

GILDAS, a monk of Britain (ca. 516-573), who lived two centuries before Bede, has left a melancholy account of the calamities of his time, — *Liber querulus de calamitate, excidio et conquestu Britanniae, quam Angliam nunc vocant*. (Edited by Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and in *Six English Chronicles* in the Bohn Library.)

BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History of the English*; see above, p. 112.

ASSER, *Life of Alfred*. Very interesting. New edition, edited by Stevenson, 1904. Translation in Bohn's *Six English Chronicles*.

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is all important for the period to the Norman Conquest. It is not very voluminous, and can speedily be read through. (Rolls Series in the original and translation. Better edited, without translation, by Plummer and Earle, 2 vols. (Clarendon Press); also in the Bohn Library, in the volume containing Bede's history.)

ORDERICUS VITALIS; see above, p. 221.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *The History of the Kings of England*. An entertaining and sagacious monk, who brought his work down to Stephen's time, and probably died about 1150. See extract given above, pp. 224 sqq. (Rolls Series, translated in the Bohn Library, and by Stevenson in *The Church Historians of England*, 1854.)

ROGER OF HOVEDEN, *Annals of English History*, bringing the story down to 1201, and very important for the reign of Richard. (Rolls Series and Bohn.)

The monks of St. Albans were distinguished, like the monks of St. Denis (see above, p. 221), for their historical writings in the thirteenth century. Among these historians two may be mentioned: ROGER OF WENDOVER, whose chronicle, *The Flowers of History*, reviews the history of the world, but is especially valuable for the quarter of a century of his own time (it closes with the year 1235).

The more famous MATTHEW OF PARIS—an ardent Englishman in spite of his name—in his so-called *Greater Chronicle*, after the customary review of the world's history, carried the work of Roger of Wendover down to the year 1259. His history Cardinal Baronius declared to be "a golden book, only marred by hostility to the Holy See." It is probably the most generally useful historical production of the thirteenth century. The writings of both these monks of St. Albans are in the Rolls Series and in the Bohn Library. Another so-called *Flowers of History* is a compilation reaching the year 1307, long attributed without any particular reason to an apparently imaginary MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER and commonly cited under his name. (In the Rolls Series and in the Bohn Library.)

## CHAPTER XII

### GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

#### I. THE TIMES OF HENRY I AND OTTO THE GREAT

The following account of the events in Germany in the first half of the tenth century was prepared by a monk at Treves in 960-961. He made use, for the earlier part of his narrative, of certain meager annals, some of which have come down to us. The sources all agree in giving a gloomy account of invasion, pillage, and civil war, which even wise and energetic German kings were unable to prevent.

102. Germany in the early tenth century. (From the continuation of Regino's *Chronicle*.)

In the year 907<sup>1</sup> of the Incarnation the Bavarians were defeated with great bloodshed by the Hungarians. Duke Luitbald was killed in this battle, and his son Arnulf succeeded him in the duchy.

In the year 908 of the Incarnation the Hungarians again crossed the borders and devastated Saxony and Thuringia.

In the year 909 of the Incarnation the Hungarians forced their way into Alemannia.

In the year 910 of the Incarnation the Franconians fought on the frontier of Franconia and Bavaria with the Hungarians and were miserably defeated or put to flight. Count Gebhard lost his life in the battle and left behind him two sons, still boys, Udo and Hermann, who were later to become distinguished in Franconia.

<sup>1</sup> Regino's *Chronicle* (see above, p. 169), of which the present work is a continuation, closes with the year 906.

Death of Louis the Child, who was followed by Conrad.

In the year 911 of the Incarnation King Louis, the son of Emperor Arnulf, died, and since the royal line was now extinct, he was succeeded by Conrad, son of that Conrad who had been killed by Adalbert.

In the year 912 of the Incarnation the Hungarians again devastated without opposition Franconia and Thuringia. Archbishop Hatto [of Mayence], a very keen and able man, died, and Heriger succeeded him. Otto, duke of Saxony, died.

In the year 913 of the Incarnation there was a very severe winter. The Hungarians wasted the fields of the Alemanni and were defeated by the Bavarians and Alemanni at the river Inn. In the same year Einhard, bishop of Speyer, was blinded by Counts Bernhard and Conrad.

