain their municipal independence. Austria was in the beginning a margrave's fief, formed for military purposes against the Hungarians. The margravate of Brandenburg, in which Prussia originated, played the same part against the Slavs. These two immense territorial fortresses at last arrested the Eastern hordes in that westward march which had begun in the early periods of history. The Mongols in the thirteenth century and the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth, still obeying this primitive impulse, will make mere temporary inroads upon the Slavic world

and will be forced to halt at the frontiers of the Teutonic race. No more new peoples are to be received into the countries which formed the Western Roman Empire.

The invasion of the ninth century had as a consequence the foundation of new governing forces in Russia, Pannonia, Normandy and England. All these countries were situated on the outer verge of the ancient world. Within that ancient world its attacks had disturbed the states founded by the Germans, produced confusion and hastened the progress of feudal anarchy.

VIII

FEUDALISM

Feudalism, or the Heredity of Offices and Fiefs. — We have just seen how the empire was divided into kingdoms. The kingdoms are about to dissolve into seigniories. The great political masses are crumbling into dust.

The officers of the king, of whatever rank, under the last Carlovingians asserted the heredity of their offices or public duties as well as of their fiefs or land-grants. Hence was formed a hierarchy of possessors, peculiar in this respect that every parcel of land was a fief of some lord above the tenant and that every lord was a vassal recognizing some suzerain. Naturally in this hierachy the possessors or proprietors were unequal. Moreover, various concessions or exemptions had given these landed proprietors control of the public taxes and administration of the royal justice. Hence the king no longer was master of either lands or money or judicial rights. This system was called feudalism. It was first recognized by the edict of Kierry-sur-Oise (877), whereby Charles the Bald recognized the right of a son to inherit the fief or the office of his father.

One man became the vassal of another by the ceremony of homage and faith. That is to say, he declared himself the man of the new lord to whom he swore fidelity. The lord granted him the fief by investiture, often accompanied by some symbolic rite such as gift of a sod, a stone, or staff. Without mentioning the moral obligations of the vassal to defend and respect his lord, insure him deference from others and aid him by good counsel, he was bound by certain material obligations. These were: (1) Military service, a fundamental principle of this society which was unacquainted with permanent salaried armies. The number of men to be furnished on requisition of the lord and the length of service varied according to the fief, here sixty days, there forty, elsewhere twenty. (2) Obligation to

serve the suzerain in his court of justice and attend his sessions. (3) The aids or assistance, in some forms legal and obligatory, in others benevolent or voluntary. The legal assistance was due, when the lord was a prisoner and a ransom must be provided, when knighthood was conferred upon his eldest son, and when he gave his eldest daughter in marriage. Such assistance took the place of public taxes. Certain other services were required. These duties once rendered, the vassal became almost the master of his fief. He could enfeoff or let the whole or a part of it to vassals of inferior rank.

The suzerain also had his obligations. He could not arbitrarily and without sufficient cause deprive a vassal of his fief. He was bound to defend him if attacked and to treat him justly. Judgment by one's peers was the principle of feudal justice. The vassals of the same suzerain were equal among themselves. If the lord refused justice to his vassal, the latter could appeal to the superior suzerain. He even exercised at need the right of private war, a right of which the lords were very tenacious and which rendered feudalism a violent system, opposed to all pacific development of human society and injurious to commerce, agriculture and industry. This same principle caused the admission into legal procedure of the judicial combat in closed lists. The Truce of God, which forbade private wars between Wednesday evening and Monday morning, was an effort on the part of the Church to moderate the violence which it could not entirely prevent.

