

CHRISTIANITY

The peace, stability, and prosperity of the first two centuries of the Roman Empire provided essential conditions for the rise of Christianity as one of the world's great religions and as the single most important cultural force in the future of Western civilization. Despite certain problems in regard to the historical character of the Gospels, there is no reason to doubt that Jesus was born in the province of Judaea in the time of Augustus and that he was a most effective teacher in the tradition of the Jewish prophets. Jesus had success and won a considerable following, especially among the poor. This success caused much suspicion among the upper classes. His message of love, charity, and humility, as seen in the Sermon on the Mount, and his criticism of the current Jewish religious practices provoked hostility within the religious establishment.

Jesus was put to death by Roman soldiers in Jerusalem probably in C.E. 30. His followers believed that he was resurrected on the third day after his death, and that belief became a critical element in the religion that they propagated throughout the Roman Empire and beyond. Through the early missionary work of Paul of Tarsus, the Christian faith was carried beyond the area of Palestine to virtually all the eastern Mediterranean world and to Rome itself. Christianity had its greatest success in the cities and among the poor and uneducated. (See "Mark Describes the Resurrection of Jesus.")

The future of Christianity depended on its communities finding an organization that would preserve unity within the group and help protect it against enemies outside. At first, the churches had little formal organization. By the second century C.E., however, the Christians of each city tended to accept the authority and leadership of a bishop. In time, bishops extended their authority over the Christian communities in outlying towns and the countryside. The power and authority of the bishops were soon enhanced by the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, which asserted that the powers that Jesus had given his original disciples were passed on from bishop to bishop by ordination.

The new faith soon incurred the distrust of the pagan world and of the imperial government, but in the first two centuries there was comparatively little official persecution. Division within the Christian church during these years was a greater threat. The great majority of Christians held to what even then were traditional, simple, conservative beliefs. This body of majority opinion and the Church that enshrined it came to be called *Catholic*, which means "universal." Its doctrines were deemed orthodox, whereas those holding contrary opinions were deemed heretics.

By the end of the second century, an orthodox canon had been shaped that included the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul, among other writings. The orthodox declared the Church itself to be the depository of Christian teaching and the bishops to be its receivers. They also drew up creeds, brief statements of faith to which true Christians should adhere.

By the end of the second century, an orthodox Christian—that is, a member of the Catholic church—was required to accept its creed, its canon of holy writings, and the authority of the bishops. During this same time, the Church in Rome and its bishop came to have special prominence; by C.E. 200, Rome was the most important center of Christianity.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By the time that the Christian religion had firmly established itself, the Roman Empire had entered a period of turmoil and instability known as the "crisis of the third century." There were massive external pressures on Rome's frontiers. The Persians pressed from the east and German tribes endangered the frontiers on the west and north. As the empire moved forces to fight one enemy, the frontier weakened in other areas.

The Roman army was no longer composed of citizens but rather of slaves, gladiators, barbarians, and brigands conscripted to fight. The emperors in this



A mosaic from Carthage illustrating aspects of life on the manorial estate of a certain Julian in the province of Africa. His housing, provisions, and entertainment appear to have been opulent. Social boundaries hardened in the late empire, and large fortified estates like this increasingly dominated social and economic life.

Musee Nationale du Bardo

MARK DESCRIBES THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS

Belief that Jesus rose from the dead after his Crucifixion (about 30 C.E.) was and is central to traditional Christian doctrine. The record of the Resurrection in the Gospel of Mark, written a generation later (toward 70 C.E.), is the earliest we have. The significance to most Christian groups revolves about the assurance given them that death and the grave are not final and that, instead, salvation for a future life is possible. The appeal of these views was to be nearly universal in the West during the Middle Ages. The church was commonly thought to be the means of implementing the promise of salvation—hence the enormous importance of the church's sacramental system, its rules, and its clergy.

■ Why are the stories of miracles such as the one described here important for the growth of Christianity? What is special and important about this miracle? Why is it important in the story that days passed between the death of Jesus and the opening of the tomb? Why might the early Christians believe this story? Why was belief in the resurrection important for Christianity in the centuries immediately after the life of Jesus? Is it still important today?

And when evening had come, since it was the day of Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, Joseph of Arimathea, a respected member of the council, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, took courage and went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate wondered if he were already dead, and summoning the centurion, he asked him whether he was already dead. And when he learned from the centurion that he was dead, he granted the body to Joseph. And he brought a linen shroud, and taking him down, wrapped him in the linen shroud, and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of the rock, and he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb. Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus saw where he was laid.

And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought

spices, so that they might go and anoint him. And very early on the first day of the week they went to the tomb when the sun had risen. And they were saying to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the door of the tomb?" And looking up, they saw that the stone was rolled back, for it was very large. And entering the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, dressed in a white robe, and they were amazed. And he said to them, "Do not be amazed; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen, he is not here, see the place where they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you." And they went out and fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment had come upon them, and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid.

Gospel of Mark 15:42-47; 16:1-8, *Revised Standard Version of the Bible* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946, 1952).

century and later were almost wholly dependent on the army for their authority. The military expenses put great pressure on the economy. Because the empire was impoverished, with no system of credit financing, the emperors compelled the people to provide food, supplies, money, and labor. The upper classes in the cities were made to serve as administrators without pay and to meet deficits in revenue from their own pockets. The changes in the army, the tax system, and administrative procedures undermined both the authority and the morale of the traditional ruling classes in the empire.

Toward the end of the third century, the emperor Diocletian (r. C.E. 284-305) responded to these difficulties by dividing the empire into four separate administrative units, each with its own ruler and capital. This political reorganization did not prove to be particularly effective. The emperor Constantine (r. C.E. 306-337) re-united the empire, but only temporarily. In C.E. 330, he established his capital at Constantinople in the East. Fragmentation and the shifting of the capital meant that by the close of the fourth century the empire consisted of eastern and western halves virtually independent of each other.

Constantinople became the center of a vital and flourishing culture that we call *Byzantine* and that lasted until the fifteenth century.

Indeed, when we contemplate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, we are speaking only of the West. There, life became increasingly rural as barbarian invasions continued and grew in intensity. The villa, a fortified country estate, became the basic unit of life. There, *coloni*, small landholders who were original settlers, gave their services to the local magnate in return for economic assistance and protection. Many cities shrank to no more than tiny walled fortresses ruled by military commanders and bishops. The failure of the central imperial authority to maintain the roads and the constant danger from robber bands sharply curtailed trade and communications. These circumstances forced greater self-reliance and a more primitive style of life. The only institution providing a high degree of unity was the Christian church.

The new central position of the Christian church was closely connected with the political and cultural turmoil of the third and fourth centuries. During these centuries, many people turned to various kinds of religions, Christianity among them, as traditional political institutions collapsed. Christianity offered converts a rich and attractive philosophy of life. It possessed a god who had suffered, died, and was resurrected, mystical and sacred rites, a moral code, a strong sense of community, the spiritual equality of male and female, rich and poor, a close, personal relationship with the deity, and the promise of immortality. The Church had an efficient organization. And its doctrines of love and the

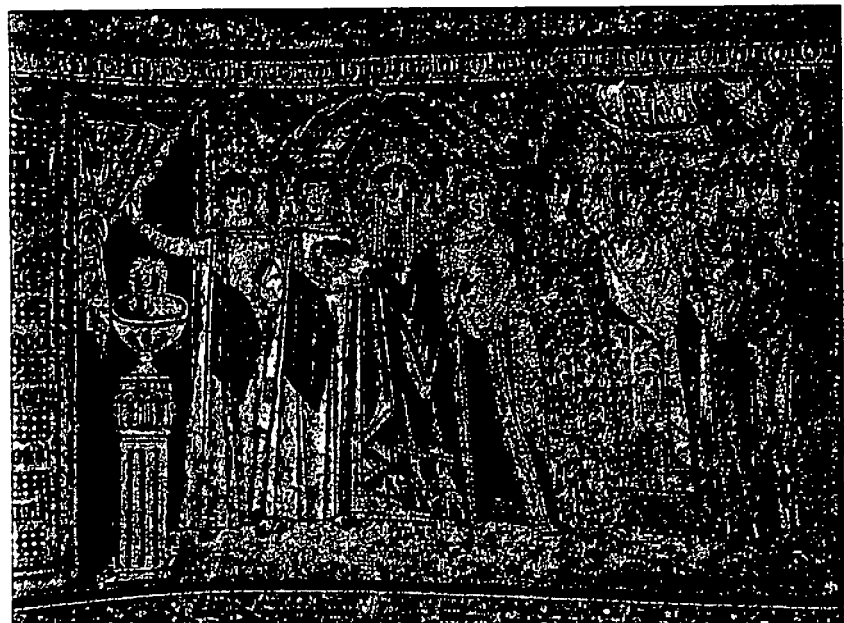
brotherhood of all humankind under a loving and forgiving God were deeply attractive.

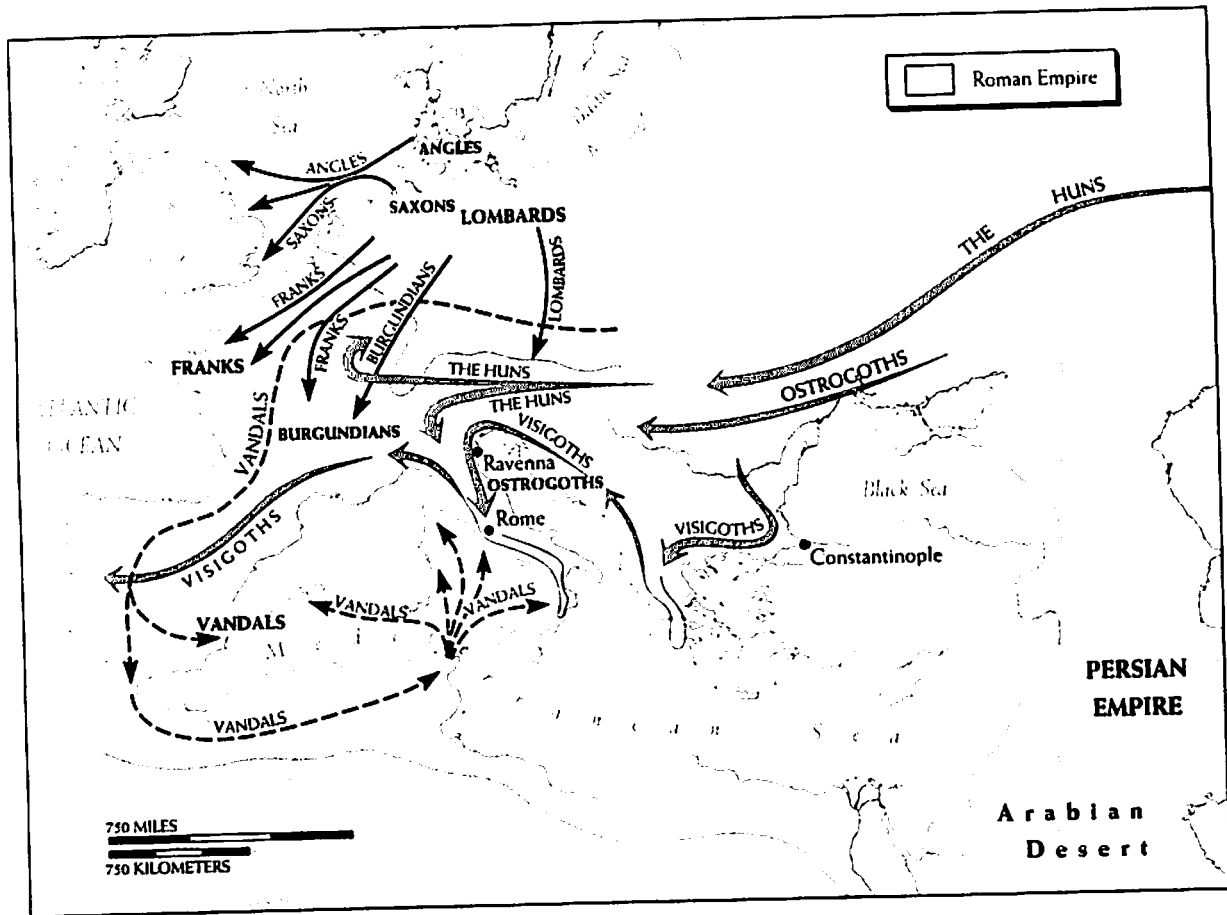
Christianity prospered during the third century, but it also encountered new dangers. About the middle of the century, a brief official persecution occurred. In 303, Diocletian launched the most serious persecution the Church had yet experienced. In both cases, persecution backfired and created new sympathy for Christianity.

In 312, Constantine became a champion of the new faith in hopes that the Christian God would bring victory to his military forces. After he won the important Battle of the Milvian Bridge, his support of the Christian cause was unflinching. Although he did not outlaw pagan rituals or abolish the cult of emperor worship, Constantine did go far beyond simply tolerating Christianity by granting various official privileges to the Church. With one exception, the successors of Constantine in the fourth century favored Christianity. In 394, the emperor Theodosius (r. 379–395) forbade the celebration of pagan cults and abolished the pagan religious calendar. At the death of Theodosius, Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire.

The establishment of Christianity as the state religion did not put an end to the troubles of Christians and their church. Instead, it created new ones and complicated some that were old. First, the favored position of the Church attracted converts for the wrong reasons. Second, the problem of the relationship between Church and state arose, presenting the possibility that Christianity would become completely subordinate to the state, as religion had been in the classical world and in earlier civilizations.

Empress Theodora and her attendants. The union of political and spiritual authority in the person of the empress is shown by the depiction on Theodora's mantle of three magi carrying gifts to the Virgin and Jesus. Early Christian Mosaic. San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy. Copyright Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.





MAP I-8 BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS INTO THE WEST IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES
The forceful intrusion of Germanic and non-Germanic barbarians into the Roman Empire from the last quarter of the fourth century through the fifth century made for a constantly changing pattern of movement and relations. The map shows the major routes taken by the usually unwelcome newcomers and the areas most deeply affected by main groups.

The position and the influence of the Christian church became strong during the very decades when the political structures of the Roman Empire began to crumble under waves of barbarian invasions from northern and eastern Europe (see Map I-8). In 378, German tribes handily defeated the Roman armies led by the emperor Valens (r. 364-378) at the Battle of Adrianople. Thereafter, the Romans passively permitted settlement after settlement of barbarians within the very heart of the Western empire. In 410 the Visigoths sacked Rome itself.