In the year 914 of the Incarnation Otbert, bishop of Strasburg, was killed. Bishop Salomon [of Constance] was taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 915 of the Incarnation the Hungarians wasted all Alemannia with fire and sword; they harried all Thuringia and Saxony and came as far as the abbey of Fulda.

In the year 917 of the Incarnation the Hungarians came through Alemannia into Alsace and to the borders of Lorraine. Erchanger and Berthold were beheaded. Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, revolted against the king.

In the year 918 of the Incarnation King Conrad celebrated the birth of St. John in the cloister of Hersfeld.

Death of Conrad, who nominates Henry I as his successor.

In the year 919 of the Incarnation King Conrad died. He was in all respects a man of insight, gentle, and a friend of divine learning. As he perceived that the day of his death was near, he summoned his brethren and relatives, namely the great among the Franconians. He said to them that his

<sup>1</sup> By Erchanger, duke of Alemannia, as we learn from the annals of the monastery of St. Gall. His execution is mentioned below.

end was near, and exhorted them as a father that there should be no discord in the realm over the choice of a king to follow him. He commanded them to choose Henry, duke of Saxony, a man of energy and a strong friend of peace. Moreover since he, Conrad, had been unable to find any other person so well fitted for the position, he sent to Henry the scepter and crown and other decorations associated with the kingly dignity, on condition that he should shield and protect the realm. He himself passed from this life and was honorably buried in the monastery of Fulda. He was worn out during the few years of his reign by the Bavarians and Alemanni and Saxons, for they rose against him in many a battle; but with God's help before his death he got the better of them.

In the year 920 of the Incarnation Duke Henry was chosen king by agreement of the Franconians, Alemanni, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons.<sup>1</sup> He began his reign by strictly enforcing the peace; for many, even among the nobles, had turned their attention in those days to robbery.<sup>2</sup> . . .

In the year 928 of the Incarnation Henry made a hostile expedition into the land of the Bohemians, and won the victory over them with God's aid. At this time a son, William, was born to Otto, the king's son. The winter was uncommonly cold. Ruodger, archbishop of Treves, died. Ruodbert succeeded him.

In the year 929 of the Incarnation Duke Gisalbert took to wife Gerburga, the daughter of King Henry.

In the year 930 of the Incarnation Otto, the son of King Henry, took to wife Edith, the daughter of the king of the Angles.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the peoples of the several duchies were viewed as subnations is clear in this and other references to them.

<sup>2</sup> In his account of the years here omitted, our chronicler tells of Hungarian raids, and of trouble between King Charles of France and Henry I over Lorraine, and of its ultimate cession to Henry.

In the year 931 of the Incarnation King Henry induced the king of the Abotrites and the king of the Danes to become Christians. In the same year the king was invited to Franconia by Eberhard and others, — Franconian counts and bishops, — and was honored by each of them, in his house or in his see, with banquets and gifts as befitted a king.

In the year 932 of the Incarnation the Hungarians destroyed many towns in eastern Franconia and Alemannia with fire and sword. They then crossed the Rhine near Worms, wasted Gaul as far as the sea, and then returned by way of Italy.

In the year 934 of the Incarnation King Henry overcame the Hungarians in a great battle and took many of them prisoners. In the same year he attacked the Slavs, who are called Bucranes, conquered them, and made them tributary. The church of St. Maximin was blown down in a storm. Through the king's favor the right of election was given back to the monks; Hugo, who had been prior, was chosen abbot, and the monks who did not live according to the rule were driven out.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 935 of the Incarnation King Henry suffered from a stroke.

In the year 936 of the Incarnation a number of bishops of Thuringia held a synod at Erfurt. King Henry, who had diligently promoted peace and steadily pursued the heathen, reached his life's end on the 2d of July, after he had won many a brave victory and pushed out the bounds of his realm in every direction. His son Otto was chosen his successor by a unanimous vote of all the great of the realm.

The annals of the reign of Henry I are fragmentary and gloomy, but we have much fuller accounts of Otto's difficulties and his manner of surmounting them. Among the historians of his time Widukind, a monk of Corvei, holds a high place.

<sup>1</sup> These statements relate to the writer's own monastery at Treves.

When Henry [I], the father of his country and the greatest and best of kings, was dead, all the people of the Franks and Saxons chose as their chief Otto, his son, whom his father had wished to have them choose. They decided to hold the general election at the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. . . . When they were come thither the dukes and chief counts and soldiers came together in the portico of the basilica of the great Charles, and put the new king on a throne built there, and gave him their hands, promising to be faithful to him, and pledging him their aid against their enemies. So they made him king after their custom.