Jurisdiction did not appertain to all lords in the same measure. In France three degrees were recognized, high, low and intermediate. The first alone conferred the right of life and death. In general the largest fiefs possessed the most extensive jurisdiction. Among seigniorial rights we must note that of coining money, exercised at the advent of Hugh Capet by not less than 150 lords. Moreover, within the limits of his own fief each made the law. The capitularies of Charles the Bald are the last manifestations of public legislative power. Thenceforward to the time of Philip Augustus general laws no longer existed in France, being superseded by local customs. The clergy itself entered this system. The bishop, formerly the "defender of the city," often became its count and hence the suzerain of all the lords of his diocese. Moreover the

bishop or abbot, through donations made to his church or convent, received great possessions which he enfeoffed. This ecclesiastical feudalism became so powerful that in France and England it held more than one-fifth, and in Germany nearly one-third of all the land.

Below the warlike society of the lords was the toiling society of the villeins and serfs. The freemen had disappeared. The villeins, or free tenants, and the serfs cultivated the land for the lord under the shadow of the feudal keep around which they clustered, and which sometimes defended but more often oppressed them. The villein had only to pay his fixed rents like a farmer and to perform the least onerous forced labor. He could not be detached from the land which had been assigned him to cultivate, but he had the right to hold it as his own. As for the serfs, "The sire," says Pierre de Fontaine, "can take all that they have, can hold their bodies in prison whenever he pleases, and is forced to answer therefor only to God alone." In spite of this the condition of the serf was better than that of the slave in antiquity. He was regarded as a man. He had a family. The Church, which declared him a son of Adam, made him, before God at least, the equal of the proudest lords.

To sum up: the abandonment of every right to the lord, —such is the principle of feudal society. As royalty no longer fulfilled the office for which it was founded, protection could no longer be expected from either the law or the nominal head of the state, and was now demanded from the bishops, the barons and powerful persons. It was the sword which afforded this protection. Hence arose those interminable wars which broke out everywhere in feudal Europe, and which through their inevitable results of murder and pillage were the scourge of the period.

Nevertheless many persons admire those days which pressed so heavily upon the poor. They admit that commerce and industry had fallen very low, that social life seemed to have returned to elementary conditions, that there was much outrage and little security, that, despite the exhortations of the Church, in this miserable intellectual state passions were more brutal than in our age and vices as numerous. But, they say, the serf of the soil was happier than the serf of modern industry; competition did not rob him of his meagre pittance; setting aside the

chances of private war and brigandage, he was more assured of the morrow than are our laborers; his needs were limited, like his desires; he lived and died under the shadow of his bell-tower, full of faith and resignation. All this is true. Yet nature has not made man a plant to vegetate in the forest or an animal to be led by his appetites.

On many points the Middle Ages were inferior to antiquity. As to a few they were in advance. They made many men miserable, but they provided many asylums in the monasteries. Under the beneficent influence of Christianity the family was reconstituted. Through the necessity of depending upon one's self the soul gained vigor. Those lovers of battle recovered the sentiments of courage and honor which the Romans of the decline no longer knew. Though the state was badly organized, there existed for the vassal strong legal maxims, which through a thousand violations have come down to us: no tax can be exacted without the consent of the taxpayers; no law is valid unless accepted by those who have to obey it; no sentence is legitimate unless rendered by the peers of the accused. Lastly, in the midst of this society which recognized no claims but those of blood, the Church by the system of election asserted those of intelligence. Furthermore, by its God-man upon the cross and its doctrine of human equality, it was to the great inequalities of earth a constant intimation of what shall be carried into effect when the principle of religious law passes into civil law.

Great French, German and Italian Fiefs. — The feudal organization, which was complete only at the end of the eleventh century, reigned in all the provinces of the Carlovingian empire. Yet the great names of France, Germany and Italy survived, and great titles were borne by the so-called kings of those countries. Yet these were show kings, not real kings. They were mere symbols of the territorial unity which had vanished, and not genuine, active, powerful heads of nations. The Italian royalty disappeared early. The royalty of France fell very low. The crown of Germany, however, shed a brilliant light for two centuries after Otto I had restored the empire of Charlemagne. Yet the copy shrank in proportion as the model became more remote. Charlemagne reigned over fewer peoples than Constantine and Theodosius. The Ottos, the Henrys, the Fredericks,

reigned over less territory than Charlemagne and their authority was less unquestioned.