In 476, the traditional date for the fall of the Roman Empire, the Western emperor Romulus Augustulus (r. 475-476) was deposed and replaced by the barbarian Odoacer (ca. 434-493), who ruled as king of the Romans. By the end of the fifth century, power in western Europe had passed decisively from the hands of the Roman emperors to those of barbarian chieftains. The Ostrogoths settled in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in northern Gaul

and Spain, the Vandals in Africa and the Mediterranean, and the Angles and Saxons in England.

Europe Enters the Middle Ages

Barbarians were now the Western masters, but they were masters who also were willing to learn from the people they had conquered. Although the barbarians were militarily superior, the Romans retained their cultural strength. This accommodation of cultures was assisted by the fact that the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and the Vandals had entered the West as people already partly Christianized by missionaries. All things considered, reconciliation and a gradual interpenetration of two strong cultures—a creative tension—marked the period of the Germanic invasions. The stronger culture was the Roman, and it became dominant in a later fusion.

The political collapse of western Europe, and with it the end of the political and economic unity between East and West that had characterized the Roman Empire, marked the beginning of the European Middle Ages. The early Middle Ages (476–1000) saw the birth of a distinctive western European culture. It was a period of recovery from the collapse of Roman civilization, a time of forced experimentation with new ideas and institutions. Western European culture, as we know it today, was born of a unique, inventive mix of surviving Graeco-Roman, new Germanic, and evolving Christian traditions. Experimentation was required because of the pressure of the invasions, the local political turmoil and economic stagnation, the replacement of paganism by Christianity, and the new problem posed to Europe from the Mediterranean world by the rise of a new, militant religion, Islam.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

As western Europe succumbed to the Germanic invasions, imperial power shifted to the Byzantine Empire, that is, the eastern part of the Roman Empire, with its capital in Constantinople. Between 324 and 1453 the empire passed from an early period of expansion and splendor to a time of contraction and splintering, to final catastrophic defeat.

Between 324 and 632, the empire saw its greatest territorial expansion and its political and cultural golden age. Under Justinian (527–565), Roman law was collated and revised so that it could henceforth aid the growth of central government. Constantinople, with a population of 350,000, became the cultural crossroads of Asian and European civilization.

In the centuries after Justinian, however, Islamic armies progressively besieged the empire. Emperor Leo III (717–741) successfully repulsed them, but at the same time he created a new problem with western Christians by forbidding images to exist in eastern churches. The ensuing controversy contributed to a major schism between western (Roman Catholic) and eastern (Byzantine) Christianity.

In 1071, the Seljuk Turks overran the eastern provinces of the empire, and western Christians sacked Constantinople in 1204. These events sowed the seeds of the empire's demise, which came finally in the fifteenth century at the hands of the Ottoman Turks, who captured Constantinople in 1453.

THE RISE OF ISLAM

Muhammad (570–632), the founder of Islam, received his call to be "the Prophet" at age forty. The name of his religion, Islam, means "submission" (to Allah). Its adherents, called Muslims, which

means "submissive" or "surrendering," obey the will of Allah as revealed in the Qur'an, a series of revelations received by Muhammad over a period of time and compiled by his successors. Islam recognizes Jesus Christ as a prophet sent by God, but not one so great as Muhammad and not God's son as the Christians believe. Islam is uncompromisingly monotheistic.

Among the things required of the faithful are prayer five times each day, generous almsgiving, and fasting during the daylight hours for one month each year. Another requirement is a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, in what is now Saudi Arabia, at least once during one's lifetime. By its ability to forge a common Arab culture and its willingness to impose it by force, Islam became a spiritual force capable of uniting the Arab tribes in a true Arab empire.

By the middle of the eighth century, Muslims had conquered the southern and eastern Mediterranean coastline and occupied parts of Spain, which they controlled or strongly influenced until



Muslims are enjoined to live by the divine law, or Shari'a, and have a right to have disputes settled by an arbiter of the Shari'a. Here we see a husband complaining about his wife before the state-appointed judge, or qadi. The wife, backed up by two other women, points an accusing finger at the husband. In such cases, the first duty of the qadi, who should be a learned person of faith, is to try to effect a reconciliation before the husband divorces his wife, or the wife herself seeks a divorce. Cliche Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

the fifteenth century (see Map I-9). In addition, their armies had pushed north and east through Mesopotamia and Persia and beyond.

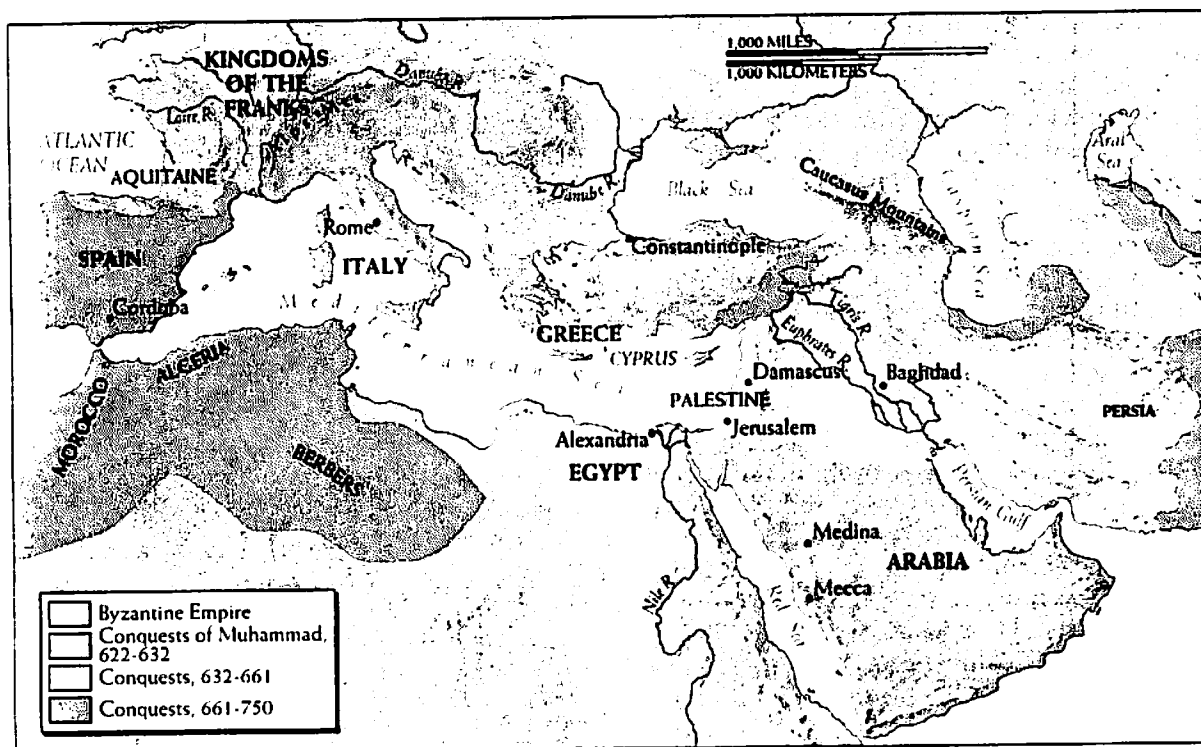
Assaulted on both their eastern and their western frontiers, and everywhere challenged in the Mediterranean, Europeans developed a lasting fear and suspicion of Muslims. In 732, an army led by Charles Martel, (d. 741) the ruler of the Franks, defeated a raiding party of Arabs at Poitiers. This victory ended the threat of Arab expansion into western Europe by way of Spain. Nonetheless, from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the eleventh century, the Mediterranean remained something of a Muslim lake. Although trade was not entirely cut off during these centuries, it was significantly reduced and was carried on in keen awareness of Muslim dominance.

NEW IMPORTANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

When trade wanes, cities decline, and with them those cultural centers that enable a society to look and live beyond itself. The Arab invasions and domination of the Mediterranean during a crucial period of the early Middle Ages contributed to the conditions for the birth of western Europe as a distinctive cultural and social entity. As western shipping in

the Mediterranean declined, so too did coastal urban centers. People who would otherwise have been engaged in trade-related work in the cities moved in large numbers to interior regions, where they worked on the farms of the great landholders. The domains of these landholders became the basic social and political units of society, and local barter economies sprang up within them.

The functions of the Christian church also became more important. Local bishops and cathedral chapters filled the vacuum of authority left by the removal of Roman governors. The local cathedral became the center of urban life, and the local bishop became the highest authority for those who remained in the cities. At this time, the Church alone possessed an effective hierarchical administration scattered throughout the old empire and staffed by the best-educated minds in Europe. The Church also strengthened itself through the institution of monasticism. Embracing the biblical "counsels of perfection" (chastity, poverty, and obedience), the monastic life became the purest form of Christian religious practice in the Middle Ages. The ideal of monasticism as the model for a superior Christian life eventually evolved into a belief in the general superiority of the clergy and the mission of the Church over the laity and the state.



MAP I-9 MUSLIM CONQUESTS AND DOMINATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN TO ABOUT 750 C.E. The rapid spread of Islam (both as a religion and as a political-military power) is shown here. Within 125 years of Muhammad's rise, Muslims came to dominate Spain and all areas south and east of the Mediterranean.

In addition to this distinctly moral and spiritual claim to superiority, the bishops of Rome made a separate claim to superiority within the Church; they had always opposed intervention by the secular state in Church matters. As early as the fifth and sixth centuries, they took advantage of imperial weakness and distraction to develop the doctrine of "papal primacy" for their own defense. This teaching in time raised the Roman pontiff to an unassailable supremacy within the Church when it came to defining orthodox Church doctrine and practice. It also put the pope in a position to make important secular claims that caused repeated conflicts between Church and state in the Middle Ages.

CHARLEMAGNE

The chief political characteristic of the Middle Ages was the absence of central political authority. The most persistent problem of medieval political history was the competing claims of the "one" and the "many"—on one hand, the king, who struggled for a centralized government in a particular area and transregional loyalty from his subjects, and on the other, powerful local magnates who strove to preserve their regional autonomy and purely local customs.

Between the sixth and eleventh centuries, only one figure achieved a significant degree of centralized political authority over a substantial region of Europe. This was the Frankish king Charlemagne (r. 768–814), whose kingdom loosely embraced modern France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, almost the whole of western Germany, much of Italy, a portion of Spain, and the island of Corsica (see Map I-10). Charlemagne carefully developed strong political ties with local nobles and with the Church, which regarded him as its protector. On Christmas Day, 800, Pope Leo III (r. 795–816) crowned Charlemagne emperor. With this papal act there came into being what would come to be known in the tenth century as the Holy Roman Empire, a revival, based in Germany, of the old Roman Empire in the West.

Charlemagne governed his kingdom through counts, of whom there were perhaps as many as 250. They were strategically located within the administrative districts into which the kingdom was divided. The counts often were local magnates who already possessed the arms and the self-interest to enforce the rule of a generous king. These counts served Charlemagne well, but they were never completely loyal and he never wholly controlled their political behavior.

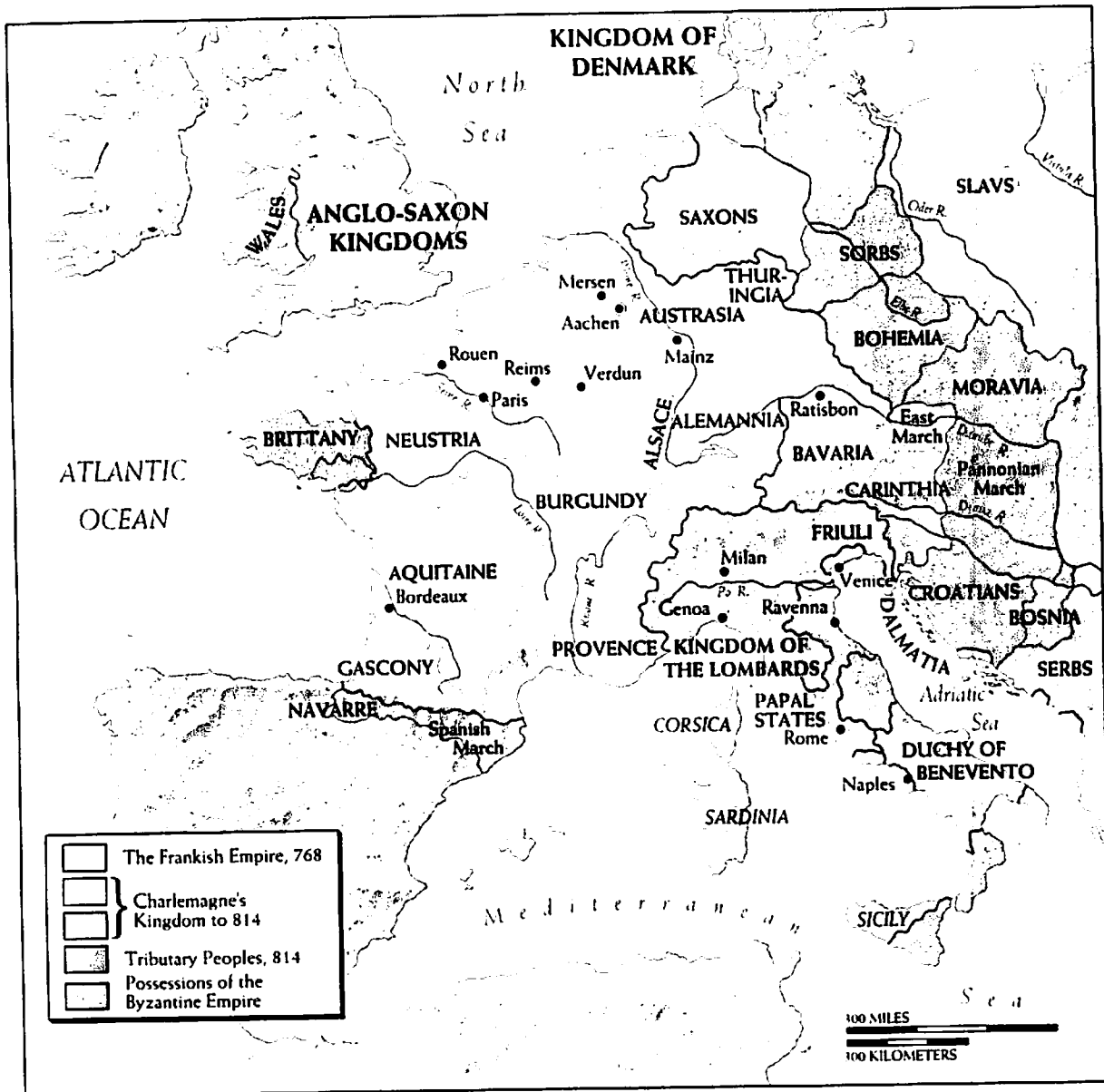
Charlemagne accumulated great wealth in the form of loot and land from conquered tribes. He



Saint Gregory the Great, shown in a monastic scriptorium, or study, receiving the divine word from a dove perched on his shoulder. Below him three monks are writing. The middle monk holds an inkwell in his left hand. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

used a large part of this booty to attract Europe's best scholars to his capital at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). He intended them to use their learning in the classics and Christian writings to upgrade the administrative skills of the clerics and officials who staffed the royal bureaucracy. Through these efforts, a modest rebirth of antiquity occurred in the palace school as scholars collected, studied, and preserved ancient manuscripts.