While these things were done by the dukes and the other magistrates, the chief pontiff [of Germany, i.e. the bishop of Mayence], with all the priests and the people, awaited below in the basilica the coming of the new king. When he came toward them the pontiff met him and touched the king's right hand. Now the bishop was clad in linen and was adorned with a stole and pallium and bore a staff in his right hand; and he went forward among the people and stood at the altar. He then turned toward the people who stood around that all might see him. "Behold," he said, "I present to you Otto, chosen by God, and previously designated by Henry, lord of this realm, and now made king by all the princes. If this choice is pleasing to you, signify it by raising your right hands toward heaven." And all the people raised their right hands on high, and with a mighty voice prayed for the prosperity of their new ruler.

Then the king, clad according to the Frankish custom in a close tunic, marched with the bishop behind an altar on which lay the royal regalia, — the sword with the belt, the mantle and bracelets, the staff with the scepter and diadem. . . . Then Hildebert, bishop of Mayence, came forward to the altar, took the sword and belt, and turning to the king said: "Take this sword, that thou mayst cast out all the adversaries of Christ, all barbarians and false Christians, by the divine authority given to thee, by all the power of the whole empire of the Franks, to the lasting peace of Christendom."

103. Election of Otto the Great (936). (From Widukind's *Deeds of the Saxons*.)

Then he took the mantle and bracelets and put them upon him: "As the border of this mantle flows to the ground, be thou admonished that thou shouldst glow with the zeal of faith and that thou shouldst endure to the end to maintain peace." Then he took the scepter and staff: "By these tokens be thou admonished that thou shouldst reprove thy subjects with fatherly chastisement and that thou shouldst above all things extend the hand of mercy to the ministers of God and to widows and orphans. And may thy head never lack the oil of compassion, that thou mayst be crowned now and hereafter with an eternal reward."

And he was anointed with the holy oil and crowned by the pontiffs, Hildebert and Wicfried [archbishop of Cologne], with a golden crown. When the consecration was accomplished according to the law, the king was led by those same bishops to the throne, which was built between two marble columns and was reached by a winding stairway, whence he could see all and be seen by all.

When the divine praise had been sung and the mass solemnly celebrated, the king descended to the palace. There he drew near a marble table adorned with royal pomp, and seated himself with the bishops and all the people; and the dukes ministered to him.

## II. ROME AND THE PAPACY IN THE TIME OF OTTO THE GREAT

104. Degradation of the papacy in the tenth century. (From the *Chronicle of Benedict of St. Andrea*, condensed.)

We get an idea of the papacy in the middle of the tenth century from the chronicle of a monk living in the monastery of St. Andrea at the foot of Mt. Soracte, not far from Rome. He was near the scenes of the events he describes and wrote, according to Wattenbach, about 968, when Otto's Italian expeditions were fresh in his mind. But he was ignorant; his Latin is incredibly bad; he seems scarcely to know the difference between France and Germany, and makes many obvious historical

blunders. Yet there is good reason to assume that he gives us a tolerably correct general impression of the situation in Italy and Rome as Otto found it.

Marozia, mentioned below, belonged to a powerful Roman family, and, through her energy and ambition, had become the leader of the so-called senatorial party in Rome. Alberic, her son by her first husband, succeeded, as will appear in the selections given below, to her power; he ruled Rome, and quietly controlled the popes for more than a score of years until his death in 954. He was in turn followed by his son Octavian, who as a boy of sixteen sought to combine the position which his father had held with the papal office. Finally he decided to call in Otto the Great to help him out of his difficulties.<sup>1</sup>

The pope having died, the lady senatress Marozia [in 931] ordained her son John to the most sacred seat; wherefore he is called John XI. Rome was ruled by the power of a woman's hand; as we read in the words of the prophets, "Women shall rule Jerusalem."

Marozia has her son John made pope.

Again the Hungarians came to Rome, and appeared before the gate of St. John, and the Romans went forth and fought with the people of the Hungarians. And the Hungarians cut down the Roman nobles so that they lay unburied by the very doors of the church. Then the Hungarians came to the city of Reatina, and Joseph, the wise Lombard, went forth from the gates with a great army of the Lombards. He put some of the Hungarians to the sword and took many alive. Then the Hungarians saw that the strength of their people was growing less in every way. They returned to their own country, and came no more to Italy for pillage. . . .