The king of France possessed the duchy of France, which had become a royal domain. Enclosing this territory on every side between the Loire, the ocean, the Scheldt, the upper Meuse and the Saône stretched vast principalities, whose princes rivalled him in wealth and power. These were the counties of Flanders, Anjou and Champagne, and the duchies of Normandy and Burgundy. Between the Loire and the Pyrenees lay the ancient kingdom of Aquitaine, divided into the four dominant fiefs of the duchies of Aquitaine and Gascony and the counties of Toulouse and Barcelona. These great feudatories, immediate vassals of the crown, were called peers of the king. To these lay peers, six ecclesiastical peers were added: the archbishop-duke of Reims, the bishop-dukes of Laon and Langres, and the three bishop-counts of Beauvais, Chalôns and Noyon. Among the secondary fiefs were reckoned not less than 100 counties and a still greater number of fiefs of inferior order. The kingdom of Arles included the three valleys of the Saône, Rhone and Aar.

The nominal boundaries of the kingdom of Germany were: on the west, the Meuse and Scheldt; on the northwest, the North Sea; on the north, the Eyder, the Baltic and the little kingdom of Slavonia; on the east, the Oder and the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary; on the south, the Alps. It comprised nine main territorial divisions: the vast duchy of Saxony, Thuringia, Bohemia, Moravia, the duchies of Bavaria and Carinthia, Alemannia or Suabia, Franconia and lastly Friesland on the shores of the North Sea.

The kingdom of Italy comprehended Lombardy, or the basin of the Po, with its great republics of Milan, Pavia, Venice and Genoa; the duchy or marquisate of Tuscany, the States of the Church; also the four Norman states, the principalities of Capua and Aversa and of Tarentum, the duchy of Pouille and Calabria, and the grand county of Sicily.

In Christian Spain we find in the centre the kingdom of Castile and Leon; in the west, the county of Portugal, dependent upon the crown of Castile; on the north and northeast, the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. In Great Britain are the kingdoms of England and Scotland and the

principality of Wales. Between the North Sea and the Baltic are the three Scandinavian states of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Among the Slavs are the kingdoms of Slavonia on the Baltic, of Poland on the Vistula, the grand duchy of Russia with its multitude of divisions, and the duchy of Lithuania. In the year 1000 Pope Sylvester II sent a royal crown to Saint Stephen who had just converted the Hungarians. Soon Christian Europe is to rush in the direction of the Eastern Empire, from which the Arabs have stripped Africa and Egypt and on whose provinces of Syria and Asia Minor the Turks are encamped.

Civilization from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century. — The revival of letters under Charlemagne did not survive him. Hincmar, the great bishop of Reims, the monk Gottschalk, advocate of predestination, and his adversary, Joannes Scotus Erigena, still agitated burning questions. After them silence and thick darkness covered the tenth century. The physical like the moral wretchedness was extreme. So miserable was the world that mankind believed it would end in the year 1000. The future seeming so brief, buildings were no longer erected, and those existing were allowed to fall in ruin. After that fatal year was past, men began again to hope and live. Human activity awoke. Numerous churches were constructed. Sylvester II cast abroad in Europe the first intimation of the Crusade which was about to set the world in motion.

A literary movement awoke more powerful than that under Charlemagne. The vulgar tongues were already assuming their place at the side of the learned and universal ecclesiastical Latin. The latter was still employed in the convents, which rapidly multiplied. It continued as the medium of theology and of the grave discussions which began to resound. Lanfranc, abbot of Bec and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor, Saint Anselm who composed the famous treatise of the *Monologium*, imparted fresh animation to the movement of ideas. The eleventh century had not closed when the fierce battle commenced between the realists and the nominalists in which Abelard took such brilliant part.