Charlemagne's empire and the cultural revival it nurtured lasted for a relatively short time. After the death of his son and successor, Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), the kingdom was divided into three equal parts by the Treaty of Verdun (843): a middle section (Lotharingia, embracing roughly modern Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Italy); a western part (roughly modern France); and



MAP I-10 THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE TO 814 *Building on the successes of his predecessors, Charlemagne greatly increased the Frankish domains. Such traditional enemies as the Saxons and the Lombards fell under his sway.*

an eastern part (roughly modern Germany). Long-term loyalty to a single monarch by the nobles of various regions proved unattainable. Potential monarchs fought each other, and nobles looked out for their own interests. The papacy lost prestige as it cast its lot first with one monarch and then with another in an effort to preserve a major political role for itself.

On top of all these troubles, the late ninth and tenth centuries saw successive waves of attacks by the Vikings from Scandinavia, the Magyars from the eastern European plains, and the Muslims in the south. Local populations became more dependent than ever before on local strongmen to

protect them. This brute fact of life provided the essential precondition for the maturation of feudal society.

FEUDAL AND MANORIAL SOCIETY

The early Middle Ages were a time of fragmentation and decentralization, with the weaker seeking the protection of the stronger. The term **feudal society** refers to the social, political, military, and economic system that emerged in response to these conditions. A feudal society is one in which a regional prince or a local lord is dominant and the highest virtues are those of mutual trust and fidelity. In a feudal society

what people most need is the firm assurance that others can be depended on in time of dire need.

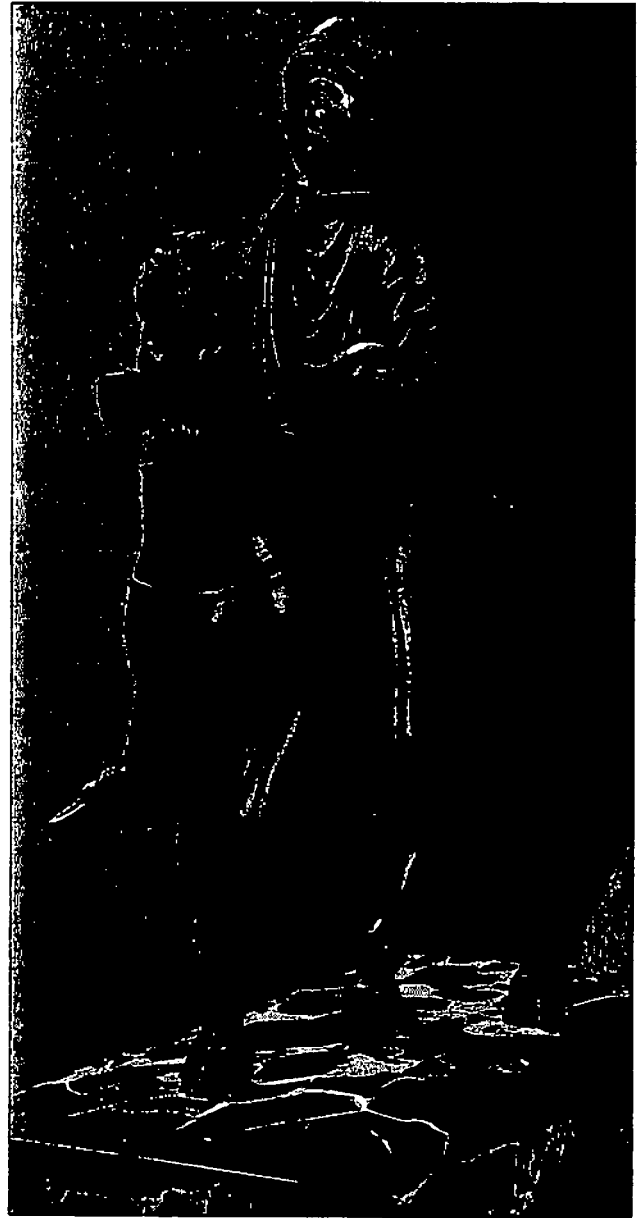
The two chief institutions of feudal society were vassalage and the fief. *Vassalage* involved "fealty" to a lord. To swear fealty was to promise to refrain from any action that might in any way threaten the lord's well-being and to perform for him on his request personal services, the most important of which was military aid. In return, the lord agreed to protect the vassal from physical harm and to stand as his advocate in public court. After fealty was sworn, the lord provided for the vassal's physical maintenance by the bestowal of a fief. The *fief* was the physical or material wherewithal to meet the vassal's military and other obligations. It could take the form of liquid wealth or, more commonly, a grant of real property. Feudalism could lead to a very confused set of relationships, because often one person was the vassal of more than one lord. And as the centuries passed, personal loyalty and service became quite secondary to the acquisition of property.

The social and economic equivalents of the dependency relationships of feudalism on local levels were the manor and serfdom. It is important to realize, however, that the manorial system existed in many places where feudalism never became well developed. Village farms, normally owned by a local landlord, were called *manors*. Here peasants labored as farmers under a lord, who gave them small plots

of land and tenements in exchange for their services and a portion of their crops. Some of the peasants were free and owned certain lands themselves. They had specific legal rights even if they surrendered their land and services to a landlord in exchange for his support and protection. On the other hand, peasants who entered the service of a lord without any real property to bargain with ended up as unfree *serfs*. All serfs owed labor of several days a week to their lords and were also subject to so-called dues in kind: firewood for cutting the lord's wood, sheep for grazing their sheep on the lord's land, and the like. The discontent of many serfs is witnessed by the high number of recorded escapes.

Major Political and Religious Developments of the Early Middle Ages

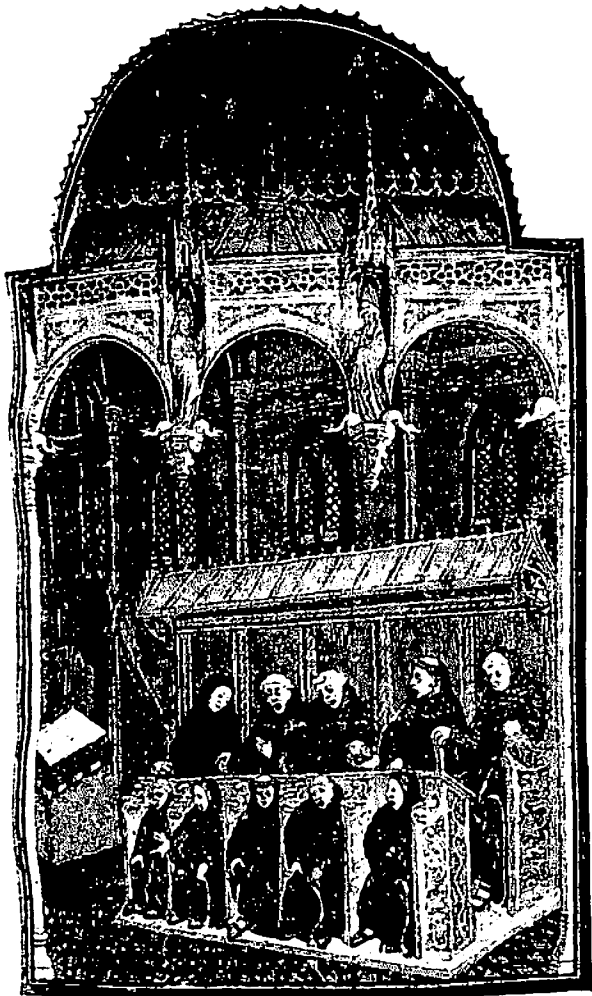
- 313 Emperor Constantine issues the *Edict of Milan*
- 325 Council of Nicaea defines Christian doctrine
- 410 Rome invaded by Visigoths under Alaric
- 413-426 Saint Augustine writes *City of God*
- 451 Council of Chalcedon further defines Christian doctrine
- 451-453 Europe invaded by the Huns under Attila
- 476 Barbarian Odoacer deposes Western emperor and rules as king of the Romans
- 489-493 Theodoric establishes kingdom of Ostrogoths in Italy
- 529 Saint Benedict founds monastery at Monte Cassino
- 533 Justinian codifies Roman law
- 622 Muhammad's flight from Mecca (*Hegira*)
- 732 Charles Martel defeats Muslims at Poitiers
- 754 Pope Stephen II and Pepin III ally



An equestrian figure of Charlemagne (or possibly one of his sons) from the early ninth century. $\frac{1}{4}$ view. Louvre, Paris, France. Copyright Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.

Church and State in the High Middle Ages

What are known as the High Middle Ages (ca. 1000–1300) mark a period of political expansion and consolidation and of intellectual flowering that followed Europe's deep difficulties during the ninth and tenth centuries. This period saw the borders of western Europe secured against foreign invaders. These centuries also saw the emergence of "national" monarchies in France, England, and Germany. Parliaments and popular assemblies, representing the interests of the landed nobility, the clergy, and townspeople, appeared at the same time to secure local rights and customs against the claims of the developing monarchies. During these centuries, there was also a great revival of trade and commerce, the growth of towns, and the emergence of a



Benedictine monks at choir. The reform movement that began at the Benedictine monastery at Cluny in northern France in the tenth century spread throughout the church and was ultimately responsible for the reassertion of papal authority. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Library

"new rich" merchant class, the ancestors of modern capitalists.

The High Middle Ages were also the time when the Western church, now centered on the pope in Rome, established itself as an authority independent of monarchical secular government. This occurred during the Investiture Struggle of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The fortunes of both the empire and the papacy had begun to revive after the dark period of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The Ottonians, successors to the Franks in Germany, now carried the title of Holy Roman emperor, and they produced some able leaders.

About the same time, the Church began to undergo a series of internal reforms sponsored by clerics influenced by the monastery of Cluny (founded 910) in France. The Cluny reformers demanded a higher moral standard from the clergy and asserted a sharp separation of Church and state. Previously, emperors and other political rulers often had controlled the appointment of bishops and other high Church officials.

Under Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), the papacy declared its independence from such lay control of Church offices. Henceforth, bishops were to be installed in their offices by high ecclesiastical authority as empowered by the pope and none other. For almost fifty years controversy raged, until the Concordat of Worms in 1122 provided that the pope or his representative would invest all bishops with the spiritual signs of their office and the emperor or his representative would invest them only with lands. Thereafter, the clergy were more independent of the state than ever before, and the papacy began to assert itself as an independent political power.

THE DIVISION OF CHRISTENDOM

Also in this period Christendom became firmly divided into Eastern and Western churches, the result of a long-developing conflict over Church practice and doctrine rooted in the early Middle Ages. From the start, there had been a difference in language (Greek in the East, Latin in the West) and culture. The Eastern patriarchs (rulers of the Church) also had a strong mystical orientation to the next world that caused them to submit more passively than Western popes to secular control of the Church (Caesaro-papism, "Caesar acting as pope"). Contrary to the evolving Western tradition of universal clerical celibacy, the Eastern church permitted the marriage of parish priests, while strictly forbidding bishops to marry. The Eastern church used leavened bread in the Eucharist, contrary to the Western custom of

THE CAROLINGIAN MANOR

A capitulary from the reign of Charlemagne known as "De Villis" itemizes what the king received from his royal manors or village estates. It is a testimony both to Carolingian administrative ability and domination over the countryside.

■ *What gave the lord the right to absolutely everything? (Has anything been overlooked?) How did the stewards and workers share in the manorial life? Was the arrangement a good deal for them as well as for the lord?*

That each steward shall make an annual statement of all our income: an account of our lands cultivated by the oxen which our ploughmen drive and of our lands which the tenants of farms ought to plough; an account of the pigs, of the rents, of the obligations and fines; of the game taken in our forests without our permission; of the various compositions; of the mills, of the forest, of the fields, of the bridges, and ships: of the free-men and the hundreds who are under obligations to our treasury; of markets, vineyards, and those who owe wine to us; of the hay, fire-wood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of the wastelands; of the vegetables, millet, panic, of the wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits of the trees, of the nut trees, larger and smaller; of the grafted trees of all kinds; of the gardens; of the turnips, of the fish-ponds; of the hides, skins, and horns; of the honey, wax; of the fat, tallow and soap; of the mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar; beer, wine new and old; of the new grain and the old; of the hens and eggs; of the geese; the number of fishermen, smiths [workers in metal], swordmakers, and shoemakers; of the bins and boxes; of the turners and saddlers; of the forges and mines, that is iron and other mines; of the lead mines; of the tributaries; of the colts and fillies; they shall make all these known to us, set forth separately and in order, at Christmas, in order that we may know what and how much of each thing we have.

In each of our estates our stewards are to have as many cow-houses, piggeries, sheep-folds, stables for goats, as possible, and they ought never to be without these.

They must provide with the greatest care that whatever is prepared or made with the hands, that is, lard, smoked meat, salt meat, partially salted meat, wine, vinegar, mulberry wine, cooked wine,

garns, mustard, cheese, butter, malt beer, mead, honey, wax, flour, all should be prepared and made with the greatest cleanliness.

That each steward on each of our domains shall always have, for the sake of ornament, swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, turtle-doves.

That in each of our estates, the chambers shall be provided with counterpanes, cushions, pillows, bed-clothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron and wood; andirons, chains, pothooks, adzes, axes, augers, cutlasses and all other kinds of tools, so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them. And the weapons, which are carried against the enemy, shall be well cared for, so as to keep them in good condition.

For our women's work they are to give at the proper time, as has been ordered, the materials, that is the linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool-combs, teasels, soap grease, vessels and the other objects which are necessary.