The Hungarians driven out of Italy by the Lombards.

<sup>1</sup> An excellent brief account of the tangled history of Italy during the period in question will be found in Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 115-128 and 135-144. Corrections of Benedict's inaccuracies are given in Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. IV, pp. 276 sqq.

Marozia, mother of Alberic, prince of the Romans, sent legates to a certain Hugo, king of the Lombards,<sup>1</sup> asking that he unite himself with her in marriage. And this was done [932]. But after the marriage had been solemnized in the Castle of St. Angelo and the king had retired with the queen, the king had evil thoughts, — that he would tear out the eyes of his stepson Alberic, and so bring the Roman kingdom under his own power.

Alberic frustrates the schemes of King Hugo and makes himself master of Rome and the papacy.

Alberic the prince learned of this plot, and he made a covenant with the Romans. The trumpets in the churches sounded with fearful clamor, the people rushed to arms, and the earth echoed with outcries. The hearts of the king and the queen quaked with fear, and the king returned to Lombardy. The face of Alberic, prince of the Romans, shone like his father's, and he grew in strength and power. Indeed, he was too terrible, and his yoke grew heavy upon the Romans and upon the holy apostolic see. The pope dared not to do anything without the commands of Prince Alberic.<sup>2</sup> And in his time no hostile force entered Italy from the land of the Lombards or from across the Alps.

Alberic had a son, to whom he gave the name Octavian. The Romans, according to their evil habit, took counsel how they might kill Prince Alberic, and Alberic became aware of this plan. Marinus the bishop and Benedict the bishop, with many others, worked secretly from that time to bring Prince Alberic to death. But their evil plans came to naught. The glorious prince had sisters of senatorial rank, who plotted secretly among themselves the death of their brother. Then one of them abandoned the plot and, feigning to be grieved, in the goodness of her heart hinted to her brother how she had chanced upon the knowledge of a plot against him. When Alberic heard her story the bishops we named were seized. Some of the conspirators were made executioners of others, some were scourged, some thrust into prison, some

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Alberic kept his half-brother, John XI, who died in 936, in honorable confinement and appears to have held the four succeeding popes in complete subordination.

put to the sword. Thus was the prince delivered from the treason of the Romans. . . .

There was at this time [946-955] in the holy apostolic see a pope named Agapetus. Not long after the plot of which we have told, the illustrious prince [Alberic] began to sicken. He came straightway to the church of the chief of the apostles, and sent messengers to all the Roman nobles, and made them come to him. They all promised faithfully upon oath that after the death of Pope Agapetus they would elect Octavian pope. Having arranged for his daughter's welfare and for his son Octavian, and having confessed to St. Peter the apostle, Prince Alberic ended his life.

Death of Alberic (954)

And not long afterward Pope Agapetus died. Octavian was elected to the holy see and was called John XII. He led a life so licentious and so openly wicked that he might have been a heathen. He hunted constantly, not as a pope but like a wild man. He was given over to vain desires and surrounded himself with a crowd of evil women. So great was his iniquity that it cannot be told.

Octavian, Alberic's son, becomes John XII (955). His evil life.

Now there were in the city of Rome a deacon of the holy Roman church named John, and Azzo, a papal scribe, who hated the pontiff. Because his life was so evil, we consulted how we might call the Saxon kings into Italy to possess the Roman power. John and Azzo were sturdy men, and they were of one heart and one mind, — that it were better to do the pontiff to death than to let him live, and that the Roman power should be bestowed upon the Saxon king, to the end that he might rule justly as the protector of holy Church. They sent legates to Otto, the first Saxon king, asking him to come and possess Italy and the Roman power.

The pope heard of this plot. He seized John the deacon and Azzo the scribe. He ordered the hand to be cut off with which Azzo had written the letter to Otto, and had John the deacon's nose cut off.<sup>1</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> It would appear, however, from other sources that it was really John himself who called Otto into Italy. Even Benedict says just below that the pope received the Saxon king honorably.

Otto the king came into Italy [961] with a great multitude of people that well-nigh filled the face of the earth like locusts. He had with him many nations whose tongues the people did not know. The Roman people met him, together with the pontiff, and received him honorably. Masses were celebrated in the church of the chief of the apostles. Otto was extolled with high praises, and was called "August." In this wise was the Italian kingdom, or the Roman power, made subject to the Saxon king.