The vulgar tongues were as numerous as the newly formed nations. Teutonic idioms prevailed in Germany, the Scandinavian states and England. In Italy arose Italian, destined to attain perfection before the others. In France

was fashioned the Romance, already distinguished as the northern Romance or Walloon or language of oïl, and the southern Romance or Provençal or language of oc, which was also spoken in the valley of the Ebro.

The first literary use of the Romance was made by the poets of the time, the trouvères in the north, the troubadours in the south, and the jongleurs. The trouvère and troubadour invented and composed the poem which the jongleur recited. Sometimes the same person was both composer and reciter. They roamed from castle to castle, relieving by their songs the ennui of the manor. The trouvères generally composed chansons de gestes, epics of twenty, thirty or fifty thousand verses. They treated the subjects in cycles according to the period represented. First was the Carlovingian cycle with Charlemagne and his twelve peers as the heroes and the *Chanson de Roland* as its masterpiece. Then came the Amorican cycle with King Arthur, the champion of Breton independence, and the exploits of the knights of the Round Table. The principal poet of this theme is Robert Wace, with his *Roman de Brut*. To the third cycle belong all those ancient subjects which now take their place in popular poetry like a distant and confused prophecy of the Renaissance. These heroic lays are the poetry of feudalism and also of the chivalry which followed it.

The lords delighted in gathering their vassals around them. To some they confided services of honor as constable, marshal, seneschal, or chamberlain. The vassal brought his sons to the court of his suzerain, where as pages and esquires they were trained for knighthood. Into that exalted rank they were initiated by a ceremony, partly religious and partly military. The fast for twenty-four hours, the vigil, the bath, the accolade, the assumption of sword and spurs, were among its rites. To pray, to flee from sin, to defend the Church, the widow, the orphan, to protect the people, to make war honorably, to do battle for one's lady, to love one's lord, to pay heed to the wise, — such were the duties of the knight. The tournament was his diversion.

This new and original society not only produced scholasticism, the vulgar tongues, feudalism and chivalry, but also made innovations in art. To the Roman architecture, indifferently called Byzantine or Lombard and distinguished by a rounded arch supported on columns, succeeded a pointed architecture, wrongly termed gothic. The pointed arch, an

elementary and easier style than the rounded arch, belongs to all times and countries, but it was monopolized in the twelfth century and became the essential element in that new architecture which has imparted to mediæval cathedrals their imposing grandeur.

IX

THE GERMAN EMPIRE. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

Germany from 887 to 1056. — While France was calling to the throne her native lords, Eudes and Hugh Capet, Germany, on the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), elected Arnulf, the bastard son of Carloman and a descendant of Charlemagne. As heir of the Carlovingian claims this prince received the homage of the kings of France, Trans-Jurane Burgundy, Arles and Italy. Finally he caused himself to be crowned king of Italy and emperor. Thereby he only gained an additional title. He repulsed several bands of Northmen and set against the Moravians the Hungarians, who were beginning to make as devastating raids through Europe as those of the northern pirates. With his son, Louis the Child, the German Carlovingian branch became extinct. Hence Germany began to choose sovereigns from different families, and election took root among German political customs at the very time when French royalty was becoming hereditary like the possession of a fief. Therefore the two royalties had a different experience in store. Conrad I was elected in 911. Under him began that conflict, which filled all the German Middle Ages, between the great feudatories and the Franconian emperor. He wished to weaken Saxony, the rival of Franconia, and to deprive it of Thuringia. Vanquished at Ehresburg by Duke Henry, he gained an advantage over the Duke of Lorraine whom he despoiled of Alsace, and over the governors of Suabia whom he beheaded.

After him the crown passed to the house of Saxony, where it remained for more than 100 years. Conrad on his deathbed had designated for his successor his former conqueror as the man most capable of defending Germany against the Hungarians. So Duke Henry was elected.

He brought order out of disorder and gave Germany definite boundaries. He forced every man above sixteen to