Of the food-products other than meat, two-thirds shall be sent each year for our own use, that is of the vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, and in addition of the wax, soap and other small products.

That each steward shall have in his district good workmen, namely, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, swordmakers, fishermen, foilers, soapmakers, men who know how to make beer cider, berry, and all the other kinds of beverages, bakers to make pastry for our table, net-makers who know how to make nets for hunting, fishing and fowling, and the other who are too numerous to be designated.

using unleavened bread. The Eastern church objected to the Western church's description of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Son as well as from the Father and opposed the Western church's use of icons and images in worship.

Beyond these issues was a major conflict over Church authority. The Eastern church put more stress on the authority of the Bible and of the ecumenical councils of the Church than on papal or Roman primacy. The Roman popes claimed a special primacy of authority on the basis of the apostle Peter's commission from Jesus in Matthew 16:18 ("Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church"). These claims were completely unacceptable to the East, where the independence and autonomy of national churches was preferred. This basic issue of authority in matters of faith lay behind the mutual excommunication of Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photius in the ninth century and that of Pope Leo IX and Patriarch Michael Cerularius in 1054.

THE RISE OF TOWNS

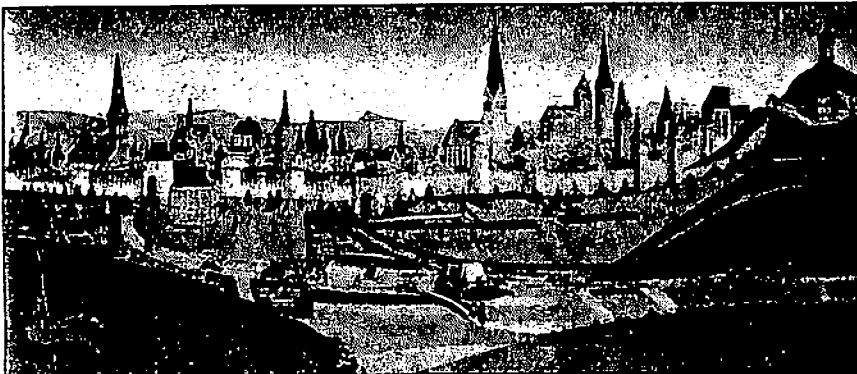
Western Europe had little international commerce and even less urban culture during the centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire. By comparison with previous centuries, western Europe had become an isolated, agricultural society. This is one reason some historians refer to the centuries between 500 and 1000 as a comparative "dark age." By the late tenth century, thanks to improved climate, agricultural production, and the end of Viking invasions, the population had begun to grow rapidly. The increased numbers of people made possible the rebirth of the old Roman towns and the creation of many new ones. The great seaports of Italy had weathered the early Middle Ages better than any other western cities, maintaining vibrant urban cultures. Even in the darkest times, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa traded with Constantinople and the port cities of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. The Venetians were especially successful merchants throughout

the eastern world; their commercial success approached domination there after the First Crusade (1095) opened the Mediterranean to still greater western shipping.

The term *bourgeois*, or *burgher*, first appeared in the eleventh century as a negative description of the newly powerful townspeople. In the popular imagination, they were a new addition to the traditional social ranks of knight (or noble), cleric, and serf. Initially, the term designated the merchant groups who created the *bourgs*, or new market towns, as bases for their commercial operations in and around the old Roman towns. Because the burghers' sole business was trade and banking, the clergy condemned their work as usurious and immoral. The nobility also looked askance at their new wealth and mobility. Because the merchants departed from traditional ways of making money, that is, by owning and cultivating land, they seemed to pose a threat to political and social order.

The common people, by contrast, admired the merchants. They saw their commercial success as providing new economic opportunity for themselves. The new towns became magnets for ambitious and skilled peasants, who both gained their freedom from serfdom there and found new vocations. Lucky peasants experienced a heretofore unknown social mobility, and the diligent and successful among them even became gentlemen.

The merchants for their part resented the laws and customs of traditional society, which gave the nobility and the clergy special privileges. By allowing the nobility and the clergy to subject all others to their notions of morality and work, traditional law and custom impeded the new course of urban life and threatened its future development. Wherever merchants settled, they lobbied for the freedom necessary to pursue successful commerce. In doing so, they had the broad support of townspeople. They opposed tolls, tariffs, and other petty regulations that restricted trade and dampened commercial activity.



Many medieval towns, especially in northern Europe, were entirely enclosed by walls for protection. Here is the mid-fifteenth century walled city of Lüneburg in northern Germany. Foto Makovec

skilled workers were an integral component of the commerce of medieval towns. This scene shows the manufacture of cannons in a foundry in Florence. Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.



Whether they were wealthy merchants or struggling artisans, townspeople wanted a government in which traders and craftsmen determined policy. Policy made by secular and ecclesiastical overlords was calculated to control and exploit the towns rather than nurture and expand commerce. Such desire brought towns into conflict with the norms of static agricultural society. Merchant guilds and protective associations sprang up in the eleventh century, followed in the twelfth by guilds of craftsmen (drapers, haberdashers, furriers, hosiers, goldsmiths, and so on). These organizations worked to advance the business interest of both merchants and craftsmen as well as to enhance the personal well-being of their members.

During the High and later Middle Ages, towns also formed independent communes and allied with kings against the landed nobility. In this way, townspeople became a force in the breakup of traditional feudal society.

THE CRUSADES

If an index of popular piety and support for the pope in the High Middle Ages is needed, the Crusades amply provide it (see Map I-11). In 1095, Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in France. Participants in this Crusade to liberate the Holy Land from Muslim control were promised a plenary indulgence should they die in battle, that is, a complete remission of the penance required of them for their mortal sins

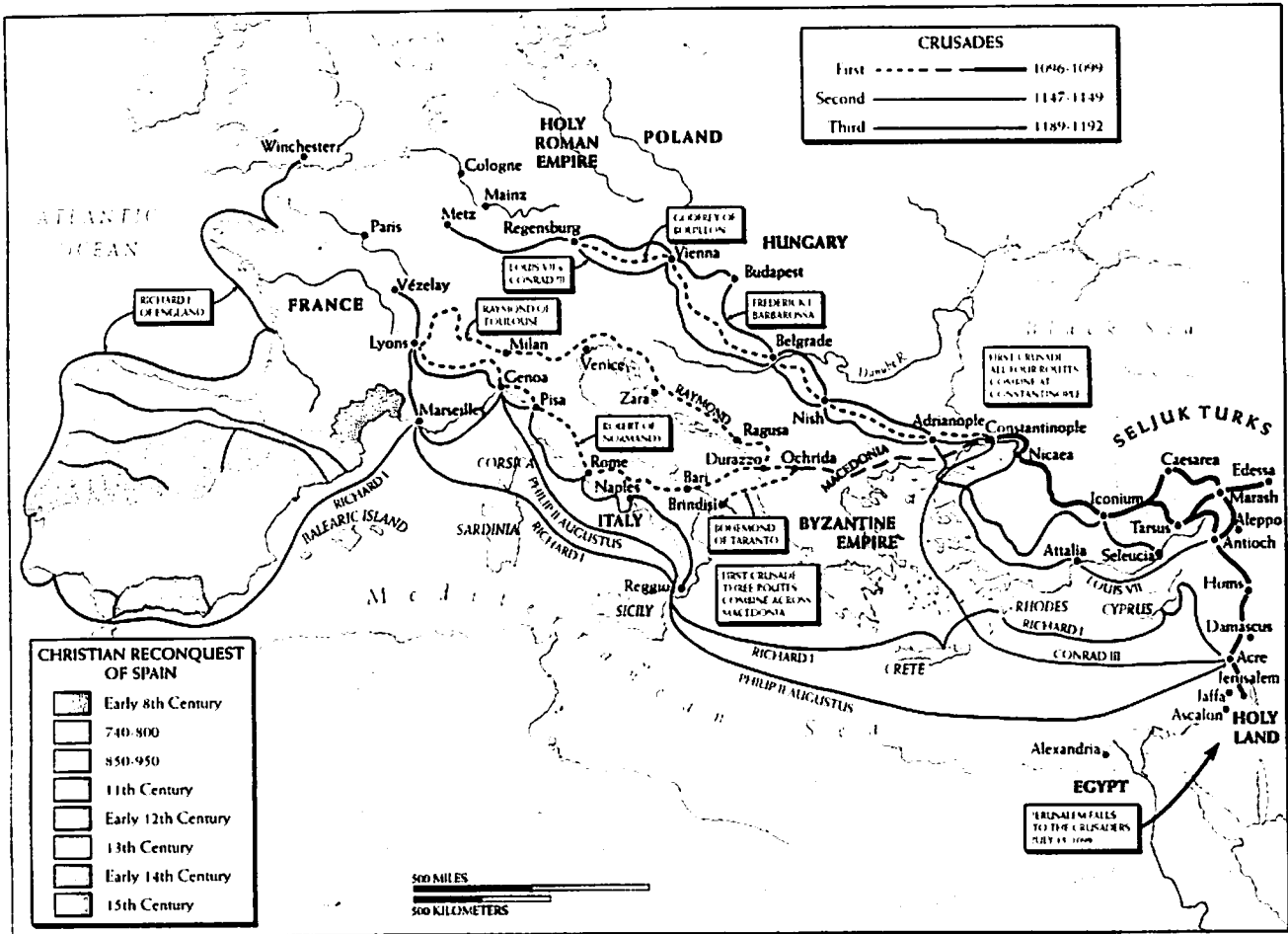
and hence release from suffering for these sins in purgatory. To rescue Jerusalem, which had been in non-Christian hands since the seventh century, three great armies—tens of thousands of crusaders, gathered from France, Germany, and Italy—converged on the Middle East. Jerusalem fell to them on July 15, 1099. By the middle of the next century, however, Jerusalem had again fallen into Arab hands. Other Crusades attempted to duplicate the feat of the first but with little success.

The long-term achievement of the Crusades had little to do with their original purpose. The later Crusades became more important for the way they stimulated new trade between western Europe and the East than for regaining the Holy Land. The merchants of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa particularly benefited from them.

THE RISE OF NEW MONARCHIES

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries in England, France, and Germany, the central monarchies began to assert themselves with considerable success against the territorial influence of their respective nobilities. The latter remained very strong and influential. To a degree unknown for centuries, however, central political authority became established in matters of law, military affairs, and taxation. Different varieties and degrees of monarchical authority characterized each country.

England William, duke of Normandy (d. 1087), conquered England in 1066 by defeating the Anglo-Saxon



MAP I-11 THE EARLY CRUSADES Routes and several leaders of the Crusades during the first century of the movement are shown. The names on this map do not exhaust the list of great nobles who went on the First Crusade. The even showier array of monarchs of the Second and Third Crusades still left the Crusades, on balance, ineffective in achieving their goals.

army at Hastings. Within weeks of the invasion, William was crowned king of England both by right of a complex hereditary claim and by right of conquest. The new king of England remained, however, also the duke of Normandy, with extensive lands in France, the basis for later conflict between France and England. William organized his new English nation shrewdly. He subjected his noble vassals to the crown, yet he also consulted with them regularly about decisions of "state." The result was a unique blending of the "one" and the "many," a balance between monarchical and noble elements in the body politic.

William's successors tried to press their authority more boldly against the Church and the nobility. Henry II (r. 1165-1189) aroused the strong opposition of his one-time close friend Thomas à Becket (1118-1170), archbishop of Canterbury; eventually Henry's agents murdered Becket in his own cathedral. General moral and political opposition to the

act in the end weakened the king. English resistance to the monarchy became outright rebellion under Henry's successors, the brothers Richard the Lion-Hearted (r. 1189-1199) and John (r. 1199-1216). Richard's crusades to the Holy Land put a heavy burden of taxation on the nation. John's conflict with the pope led to his excommunication and the placement of England under a papal interdict, which cut off many essential Church services.

Unsuccessful military ventures finally led to a noble rebellion against John that resulted in his granting in 1215 of the Magna Carta ("Great Charter"). This monumental document was a victory of English noblemen, clergy, and towns over monarchical power. More important, it restored the internal political balance in the English state. The monarchy remained intact, and its legitimate powers and rights were duly recognized and preserved. (See "The English Nobility Imposes Restraints on King John.")

THE ENGLISH NOBILITY IMPOSES RESTRAINTS ON KING JOHN

The gradual building of a sound English constitutional monarchy in the Middle Ages required the king's willingness to share power. He had to be strong, but could not act as a despot or rule by fiat. The danger of despotism became acute in England under the rule of King John. In 1215, the English nobility forced him to recognize Magna Carta, which reaffirmed traditional rights and personal liberties that are still enshrined in English law.

■ *Does the Magna Carta protect basic rights or special privileges? Does this protection suggest that there was a sense of fairness in the past? Does the granting of such protection in any way weaken the king?*

A free man shall not be fined for a small offense, except in proportion to the gravity of the offense; and for a great offense he shall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of the offense, saving his freehold [property]; and a merchant in the same way, saving his merchandise; and the villein [a free serf, bound only to his lord] shall be fined in the same way, saving his wainage [wagon], if he shall be at [the king's] mercy. And none of the above fines shall be imposed except by the oaths of honest men of the neighborhood. . . .

No constable or other bailiff of [the king] shall take anyone's grain or other chattels without immediately paying for them in money, unless he is able to obtain a postponement at the good will of the seller.

No constable shall require any knight to give money in place of his ward of a castle [i.e., standing guard], if he is willing to furnish that ward in his own person, or through another honest man, if he

himself is not able to do it for a reasonable cause; and if we shall lead or send him into the army, he shall be free from ward in proportion to the amount of time which he has been in the army through us.

No sheriff or bailiff of [the king], or any one else, shall take horses or wagons of any free man, for carrying purposes, except on the permission of that free man.

Neither we nor our bailiffs will take the wood of another man for castles, or for anything else which we are doing, except by the permission of him to whom the wood belongs. . . .

No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way injured, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

From James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History*, Vol. 1 (Boston: Athenaeum, 1904), pp. 236-237.

France The Norman conquest of England helped stir France to unity and make it possible for the Capetian dynasty, successor to the Franks in France, to establish a truly national monarchy. The duke of Normandy, who after 1066 had become master of the whole of England, was also among the vassals of the French king in Paris. French kings understandably viewed with alarm the new power of their Norman vassal. King Louis VI (r. 1108-1137) entered an alliance with Flanders, traditionally a Norman enemy. King Louis VII (r. 1137-1180) found allies in the great northern French cities and used their wealth to build a royal army.