Coronation  
of Otto the  
Great as  
emperor.

The king and the queen, whose name was Adelaide, were crowned in the church of the chief of the apostles; and they gave many gifts throughout the holy Roman church. Then much trouble came upon the Italian kingdom, for it was devastated by pestilence, famine, fire, and sword. The cattle perished, the land became a wilderness, and the famine ever increased.

Otto sets up  
an antipope,  
Leo.

A great conflict arose between the emperor and the pope, — how, we do not say. John withdrew into Campania, leaving the apostolic see for fear of the emperor. The Romans were in great confusion, and they begged the emperor that he would elect a certain Leo pope. This seemed good to the emperor, and Leo was elected and enthroned in the most holy see. . . .

The Romans, as was their ancient habit, were divided among themselves; and John the pope was recalled from Campania, and entered Rome with a strong army. Leo took flight and withdrew to a distance. They say he went across the Alps. Not long afterward the emperor returned with the pope and a great army into Italy. John the pope heard of the king's furious onslaughts: he left Rome and fled to Campania. [Soon after, he died.] The Romans elected Benedict, the subdeacon, pope, a prudent man well versed in grammar.

The emperor heard of this schism and grew very angry. He swore by his royal power that he would besiege the city of Rome on all sides unless Benedict would give way to the rightful pope [Leo]. Rome was surrounded by the people of the Lombards, the Saxons, and the Gauls, in a

great circle, so that none dared to go beyond the walls. Fire and sword caused great famine in Rome, and the hearts of the people quailed within them because their strength was brought to naught. There was but one voice among them from the least to the greatest. Forced by dire need, they took Benedict the pope and gave him into the hands of the emperor, and said to one another: "It is better for one alone to die for all, that we may save all other lives from destruction by hunger." The emperor sent the pontiff into exile in Saxony, and Leo returned to the most sacred seat, amid the praises of the Roman people. . . .

Woe unto thee, Rome, oppressed and trodden under foot by so many nations! Thou art taken captive by the Saxon king, thy people are put to the sword, thy strength is brought to naught. Thy gold and thy silver are carried away in their purses. The mother thou wast — a daughter thou hast become. What thou hadst, thou hast lost. Thou art despoiled of thy former strength. . . .

Formerly, glorying in thy power, thou hast triumphed over nations, hast cast the world into the dust, hast strangled the kings of the earth. Thou hast grasped the scepter and wielded great power. Now art thou plundered and utterly despoiled by the Saxon king. As some wise men say, and as it will be found written in thy histories, thou didst once fight with foreign nations and conquer them from north to south. Now the people of Gaul have encamped in the midst of thee. Thou wast too beautiful.

### III. LIUTPRAND AND HIS "BOOK OF RETRIBUTION"

The most entertaining and at the same time one of the most instructive historians of the tenth century is Liutprand, an Italian contemporary of Otto the Great. He spent his early years at Pavia, the capital of the kingdom of Italy, and was closely associated with both King Hugo (mentioned above) and with his successor,

Liutprand's  
importance  
as an histor-  
ical writer.

Berengar II. The latter sent him on an embassy to Constantinople in 949, where he added a knowledge of Greek, of which he was evidently very vain, to his already remarkable attainments in Latin literature. Five or six years later he fell out with Berengar and fled to the court of Otto the Great, whose ardent supporter he remained thereafter. When Otto had conquered his Italian kingdom in 962 he made the helpful Liutprand bishop of Cremona. In 968 he undertook a mission to Constantinople for the emperor. Here he was badly treated, and on his way back wrote a lively account of his experiences at the Byzantine court.<sup>1</sup> He died about 973.

Besides his account of his embassy to Constantinople, we have from Liutprand's pen a history of Europe relating chiefly to Italy and Germany during his own early years, and closing abruptly in the middle of the year 950. This is his *Book of Retribution*, extracts from which are given below. Later he undertook an account of the deeds of Otto the Great, which he never finished. This deals almost exclusively with Otto's troubles with Pope John XII in 963. Liutprand is our best source for the matters of which he had personal knowledge, and few knew more of the politics of the time. Yet even more important than his narrative of events is the light which he casts upon the thought and customs of his age, especially the life at the court of the eastern emperors.<sup>2</sup>