Philip II Augustus (r. 1180-1223) inherited both financial resources and an administrative bureaucracy from his predecessors. He resisted the divisive

French nobility and clergy and focused his attention on regaining French land from the control of the English king. Philip's armies occupied all the English territories on the French coast. At Bouvines on July 27, 1214, the first great European battle in history, the French handily defeated the English. This victory unified France around the monarchy and laid the foundation for French military and political ascendancy in the later Middle Ages.

Louis IX's (r. 1226-1270) reputation for piety and judicial fairness (he was declared a saint in the early fourteenth century) lent moral authority to the monarchy. The efficient French bureaucracy, which Louis's predecessors had used to exploit their subjects, now became an instrument of order and fair play in local government. The French people came



The crusaders capture the city of Antioch in 1098 during the First Crusade. From *Le Miroir Historial* (fifteenth century) by Vincent de Beauvais. Musée Conde Chantilly. E. T. Archive, London

to associate their king with justice—and national feeling, the glue of nationhood, grew very strong during his reign.

Holy Roman Empire The political experience of the Holy Roman Empire, which by the middle of the thirteenth century embraced Germany, Burgundy,

and northern Italy, was very different (see Map I-12). There, two centuries of disunity and blood feuding left Germany fragmented until modern times.

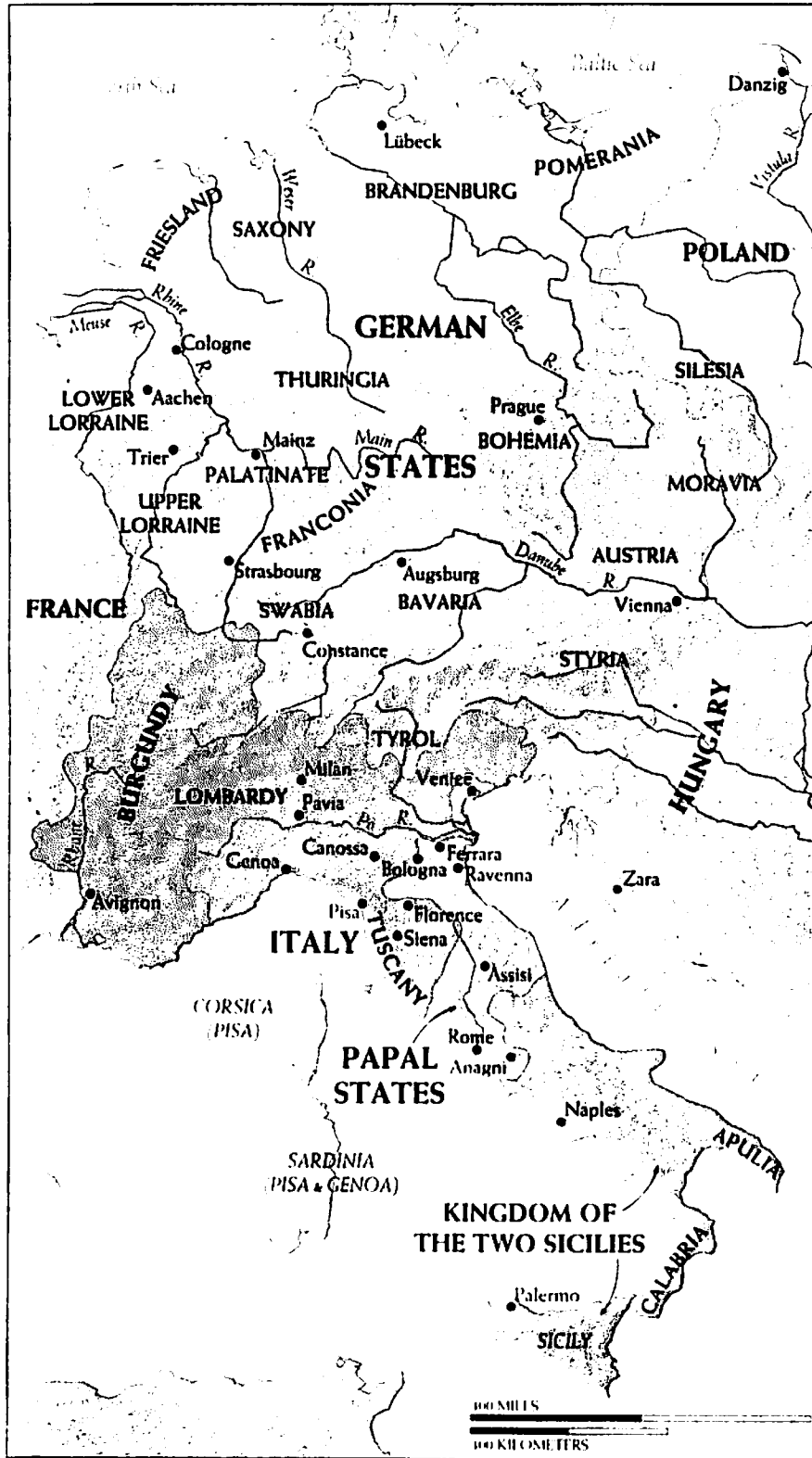
Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190) established the Hohenstaufen dynasty, which succeeded the Ottonians. He set out to reassert the power of the Holy Roman emperors after the setbacks suffered during the investiture controversy, a long conflict with the Church over the right of rulers to appoint high clergy to their offices. Frederick's efforts, however, led only to new and even fiercer disputes between the emperor and the pope.

In the thirteenth century, that conflict became a bitter, deadly feud. Popes excommunicated Emperor Frederick II (r. 1215–1250) no fewer than four times, and the emperor's reign ended in humiliation and defeat at the hands of the German princes. Thereafter, Germany was a politically primitive land by comparison with other major European countries. The victorious papacy now launched itself into European politics on a grand scale, particularly during the reign of Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254). As a consequence, the papacy became vulnerable to new criticism from religious reformers and royal apologists alike, who did not believe such political self-aggrandizement was a proper mission for the Church.

The Emerging Contours of Europe By about 1300, then, the political contours of Europe as they would exist for the next two centuries were relatively clear. England and France had reasonably strong and stable central monarchies that competed economically and politically. The Holy Roman emperors presided rather than ruled over the other German princes, leaving the empire disunited. The papacy made and to some extent still enforced its own claims to what amounted to monarchical power. On the Italian peninsula, independent city-states composed of



William the Conqueror on horseback urging his troops into combat with the English at the Battle of Hastings (October 14, 1066). Detail from the Bayeux Tapestry, scene 51, about 1073–1083. Musée de la Tapissierrie, Bayeux, France. Copyright Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.



MAP I-12 GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE MIDDLE AGES Medieval Germany and Italy were divided lands. The Holy Roman Empire (Germany) embraced hundreds of independent territories that the emperor ruled only in name. The papacy controlled the Rome area and tried to enforce its will on Romagna. Under the Hohenstaufens (mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century), internal German divisions and papal conflict reached new heights; German rulers sought to extend their power to southern Italy and Sicily.



A depiction of court and countryside in thirteenth-century Italy. The oldest of three parts of Castle Buonconsiglio in Trent, Italy was built in the mid-thirteenth century (1239–1255) between the city's north and east gates, through which workers can be seen hauling wood into the city by ox cart, while royals of both sexes ride out on horseback. Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

central urban areas and extensive surrounding countryside were the chief political units. There was an Arab presence on the Iberian Peninsula and strong Arab influence over Mediterranean trade. In the eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantine Empire remained intact. Europe had not experienced such widespread political stability since the demise of central Roman authority in the fourth century.

UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOLASTICISM

During the two centuries before 1300, an important intellectual flowering had occurred that complemented the achievements in trade, urbanization, and politics. Thanks largely to Spanish Muslim scholars, the logical works of Aristotle, the writings of Euclid and Ptolemy, the basic works of Greek physicians and Arab mathematicians, and the larger texts

of Roman law became available to Western scholars in the early twelfth century. Muslim scholars preserved these works, translated portions of the Greek tracts into Latin, and wrote extensive, thought-provoking commentaries on the ancient texts. This renaissance of ancient knowledge, in turn, led to the rise of universities in Europe.

The first important Western university was founded at Bologna in 1158 and specialized in law. The University of Paris, which specialized in theology, followed in 1200. Oxford, Cambridge, and, much later, Heidelberg were among Paris's imitators. All these universities required a foundation in the liberal arts for further study in the higher sciences of medicine, theology, and law. The arts program consisted of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

By the late twelfth century, enough of the works of Aristotle had penetrated Europe through Arab sources to influence European thought and education deeply. Logic and dialectic (the art of logical investigation), tools for bringing discipline to



In this engraving, a teacher at the University of Paris leads fellow scholars in a discussion. As shown here, all of the students wore the scholar's cap and gown. Corbis

STUDENT LIFE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

As the following account by Jacques de Vitry makes clear, not all students at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century were there to gain knowledge. Students fought constantly and subjected each other to ethnic insults and slurs.

▣ *Why were students from different lands so prejudiced against one another? Does the rivalry of faculty members appear to have been as intense as that among students? What are the student criticisms of the faculty? Do they sound credible?*

Almost all the students at Paris, foreigners and natives, did absolutely nothing except learn or hear something new. Some studied merely to acquire knowledge, which is curiosity; others to acquire fame, which is vanity; others still for the sake of gain, which is cupidity and the vice of simony. Very few studied for their own edification, or that of others. They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various sects or about some discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another.

They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; the sons of France proud, effeminate and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians they considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reputed to be fickle and changeable, and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards

were called avaricious, vicious and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical and cruel; the inhabitants of Brabant, men of blood, incendiaries, brigands and ravishers; the Flemish, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults from words they often came to blows.

I will not speak of those logicians [professors of logic and dialectic] before whose eyes flitted constantly "the lice of Egypt," that is to say, all the sophistical subtleties, so that no one could comprehend their eloquent discourses in which, as says Isaiah, "there is no wisdom." As to the doctors of theology, "seated in Moses' seat," they were swollen with learning, but their charity was not edifying. Teaching and not practicing, they have "become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal," or like a canal of stone, always dry, which ought to carry water to "the bed of spices." They not only hated one another, but by their flatteries they enticed away the students of others; each one seeking his own glory, but caring not a whit about the welfare of souls.

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1902), pp. 19-20.

knowledge and thought, rapidly triumphed in importance over the other liberal arts. Within the Scholastic program of study, the student read the traditional authorities in his field, formed short summaries of their teaching, elaborated arguments pro and con, and then drew his own modest conclusions.

Scholasticism had its critics even in the twelfth century. Some, anticipating the later Renaissance Humanists, believed Scholastics emphasized logic to the detriment of eloquence and relevance. Other critics feared that as theologians began to adopt the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, a threat would arise to biblical and traditional theological authority with dire consequences for the Church.

IN PERSPECTIVE

The roots of Western civilization may be found in the experience and culture of the Greeks. Yet Greek civilization itself was richly nourished by older, magnificent civilizations to the south and east, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (Mesopotamia), and soon after in the valley of the Nile in Egypt, human beings moved from a life in agricultural villages, using tools of wood, bone, shell, and stone, into a much richer and more varied social organization that we call civilization.

KEY TOPICS

- The Hundred Years' War between England and France
- The effects of the bubonic plague on population and society
- The growing power of secular rulers over the papacy
- Schism, heresy, and reform of the church

The Hundred Years' War and the Rise of National Sentiment

Medieval governments were by no means all-powerful and secure. The rivalry of petty lords kept localities in turmoil, and dynastic rivalries could plunge entire lands into war, especially when power was being transferred to a new ruler, and woe to the ruling dynasty that failed to produce a male heir.

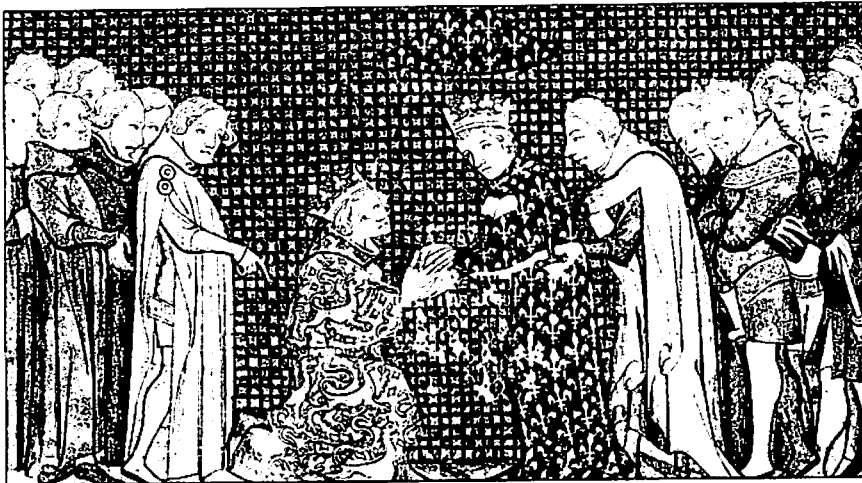
To field the armies and collect the revenues that made their existence possible, late medieval rulers depended on carefully negotiated alliances among a wide range of lesser powers. Like kings and queens in earlier centuries, they, too, practiced the art of feudal government, but on a grander scale and with greater sophistication. To maintain the order they required, the Norman kings of England and the Capetian kings of France fine-tuned traditional feudal relationships, stressing the duties of lesser to higher power and the unquestioning loyalty noble vassals owed the king. The result was a degree of centralized royal power unseen before in these

lands and a nascent almost national consciousness that equipped both France and England for international warfare.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

The conflict that came to be known as the Hundred Years' War began in May 1337 and lasted until October 1453. The English king Edward III (r. 1327–1377), the grandson of Philip the Fair of France (r. 1285–1314), may be said to have started the war by asserting a claim to the French throne when the French king Charles IV (r. 1322–1328), the last of Philip the Fair's surviving sons, died without a male heir. The French barons had no intention of placing the then fifteen-year-old Edward on the French throne, choosing instead the first cousin of Charles IV, Philip VI of Valois (r. 1328–1350), the first of a new French dynasty that ruled into the sixteenth century.

But there was more to the war than just an English king's assertion of a claim to the French throne. England and France were then emergent territorial powers in too close proximity to one another. Edward was actually a vassal of Philip's, holding several sizable French territories as fiefs from the king of France, a relationship that went back to the days of the Norman conquest. English possession of any French land was repugnant to the French because it threatened the royal policy of centralization. England and France also quarreled over control of Flanders, which, although a French fief, was subject to political influence from England because its principal industry, the manufacture of cloth, depended on supplies of imported English wool. Compounding these frictions was a long history of prejudice and animosity between the French and English people, who constantly confronted one



Edward III pays homage to his feudal lord Philip VI of France. Legally, Edward was a vassal of the king of France. Archives Snark International/ Art Resource, N.Y.

another on the high seas and in port towns. Taken together, these various factors made the Hundred Years' War a struggle for national identity as well as for control of territory.

French Weakness France had three times the population of England, was far the wealthier of the two countries, and fought on its own soil. Yet, for the greater part of the conflict, until after 1415, the major battles ended in often stunning English victories. (See Map 9.1.) The primary reason for these French failures was internal disunity caused by endemic social conflicts. Unlike England, France was still struggling in the fourteenth century to make the transition from a fragmented feudal society to a centralized “modern” state.

Desperate to raise money for the war, French kings resorted to such financial policies as depreciating the currency and borrowing heavily from Italian bankers, which aggravated internal conflicts. In 1355, in a bid to secure funds, the king convened a representative council of townspeople and nobles that came to be known as the **Estates General**. Although it levied taxes at the king's request, its members also used the king's plight to enhance their own regional rights and privileges, thereby deepening territorial divisions.

France's defeats also reflected English military superiority. The English infantry was more disciplined than the French, and English archers carried a formidable weapon, the longbow, capable of firing six arrows a minute with enough force to pierce an inch of wood or the armor of a knight at two hundred yards.

Finally, French weakness during the Hundred Years' War was due in no small degree to the comparative mediocrity of its royal leadership. English kings were far the shrewder.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE WAR

The war had three major stages of development, each ending with a seemingly decisive victory by one or the other side.

The Conflict During the Reign of Edward III In the first stage of the war, Edward embargoed English wool to Flanders, sparking urban rebellions by merchants and the trade guilds. Inspired by a rich merchant, Jacob van Artevelde, the Flemish cities, led by Ghent, revolted against the French and in 1340 signed an alliance with England acknowledging Edward as king of France. On June 23 of that same year, in the first great battle of the war, Edward defeated the French fleet in the Bay of Sluys, but his subsequent effort to invade France by way of Flanders failed.

In 1346, Edward attacked Normandy and, after a series of easy victories that culminated at the Battle of Crécy, seized Calais. Exhaustion of both sides and the onset of the Black Death forced a truce in late 1347, and the war entered a brief lull. In 1356, near Poitiers, the English won their greatest victory, routing France's noble cavalry and taking the French king, John II the Good (r. 1350–1364), captive back to England. The defeat brought a complete breakdown of political order to France.

Power in France now lay with the Estates General. Led by the powerful merchants of Paris under Etienne Marcel, that body took advantage of royal weakness, demanding and receiving rights similar to those granted the English privileged classes in the Magna Carta. But unlike the English Parliament, which represented the interests of a comparatively unified English nobility, the French Estates General was too divided to be an instrument for effective government.

To secure their rights, the French privileged classes forced the peasantry to pay ever increasing taxes and to repair their war-damaged properties without compensation. This bullying became more than the peasants could bear, and they rose up in several regions in a series of bloody rebellions known as the **Jacquerie** in 1358 (after the peasant revolutionary popularly known as Jacques Bonhomme, or “simple Jack”). The nobility quickly put down the revolt, matching the rebels' atrocity for atrocity.

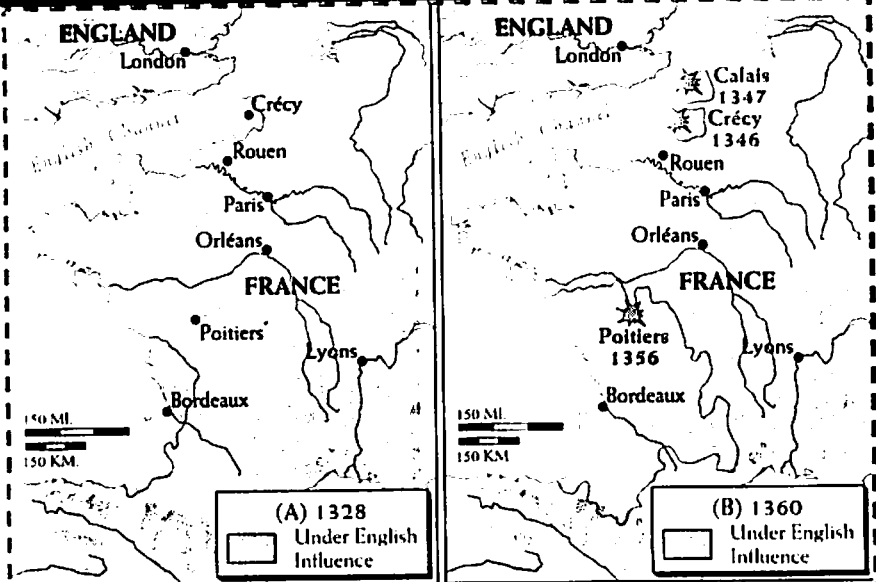
On May 9, 1360, another milestone of the war was reached when England forced the Peace of Brétigny on the French. This agreement declared an end to Edward's vassalage to the king of France and affirmed his sovereignty over English territories in France (including Gascony, Guyenne, Poitou, and Calais). France also agreed to pay a ransom of 3 million gold crowns to win King John the Good's release. In return, Edward simply renounced his claim to the French throne.

Such a partition of French territorial control was completely unrealistic, and sober observers on both sides knew it could not last long. France struck back in the late 1360s and by the time of Edward's death in 1377 had beaten the English back to coastal enclaves and the territory of Bordeaux.

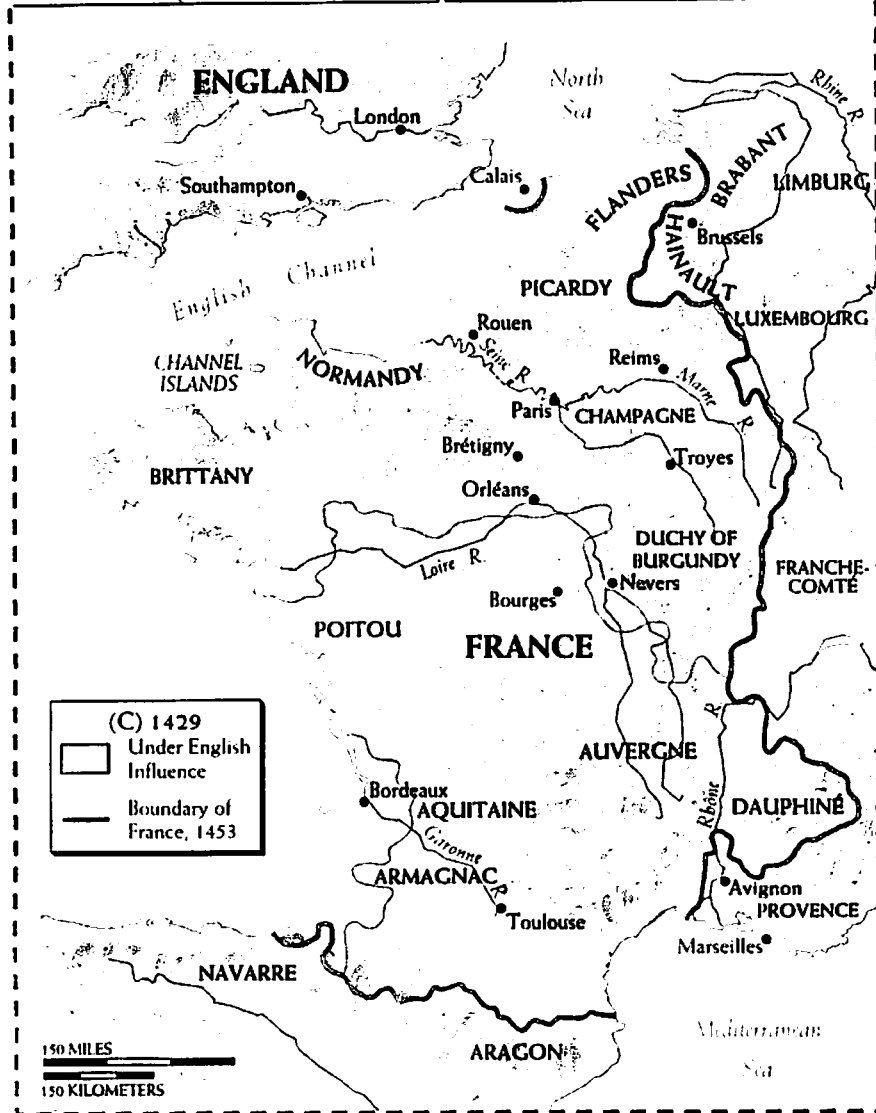
French Defeat and the Treaty of Troyes After Edward's death the English war effort lessened, partly because of domestic problems within England. During the reign of Richard II (r. 1377–1399), England had its own version of the Jacquerie. In June 1381, long-oppressed peasants and artisans joined in a great revolt of the unprivileged classes under the leadership of John Ball, a secular priest, and Wat

MAP EXPLORATION

Interactive map: To explore this map further, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/kagan/map9.1>



MAP 9-1 THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR The Hundred Years' War went on intermittently from the late 1330s until 1453. These maps show the remarkable English territorial gains up to the sudden and decisive turning of the tide of battle in favor of the French by the forces of Joan of Arc in 1429.



is miniature illustrates two scenes from the English peasant revolt of 1381. On the left, Wat Tyler, one of the leaders of the revolt, is executed in the presence of King Richard II. On the right, King Richard urges armed peasants and their rebellion. (Antonia Blacker, *A History of the World: The Tudor and Stuart Eras*, The Bodleian Library.)



tyler, a journeyman. As in France, the revolt was brutally crushed within the year, but it left the country divided for decades.

The war intensified under Henry V (r. 1413–1422), who took advantage of internal French turmoil created by the rise to power of the duchy of Burgundy. With France deeply divided, Henry V struck hard in Normandy. Happy to see the rest of France besieged, the Burgundians foolishly watched from the sidelines while Henry's army routed the opposition led by the count of Armagnac, who had picked up the royal banner at Agincourt on October 25, 1415. In the years thereafter, belatedly recognizing that the defeat of France would leave them easy prey for the English, the Burgundians closed ranks with French royal forces. The renewed French unity, loose as it was, promised to bring eventual victory over the English, but it was shattered in September 1419 when the duke of Burgundy was assassinated. In the aftermath of this shocking event, the duke's son and heir, determined to avenge his father's death, joined forces with the English.

France now became Henry V's for the taking—at least in the short run. The Treaty of Troyes in 1420 disinherited the legitimate heir to the French throne and proclaimed Henry V the successor to the French king, Charles VI. When Henry and Charles died within months of one another in 1422, the infant Henry VI of England was proclaimed in Paris to be king of both France and England. The dream of Edward III that had set the war in motion—to make

the ruler of England the ruler also of France—had been realized, at least for the moment.

The son of Charles VI went into retreat in Bourges, where, on the death of his father, he became Charles VII to most of the French people, who ignored the Treaty of Troyes. Displaying unprecedented national feeling inspired by the remarkable Joan of Arc, they soon rallied to his cause and came together in an ultimately victorious coalition.

The Hundred Years' War (1337–1453)

1340	English victory at Bay of Sluys
1346	English victory at Crecy and seizure of Calais
1347	Black Death strikes
1356	English victory at Poitiers
1358	Jacquerie disrupts France
1360	Peace of Breigny recognizes English holdings in France
1381	English peasants revolt
1415	English victory at Agincourt
1422	Treaty of Troyes proclaims Henry VI ruler of both England and France
1429	Joan of Arc leads French to victory at Orleans
1431	Joan of Arc executed as a heretic
1453	War ends; English retain only coastal town of Calais

Joan of Arc and the War's Conclusion Joan of Arc (1412–1431), a peasant from Domrémy, presented herself to Charles VII in March 1429, declaring the King of Heaven had called her to deliver besieged Orléans from the English. The king was understandably skeptical, but being in retreat from what seemed to be a hopeless war, he was willing to try anything to reverse French fortunes. And the deliverance of Orléans, a city strategic to the control of the territory south of the Loire, would be a godsend. Charles's desperation overcame his skepticism, and he gave Joan his leave.

Circumstances worked perfectly to her advantage. The English force, already exhausted by a six-month siege of Orléans, was at the point of withdrawal when Joan arrived with fresh French troops. After repulsing the English from Orléans, the French enjoyed a succession of victories they popularly attributed to Joan. She deserved much of this credit, but not because she was a military genius. She provided the French with something military experts could not: inspiration and a sense of national identity and self-confidence. Within a few months of the liberation of Orléans, Charles VII received his crown in Rheims and ended the nine-year "disinheritance" prescribed by the Treaty of Troyes.



A contemporary portrait of Joan of Arc (1412–1431) in the National Archives in Paris. 15th c. Franco-Flemish miniature. Archives Nationales, Paris, France. © Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.

Charles forgot his liberator as quickly as he had embraced her. When the Burgundians captured Joan in May 1430, he was in a position to secure her release, but did little for her. The Burgundians and the English wanted her publicly discredited, believing this would also discredit Charles VII and demoralize French resistance. She was turned over to the Inquisition in English-held Rouen. The inquisitors broke the courageous "Maid of Orléans" after ten weeks of interrogation, and she was executed as a relapsed heretic on May 30, 1431. Twenty-five years later (1456), Charles reopened her trial, and she was declared innocent of all the charges. In 1920, the church declared her a saint.

In 1435, the duke of Burgundy made peace with Charles. France, now unified and at peace with Burgundy, continued progressively to force the English back. By 1453, the date of the war's end, the English held only their coastal enclave of Calais.

The Hundred Years' War, with sixty-eight years of at least nominal peace and forty-four of hot war, had lasting political and social consequences. It devastated France, but it also awakened French nationalism and hastened the transition there from a feudal monarchy to a centralized state. It saw Burgundy become a major European political power. And it encouraged the English, in response to the seesawing allegiance of the Netherlands throughout the conflict, to develop their own clothing industry and foreign markets. In both France and England the burden of the on-again, off-again war fell most heavily on the peasantry, who were forced to support it with taxes and services.