105. Liutprand explains why he wrote the *Book of Retribution*.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, herewith begins the book *ἀνταποδόσεως* (*antapodóseos*) — that is to say, “of retribution” — for the kings and princes of a part of Europe, which Liutprand, deacon of the church at Pavia,

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Henderson in the appendix to his *Select Documents*.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 340 *sqq.*

has composed ἐν τῇ ἐχμαλοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ (*en ti echmalosia autu*), — that is to say, “during his wanderings,” — and has dedicated to Recemund, bishop of Elvira, in Spain.<sup>1</sup>

*To the Honorable Lord and Mirror of Holiness, Lord Recemund, Bishop of Elvira, Liutprand, not owing to any merit of his own, deacon of the church at Pavia, Greeting:*

Owing to a want of confidence in my powers, I have now for two years hesitated to fulfill your request, my dearest father, that I should narrate the deeds of the emperors and kings of all Europe, since I knew them not through doubtful hearsay but from my own observation. I was deterred from the undertaking by my complete want of eloquence and by the ill will of the critics. For these arrogant fellows, who are too lazy to read themselves and, as the learned Boethius says, think that they wear the philosophic mantle when they have on scarcely a rag of it, will say mockingly to me, “Our predecessors have written so much that there is now a dearth of readers rather than of books.” And they will quote that verse of the comedy, “We shall hear nothing that others have not said before.”<sup>2</sup>

I answer all such barking curs by the observation that just as it is with those who the more they drink the thirstier they are, so with the learned, the more they read the more they long for new books. One who, for example, has become weary of the profound works of the eloquent Cicero may find recreation in such light writings as the present one. Just as one who gazes at the sun directly, with nothing between his eye and it, will only be dazzled and not see it in its proper shape, so the mind, it seems to me, which contemplates without intermission the teachings of the Academy, and of the Peripatetics and Stoics, will flag unless it finds refreshment in the salutary laughter called forth by comedy, or in the entertaining tales of the heroes.

<sup>1</sup> Liutprand probably began his book in 958, at the urgent request of the bishop of Elvira, who was sojourning at the court of Otto as the representative of the Spanish caliph, Abderrahman.

<sup>2</sup> A quotation from memory from Terence.

Since the abhorrent practices of the ancient heathen, the knowledge of which is not only useless but positively hurtful, are recorded in books so that it may not be lost, why should we say nothing of the warlike deeds of the men of our own time, who are in no way behind the famous generals Julius, Pompey, Hannibal, his brother Hasdrubal, and Scipio Africanus?

Doubtless, most holy father [Liutprand adds at the opening of the third book], you will constantly marvel over the title of this work. Why, you will ask, did the book receive the title *Ανταπόδοσης* (*antapódosis*), since it narrates the deeds of distinguished men? I answer, the aim of this work is to relate, proclaim, shout abroad to the whole world the acts of that Berengar who is now tyrant rather than king in Italy, and of his wife Willa, who, by reason of her boundless oppression, should be called a second Jezebel, and for her insatiable lust for plunder, by her true name of Lamia. Both of these have without cause persecuted me and my house, my relatives and my associates, with the poisoned arrows of lies, and by tyrannical exactions and godless intrigues such as neither tongue can tell nor pen describe.

So these pages shall be for them *antapódosis*, — that is to say, a “retribution,” — because, for the evils that they have brought upon me, I propose to reveal to the present and to future generations *τὴν* (article) *ἀσεβείαν* (*asevian*), — that is to say, their godlessness. And not less will this be an *antapódosis* for the benefits which good and holy men have conferred upon me. For among all those whom I have mentioned or shall mention, with the single exception of this godless Berengar, there are few or none to whom either my parents or myself do not owe the warmest thanks for the good they have done us.

It is, moreover, said of this book of mine that it was written *εν* (that is, “in”) *τη* (article) *εχμαλοσία* (*en ti echmalosia*), to wit, during “imprisonment” or “wandering.” This refers to my exile; for I began it in Frankfort, which is twenty miles from Mayence, and am now working on it on the

island of Paxo [south of Corfu], some nine hundred miles from Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. BRUNO, THE IDEAL OF A SCHOLAR IN THE TENTH CENTURY

There was a marked revival of interest in learning in Germany under Otto the Great. We can form some idea of its character from Ruotger's *Life of Bruno*, Otto's scholarly brother, which is one of the most interesting biographies of the earlier Middle Ages.