The Black Death

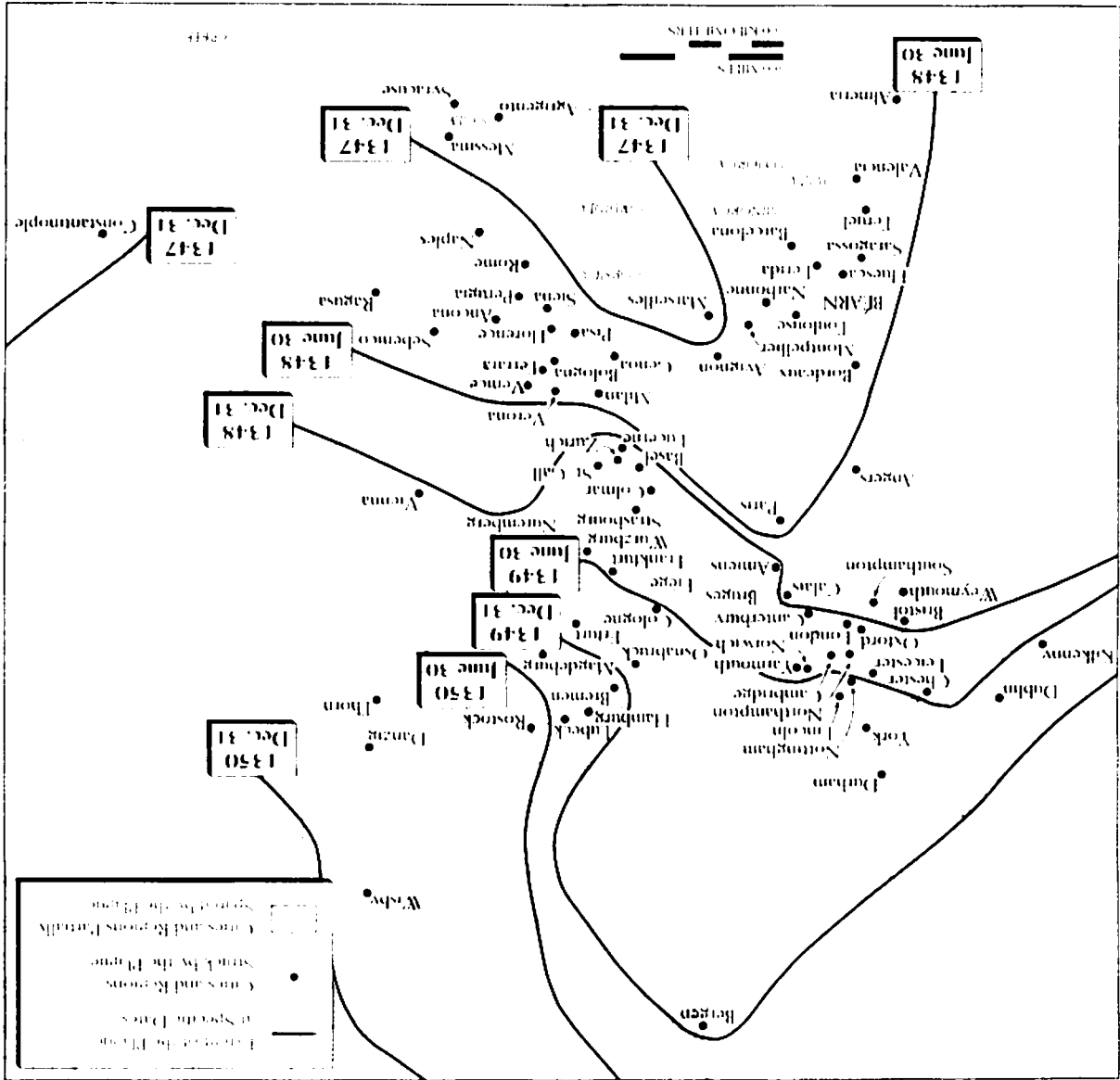
PRECONDITIONS AND CAUSES

In the late Middle Ages, nine-tenths of the population worked the land. The three-field system, in use in most areas since well before the fourteenth century, had increased the amount of arable land and thereby the food supply. The growth of cities and trade had also stimulated agricultural science and productivity. But as the food supply grew, so did the population. It is estimated that Europe's population doubled between the years 1000 and 1300 and by 1300 had begun to outstrip food production. There were now more people than there was food available to feed them or jobs to employ them, and the average European faced the probability of extreme hunger at least once during his or her expected thirty-five-year life span.

Between 1315 and 1317, crop failures produced the greatest famine of the Middle Ages. Densely populated urban areas such as the industrial towns of the

Netherlands experienced great suffering. Decades of overpopulation, economic depression, famine, and bad health progressively weakened Europe's population and made it highly vulnerable to a virulent bubonic plague that struck with full force in 1348. This **Black Death**, so called by contemporaries because of the way it discolored the body, was probably introduced by seaborne rats from Black Sea areas and followed the trade routes from Asia into Europe. Appearing in Sicily in late 1347, it entered Europe through the port cities of Venice, Genoa, and

By the late 1340s, the bubonic plague had spread across Europe, with major outbreaks in 1347, 1348, and 1350. The map shows the progression of the plague from its origin in the Black Sea region, through the Mediterranean and into Western Europe. Key dates and locations are marked, such as the arrival in Sicily in 1347, the spread to France in 1348, and the final stages in 1350. The map also indicates areas that were partially spared and regions that were completely spared.



MAP 9.2 SPREAD OF THE BUBONIC PLAGUE. Apparently introduced by seaborne rats from black sea areas where plague-infested rodents had long been known, the Black Death brought huge human, social, and economic consequences. One of the lower estimates of Europeans dying is 25 million. The map charts the plague's spread in the mid-fourteenth century. Generally following trade routes, the plague reached Scandinavia by 1350, and some believe it then went on to Iceland and even Greenland. Areas on the main trade routes were largely spared.

POPULAR REMEDIES

The plague, transmitted by rat- or human-borne fleas, often reached a victim's lungs during the course of the disease. From the lungs, it could be spread from person to person by the victim's sneezing and wheezing. Contemporary physicians had no understanding of these processes, so even the most rudimentary prophylaxis against the disease was lacking. (See "Encountering the Past: Medieval Medicine.") To the people of the time, the Black Death was a catastrophe with no apparent explanation and against which there was no known defense. Throughout much of western Europe it inspired an obsession with death and dying and a deep pessimism that endured for decades after the plague years. (See "Art & the West: Images of Death," p. 314.)

Popular wisdom held that a corruption in the atmosphere caused the disease. Some blamed poisonous fumes released by earthquakes. Many adopted aromatic amulets as a remedy. According to the contemporary observations of Boccaccio, who recorded the varied reactions to the plague in the *Decameron* (1353), some sought a remedy in moderation and a temperate life; others gave themselves over entirely to their passions (sexual promiscuity within the stricken areas apparently ran high); and still others, "the most sound, perhaps, in judgment," chose flight and seclusion as the best medicine. (See "Boccaccio Describes the Ravages of the Black Death in Florence.")

Among the most extreme social reactions were processions of flagellants. These religious fanatics

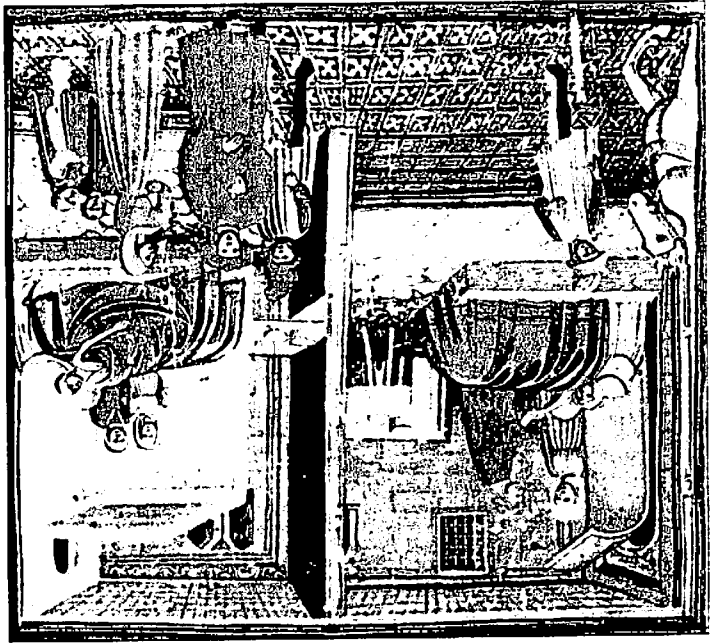
beat themselves in ritual penance until they bled, believing such action would bring divine intervention. The terror created by the flagellants (whose dirty bodies may actually have served to transport the disease) became so socially disruptive and threatening, even to established authority, that the church finally outlawed their processions.

Jews were cast as scapegoats for the plague. Centuries of Christian propaganda had bred hatred toward them, as had their role as society's money-lenders. Pogroms occurred in several cities, sometimes incited by the arrival of flagellants.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

Whole villages vanished in the wake of the plague. Among the social and economic consequences of this depopulation were a shrunken labor supply and a decline in the value of the estates of the nobility.

Farms Decline As the number of farm laborers decreased, their wages increased and those of skilled artisans soared. Many serfs now chose to commute their labor services by money payments or to abandon the farm altogether and pursue more interesting and rewarding jobs in skilled craft industries in the cities. Agricultural prices fell because of lowered demand, and the price of luxury and manufactured goods—the work of skilled artisans—rose. The noble landholders suffered the greatest decline in power from this new state of affairs. They were forced to pay more for finished products and for



This illustration from the Canon of Medicine by the Iranian physician and philosopher Avicenna (980-1037), whose Arabic name was Ibn Sina, shows him visiting the homes of rich patients. In the High Middle Ages, the Canon of Medicine was the standard medical textbook in the Middle East and Europe. Scala/Art Resource, N.Y. Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna, Italy.

Medieval Medicine

Marguerite Datini was an infertile gentlewoman who lived near Florence and wished to be a mother. In 1393 her sister suggested she have a local woman, renowned for magical remedies, prepare a poultice for her belly. Later, a physician sent Marguerite's husband a diet he believed would aid conception. Two years later (1395), when she had still not conceived, Marguerite's brother-in-law sent his own wife's solution: a belt inscribed with an incantation. Her sister-in-law instructed Marguerite to ask a young male virgin to gird the belt around her stomach as he prayed.

Such advice illustrates the state of medicine during the Middle Ages. Like Marguerite, medieval patients could choose from a broad spectrum of practices in which natural, religious, and magical remedies coexisted. They also had to take into account the power of celestial forces. Medieval people believed comets, stars, and planets constantly influenced their bodies and minds.

Because they presumed this intimate link between the individual and the universe, medical practitioners used astrological information to discover the causes of illness and to determine the right time to treat a patient.

Such desperate grasping for cures reflected the desperation of the age. In a world of high morbidity and infant mortality, the sick sought help from anyone who might provide it. University-trained physicians had the more prestigious clients, but their knowledge was not necessarily more authoritative than that of an illiterate healer whose magic worked. Patients sought any treatment they could afford from any healer who had a good reputation for effecting cures.

In this broad medical marketplace, university-trained physicians treated internal illnesses through diet and medication and apothecaries supplied doctors and patients with medicinal herbs. There were also university-trained surgeons and self-taught, or apprenticed, barber-surgeons.

At the base of all medical healing lay the ancient Greek idea that each bodily organism was composed of four elements (earth, air, water, and fire) and possessed four qualities (hot, cold, moist, and dry), whose mix determined a body's well-being. These elements and qualities accounted in turn for the condition of the four humors, or fluids (blood,

black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm), that regulated the body's functions. Sickness resulted from an imbalance of humors within the body. The task of the healer was to restore balance by drawing off foul matter from the blood, or by directing good or bad humors to different parts of the body. The most frequent methods for revealing humoral imbalance were the examination of urine, blood, and the pulse. Like the stethoscope today, the urine flask, or uroscope, was the badge of the medieval physician.

- *What kind of medical help was found in a medieval medical marketplace? How did the four humors determine illness or health?*

Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1990), ch. 2 and 6; Katharine Park, "Magic and Medicine: The Healing Arts," in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (Longman London, 1998).



A caricature of physicians (early sixteenth century). A physician carries a uroscope (for collecting and examining urine); discolored urine signaled an immediate need for bleeding. The physician/surgeon wears surgical shoes and his assistant carries a flail—a comment on the risks of medical services. (Hacker Art Books Inc.)

BOCCACCIO DESCRIBES THE RAVAGES OF THE BLACK DEATH IN FLORENCE

The Black Death provided an excuse to the poet, humanist, and storyteller Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) to assemble his great collection of tales, the Decameron. Ten congenial men and women flee Florence to escape the plague and pass the time telling stories. In one of the stories, Boccaccio embeds a fine clinical description of plague symptoms as seen in Florence in 1348 and of the powerlessness of physicians and the lack of remedies.

■ *What did people do to escape the plague? Was any of it sound medical practice? What does the study of calamities like the Black Death tell us about the people of the past?*

In Florence, despite all that human wisdom and forethought could devise to avert it, even as the cleansing of the city from many impurities by officials appointed for the purpose, the refusal of entrance to all sick folk, and the adoption of many precautions for the preservation of health; despite also humble supplications addressed to God, and often repeated both in public procession and otherwise, by the devout, towards the beginning of the spring of the said year [1348] the doleful effects of the pestilence began to be horribly apparent by symptoms that [appeared] as if miraculous.

Not such were these symptoms as in the East, where an issue of blood from the nose was a manifest sign of inevitable death; but in men and women alike it first betrayed itself by the emergence of certain tumours in the groin or the armpits, some of which grew as large as a common apple, others as an egg, some more, some less, which the common folk called *gavoccioli*. From the two said parts of the

body this deadly *gavoccioli* soon began to propagate and spread itself in all directions indifferently; after which the form of the malady began to change, spots black or livid making their appearance in many cases on the arm or the thigh or elsewhere, now few and large, now minute and numerous. And as the *gavoccioli* had been and still were an infallible token of approaching death, such also were these spots on whomsoever they shewed themselves. Which maladies seemed to set entirely at naught both the art of the physician and the virtues of physic; indeed, whether it was that the disorder was of a nature to defy such treatment, or that the physicians were at fault . . . and, being in ignorance of its source, failed to apply the proper remedies; in either case, not merely were those that recovered few, but almost all died within three days of the appearance of the said symptoms . . . and in most cases without any fever or other attendant malady.

From *The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio*, trans. by J. M. Rigg (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930), p. 5.

farm labor, but received a smaller return on their agricultural produce. Everywhere their rents were in steady decline after the plague.