When [in 928] the noble child of kings was four years old he was sent to Utrecht, to be instructed by the venerable Bishop Baldric in liberal studies. . . . Of his progress we have heard from the bishop's own lips, for he was wont to tell of it often to the glory of God. So we know that when the boy had acquired the first rudiments of grammar he began to read, under his teacher's guidance, the poet Prudentius. This poet is Catholic in faith and in aspiration, excellent in eloquence and in truth, pleasing in meter, rich in meaning. His verses delighted the boy's heart. He mastered the words and the inner meaning, and, if I may say so, drank the purest nectar of the spirit like one athirst. As time went on, his eager mind grasped all sorts of liberal studies within the range of Greek and Latin eloquence. . . . He would not allow books which he had studied or had before him to be carelessly torn or creased, or handled heedlessly in any way. . . .

Bruno had given himself to God when he was very young; but when his brother Otto came to the throne, he recalled Bruno from the retirement of the schools to the palace, and gave him an honorable post, as was fitting. Yet he never ceased to seek learning. He was not satisfied to gather in the treasury of his mind lore easy to mine. Nay, he collected from far and near riddles and philosophical problems

<sup>1</sup> Liutprand appears to have been on his way to Constantinople in 959, for what reason we do not know.

106. From Ruotger's *Life of Bruno* condensed.

foreign to the human understanding and gave them room in his heart. The seven liberal arts had been long forgotten: he brought them again to light. Whatever historians, orators, poets, philosophers had to tell that was novel or great he closely investigated, aided by teachers of the language in which the books were written.

His Latin style was well-nigh perfect, and his influence made the style of others polished and clear. He was in no wise haughty, but was dignified, courteous, affable, charming. After meals most men, even, so we understand, eminent ones, are given to rest awhile. Bruno, on the contrary, busied himself tirelessly with reading and thinking. He would not give up the morning hours at any price and never yielded to drowsiness. Jests and buffoonery which make everybody shake with laughter when put into the mouths of various persons in tragedy and comedy, he read through gravely and seriously. He thought their meaning was worthless; he estimated the style as the main thing. He took his library everywhere with him. When he followed the king he had, wherever the royal tents were pitched, the source and the materials for his studies, — the source in the sacred books, the materials in secular ones. . . . Even when he traveled he was not idle; and in a crowd he was as if alone. We could not say this of many men. . . .

He allowed himself no luxuries. He refused over and over again in the king's palace to wear the fine and soft clothing in which he had been nurtured. Among servants clad in purple and soldiers gleaming with gold he wore the mean garb and the sheepskins of a rustic. He especially spurned the comforts of the couch. He rarely frequented the bath with those who wished to make their skin white and shining. This is the more wonderful because he had been used from the cradle to the greatest daintiness and to royal splendor.

Always and everywhere, in public and in private, he bore himself as one who would avoid human praise; yet he served as an example to his inferiors. Many men profited by his words and yet more by his example.

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volumes have appeared, coming down to the thirteenth century. This is an extraordinary treatment of the whole field of German history by reigns and years, and is designed for the exacting student rather than for the reader of history, as there is much technical discussion of minute questions of scholarship. The volumes for the Carolingian period have already been mentioned. For the tenth and early eleventh century there are the following: WAITZ, *König Heinrich I*, 1863; DÜMMLER, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse*, 1876; UHLIRZ, *Otto II und Otto III*, Vol. I, 1902; HIRSCH and BRESSLAU, *Heinrich II*, 3 vols., 1862-1875; BRESSLAU, *Konrad II*, 2 vols., 1879-1884; STEINDORFF, *Heinrich III*, 2 vols., 1874-1881.

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Detailed  
narrative  
histories,  
which may  
generally be  
neglected.

There are a number of more or less voluminous modern narrative histories of Germany in German. The most suggestive of these is LAMPRECHT, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Berlin, 1891 *sqq.*, an original treatment, with much attention to the social and economic phases. Other works of this class are briefly described by Dr. Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 21 *sqq.*

It may not be amiss to suggest that the student will do well after he has gained a tolerably clear notion of the general course of German history to proceed directly to such a work as Richter's *Annalen*, which brings him close to the sources, rather than to plod through the detailed and often rather heavy and unprofitable secondary accounts.

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The *Monu-  
menta  
Germaniae  
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In the preceding bibliographies frequent references have already been made to the great collection of the sources of German history in the Middle Ages known as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hannover and Berlin, 1826 *sqq.* The first portions of this vast collection were issued in *folio* under the editorship of the distinguished scholar Pertz. Of this *folio* edition there are 29 volumes, known as the *Scriptores*

*rerum Germanicarum*. This series, beginning with the sources of the Carolingian period, is sometimes referred to as "Pertz," from its editor. There are besides in *folio* five volumes of laws — *Leges* — and one of *Diplomata*. Portions of this *folio* edition are out of print and are very expensive.

A reorganization of the whole great enterprise was undertaken after the death of Pertz, and since 1877 volumes have been appearing in *quarto* in several divisions. The *Auctores antiquissimi*, 13 volumes, include the Roman writers who deal with the earliest history of the Germans. Then there are the *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* and the *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*. All these relate almost exclusively to a period anterior to Pippin and Charlemagne, and so bear rather on the history of western Europe than on that of Germany, in the later and narrower sense of the term. There are other sections of the *quarto* series, for example, the *Leges*, the *Epistolae*, etc.

Many of the more important annals and chronicles included in the *Monumenta* have been reprinted in a very inexpensive form in the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover, 1840 *sqq.*, 42 vols., *octavo*. In some cases the text of the *octavo* edition is more recent and critical than that in the expensive *Monumenta*.

The *octavo*  
edition of the  
*Monumenta*.

Under the title *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, 90 vols., 2d ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1885 *sqq.*, M. 228.15, admirable translations by distinguished German scholars have been issued of the chief sources of German history for the whole period from Cæsar to the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

*Die*  
*Geschicht-*  
*schreiber der*  
*deutschen*  
*Vorzeit*.

It is hardly necessary to add that the *Monumenta* and its offshoots, — the *octavo* edition and the *Geschichtschreiber*, — although edited with special attention to Germany, are far the best of all the collections of sources for the student of the general history of western Europe during the Middle Ages.

The annals for the early tenth century are very meager. The extract from *The Continuation of Regino*, given above, pp. 245 *sqq.*, affords an idea of their character; but in the latter half of the century several important historical works appeared:

Sources for  
the tenth  
and early  
eleventh  
centuries.

WIDUKIND, *Deeds of the Saxons*, covering the period of Henry I and Otto the Great. The author was a monk of Corvei, and began his

<sup>1</sup> References to the *Monumenta* are usually abbreviated, e.g. MG. or M.G.H. SS. rer. Mer. = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*. For a fuller description and an analysis of this and other great sets, see Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters*, 2d ed., pp. xxxii *sqq.*

work in 967, when Otto was at the height of his power. See extracts above, pp. 249 *sq.* (In the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and in the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXIII.)

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (d. ca. 973). See above, pp. 255 *sqq.* (In the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and long extracts with excellent introduction by WATTENBACH in *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXIX.)

HROSVITA, a nun of Gandersheim, who died about the year 1000, composed a metrical account of Otto's deeds, but is especially well known for her dramas, which were suggested by those of Terence, but have little in common with their model either in style or substance. (Her historical works are in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and in the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXII. Her dramas may be found in her works edited by Winterfeld, 1902, and with a French version in MAGNIN, *Théâtre de Hrosvita*. See EBERT, Vol. III, pp. 285 *sqq.*)

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For the early eleventh century the following writers are of especial note:

THIETMAR, bishop of Merseburg, completed a history of the three Ottos and Henry II in 1018. (In the octavo edition, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXIX.)

HERMANN OF REICHENAU (called *Contractus*, i.e. the lame), who died in 1054, is one of the ablest historians of his time. His *Chronicle* is, of course, especially valuable for his own age, but he used an excellent source for the previous century, which has been lost, and his work is therefore as authoritative and rather more complete and orderly than the *Annals of Quedlinburg, Hildesheim*, etc., which belong to the latter part of the tenth century. (In the *Monumenta*, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XLII.)

LAMBERT OF HERSFELD, the most elegant writer of the earlier Middle Ages, brings his annals down to 1077. Formerly greatly admired, he has of late been accused of partiality and unfairness. (In the octavo edition, and *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XLIII.)

For Gerbert's letters and the French sources, see above, p. 219 *sqq.*

For the history of the papacy from the break-up of Charlemagne's empire to the time of Gregory VII, the following works are to be especially recommended:

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Materials  
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the papacy.

his work to the period before Gregory's pontificate and gives many extracts from the sources.

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The pseudo  
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