Peasants Revolt To recoup their losses, some landowners converted arable land to sheep pasture, substituting more profitable wool production for labor-intensive grain crops. Others abandoned the effort to farm their land and simply leased it to the highest bidder. Landowners also sought simply to reverse their misfortune—to close off the new economic opportunities opened for the peasantry by the demographic crisis—through repressive legislation that forced peasants to stay on their farms and froze

their wages at low levels. In France the direct tax on the peasantry, the *taille*, was increased, and opposition to it was prominent among the grievances behind the Jacquerie. In 1351, the English Parliament passed a Statute of Laborers, which limited wages to preplague levels and restricted the ability of peasants to leave the land of their traditional masters. Opposition to such legislation was also a prominent factor in the English peasants' revolt in 1381.

Cities Rebound Although the plague hit urban populations especially hard, the cities and their skilled industries came, in time, to prosper from its effects. Cities had always been careful to protect

their interests; as they grew, they passed legislation to regulate competition from rural areas and to control immigration. After the plague, the reach of such laws was progressively extended beyond the cities to include surrounding lands belonging to impoverished nobles and feudal landlords, many of whom were peacefully integrated into urban life.

The omnipresence of death whetted the appetite for goods that only skilled urban industries could produce. Expensive cloths and jewelry, furs from the north, and silks from the south were in great demand in the second half of the fourteenth century. Faced with life at its worst, people insisted on having the very best. Initially, this new demand could not be met. The basic unit of urban industry was the master and apprentices (usually one or two), whose numbers were purposely kept low and whose privileges were jealously guarded. The craft of the skilled artisan was passed from master to apprentice only very slowly. The first wave of plague transformed this already restricted supply of skilled artisans into a shortage almost overnight. As a result, the prices of manufactured and luxury items rose to new heights, and this in turn encouraged workers to migrate from the countryside to the city and learn the skills of artisans. Townspeople in effect profited coming and going from the forces that impoverished the landed nobility. As wealth poured into the cities and per capita income rose, the cost to urban dwellers of agricultural products from the countryside, now less in demand, declined.

There was also gain, as well as loss, for the church. Although it suffered losses as a great landholder and was politically weakened, it had received new revenues from the vastly increased demand for religious services for the dead and the dying and from the multiplication of gifts and bequests.

NEW CONFLICTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

By increasing the importance of skilled artisans, the plague contributed to new conflicts within the cities. The economic and political power of local artisans and trade guilds grew steadily in the late Middle Ages, along with the demand for their goods and services. The merchant and patrician classes found it increasingly difficult to maintain their traditional dominance and grudgingly gave guild masters a voice in city government. As the guilds won political power, they encouraged restrictive legislation to protect local industries. These restrictions, in turn, brought confrontations between master artisans, who wanted to keep their numbers low and expand their industries at a snail's pace, and the many journeymen, who were eager to rise to the rank of master. To the long-existing conflict between the guilds



In this scene from an illustrated manuscript of Boccaccio's Decameron, physicians apply leeches to an emperor. The text says he suffered from a disease that caused a terrible stench, which is why the physicians are holding their noses. Bleeding was the agreed-upon best way to prevent and cure illness and was practiced as late as the nineteenth century. Its popularity was rooted in the belief that a buildup of foul matter in the body caused illness by disrupting the body's four humors (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile). Bleeding released the foul matter and restored equilibrium among the humors, thus preserving good health by strengthening resistance to disease. Jean-Loup Charmet/Science Photo Library

and the urban patriciate was now added a conflict within the guilds themselves.

After 1350, the two traditional "containers" of monarchy—the landed nobility and the church—were politically on the defensive, to no small degree as a consequence of the plague. Kings took full advantage of the new situation, drawing on growing national sentiment to centralize their governments and economies. As already noted, the plague reduced the economic power of the landed nobility. In the same period, the battles of the Hundred Years' War demonstrated the military superiority of paid professional armies over the traditional noble cavalry, thus bringing into question the role of the nobility. The plague also killed many members of the clergy—perhaps one-third of the German clergy fell victim to it as they dutifully ministered to the sick and dying. The reduction in clerical ranks occurred in the same century in which the residence of the pope in Avignon (1309–1377) and the Great Schism (1378–1417) were undermining much of the church's popular support.

Ecclesiastical Breakdown and Revival: The Late Medieval Church

At first glance, the popes may appear to have been in a favorable position in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Frederick II had been vanquished and imperial pressure on Rome had been removed. The French king, Louis IX, was an enthusiastic supporter of the church, as evidenced by his two disastrous Crusades, which won him sainthood. Although it lasted only seven years, a reunion of the Eastern church with Rome was proclaimed by the Council of Lyons in 1274, when the Western church took advantage of Byzantine emperor Michael Palaeologus's (r. 1261–1282) request for aid against the Turks. But despite these positive events, the church was not really in as favorable a position as it appeared.

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PAPACY

As early as the reign of Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), when papal power reached its height, there were ominous developments. Innocent had elaborated the doctrine of papal **plenitude of power** and on that authority had declared saints, disposed of *benefices*, and created a centralized papal monarchy with a clearly political mission. Innocent's transformation of the papacy into a great secular power weakened the church spiritually even as it strengthened it politically. Thereafter, the church as a papal monarchy and the church as the "body of the faithful" came increasingly to be differentiated. It was against the "papal church" and in the name of the "true Christian church" that both reformers and heretics raised their voices in protest until the Protestant Reformation.

What Innocent began, his successors perfected. Under Urban IV (r. 1261–1264), the papacy established its own law court, the *Rota Romana*, which tightened and centralized the church's legal proceedings. The latter half of the thirteenth century saw an elaboration of the system of clerical taxation; what had begun in the twelfth century as an emergency measure to raise funds for the Crusades became a fixed institution. In the same period, papal power to determine appointments to many major and minor church offices—the "reservation of *benefices*"—was greatly broadened. The thirteenth-century papacy became a powerful political institution governed by its own law and courts, serviced by an efficient international bureaucracy, and preoccupied with secular goals.

Papal centralization of the church undermined both diocesan authority and popular support. Rome's interests, not local needs, came to control church appointments, policies, and discipline. Discontented lower clergy appealed to the higher authority of Rome against the disciplinary measures of local bishops. In the second half of the thirteenth century, bishops and abbots protested such undercutting of their power. To its critics, the church in Rome was hardly more than a legalized, "fiscalized," bureaucratic institution. As early as the late twelfth century, heretical movements of Cathars and Waldensians had appealed to the biblical ideal of simplicity and separation from the world. Other reformers who were unquestionably loyal to the church, such as Saint Francis of Assisi, would also protest a perceived materialism in official religion.

Political Fragmentation The church of the thirteenth century was being undermined by more than internal religious disunity. The demise of imperial power meant the papacy in Rome was no longer the leader of anti-imperial (Guelf, or propapal) sentiment in Italy. Instead of being the center of Italian resistance to the emperor, popes now found themselves on the defensive against their old allies. That was the ironic price paid by the papacy to vanquish the Hohenstaufens.

Rulers with a stake in Italian politics now directed the intrigue formerly aimed at the emperor toward the College of Cardinals. For example, Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, managed to create a French-Sicilian faction within the college. Such efforts to control the decisions of the college led Pope Gregory X (r. 1271–1276) to establish the practice of sequestering the cardinals immediately on the death of the pope. The purpose of this so-called conclave of cardinals was to minimize extraneous political influence on the election of new popes, but the college had become so politicized that it proved to be of little avail.

In 1294, such a conclave, in frustration after a deadlock of more than two years, chose a saintly, but inept, Calabrian hermit as Pope Celestine V. Celestine abdicated under suspicious circumstances after only a few weeks in office. He also died under suspicious circumstances; his successor's critics later argued that he had been murdered for political reasons by the powers behind the papal throne to ensure the survival of the papal office. His tragicomic reign shocked a majority of the College of Cardinals into unified action. He was quickly replaced by his very opposite, Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303), a nobleman and a skilled politician. His pontificate,

however, would augur the beginning of the end of papal pretensions to great-power status.

BONIFACE VIII AND PHILIP THE FAIR

Boniface came to rule when England and France were maturing as nation-states. In England, a long tradition of consultation between the king and powerful members of English society evolved into formal parliaments during the reigns of Henry III (r. 1216–1272) and Edward I (r. 1272–1307), and these meetings helped create a unified kingdom. The reign of the French king Philip IV the Fair (r. 1285–1314) saw France become an efficient, centralized monarchy. Philip was no Saint Louis, but a ruthless politician. He was determined to end England's continental holdings, control wealthy Flanders, and establish French hegemony within the Holy Roman Empire.

Boniface had the further misfortune of bringing to the papal throne memories of the way earlier popes had brought kings and emperors to their knees. Very painfully he was to discover that the papal monarchy of the early thirteenth century was no match for the new political powers of the late thirteenth century.

The Royal Challenge to Papal Authority France and England were on the brink of all-out war when Boniface became pope in 1294. Only Edward I's preoccupation with rebellion in Scotland, which the French encouraged, prevented him from invading France and starting the Hundred Years' War a half century earlier than it did start. As both countries mobilized for war, they used the pretext of preparing for a Crusade to tax the clergy heavily. In 1215, Pope Innocent III had decreed that the clergy were to pay no taxes to rulers without prior papal consent. Viewing English and French taxation of the clergy as an assault on traditional clerical rights, Boniface took a strong stand against it. On February 5, 1296, he issued a bull, *Clericis laicos*, which forbade lay taxation of the clergy without prior papal approval and took back all previous papal dispensations in this regard.

In England, Edward I retaliated by denying the clergy the right to be heard in royal court, in effect removing from them the protection of the king. But it was Philip the Fair who struck back with a vengeance: In August 1296, he forbade the exportation of money from France to Rome, thereby denying the papacy the revenues it needed to operate. Boniface had no choice but to come quickly to terms with Philip. He conceded Philip the right to tax the French clergy "during an emergency," and,



Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303), depicted here, opposed the taxation of the clergy by the kings of France and England and issued one of the strongest declarations of papal authority over rulers, the bull Unam Sanctam. This statue is in the Museo Civico, Bologna, Italy. Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

not coincidentally, he canonized Louis IX in the same year.

Boniface was then also under siege by powerful Italian enemies, whom Philip did not fail to patronize. A noble family (the Colonnas), rivals of Boniface's family (the Gaetani) and radical followers of

Saint Francis of Assisi (the Spiritual Franciscans), were at this time seeking to invalidate Boniface's election as pope on the grounds that Celestine V had resigned the office under coercion. Charges of heresy, simony, and even the murder of Celestine were hurled against Boniface.

Boniface's fortunes appeared to revive in 1300, a "Jubilee year." During such a year, all Catholics who visited Rome and fulfilled certain conditions had the penalties for their unrepented sins remitted. Tens of thousands of pilgrims flocked to Rome in that year, and Boniface, heady with this display of popular religiosity, reinserted himself into international politics. He championed Scottish resistance to England, for which he received a firm rebuke from an outraged Edward I and from Parliament.

But once again a confrontation with the king of France proved the more costly. Philip seemed to be eager for another fight with the pope. He arrested Boniface's Parisian legate, Bernard Saisset, the bishop of Pamiers and also a powerful secular lord, whose independence Philip had opposed. Accused of heresy and treason, Saisset was tried and convicted in the king's court. Thereafter, Philip demanded that Boniface recognize the process against Saisset, something Boniface could do only if he was prepared to surrender his jurisdiction over the French episcopate. This challenge could not be sidestepped, and Boniface acted swiftly to champion Saisset as a defender of clerical political independence within France. He demanded Saisset's unconditional release, revoked all previous agreements with Philip regarding clerical taxation, and ordered the French bishops to convene in Rome within a year. A bull, *Ausculta fili*, or "Listen, My Son," was sent to Philip in December 1301, pointedly informing him that "God has set popes over kings and kingdoms."

Unam Sanctam (1302) Philip unleashed a ruthless antipapal campaign. Two royal apologists, Pierre Dubois and John of Paris, refuted papal claims to the right to intervene in temporal matters. Increasingly placed on the defensive, Boniface made a last-ditch stand against state control of national churches. On November 18, 1302, he issued the bull *Unam Sanctam*. This famous statement of papal power declared that temporal authority was "subject" to the spiritual power of the church. On its face a bold assertion, *Unam Sanctam* was in truth the desperate act of a besieged papacy.

After *Unam Sanctam*, the French and the Colonnas moved against Boniface with force. Philip's chief minister, Guillaume de Nogaret, denounced Boniface to the French clergy as a common heretic and criminal. In mid-August 1303, his

army surprised the pope at his retreat in Anagni, beat him up, and almost executed him before an aroused populace returned him safely to Rome. But the ordeal proved too much for him and he died a few months later, in October 1303.

Boniface's immediate successor, Benedict XI (r. 1303–1304), excommunicated Nogaret for his deed, but there was to be no lasting papal retaliation. Benedict's successor, Clement V (r. 1305–1314), was forced into French subservience. A former archbishop of Bordeaux, Clement declared that *Unam Sanctam* should not be understood as in any way diminishing French royal authority. He released Nogaret from excommunication and pliantly condemned the Knights Templars, whose treasure Philip thereafter seized.

In 1309, Clement moved the papal court to Avignon, an imperial city on the southeastern border of France. Situated on land that belonged to the pope, the city maintained its independence from the king. In 1311, Clement made it his permanent residence, to escape both a Rome ridden with strife after the confrontation between Boniface and Philip and further pressure from Philip. There the papacy was to remain until 1377.

After Boniface's humiliation, popes never again seriously threatened kings and emperors, despite continuing papal excommunications and political intrigue. In the future, the relation between church and state would tilt in favor of the state and the control of religion by powerful monarchies. Ecclesiastical authority would become subordinate to larger secular political purposes.

THE AVIGNON PAPACY (1309–1377)

The Avignon papacy was in appearance, although not always in fact, under strong French influence. During Clement V's pontificate the French came to dominate the College of Cardinals, testing the papacy's agility both politically and economically. Finding itself cut off from its Roman estates, the papacy had to innovate to get needed funds. Clement expanded papal taxes, especially the practice of collecting *annates*, the first year's revenue of a church office, or *benefice*, bestowed by the pope. Clement VI (r. 1342–1352) began the practice of selling *indulgences*, or pardons, for unrepented sins. To make the purchase of indulgences more compelling, church doctrine on purgatory—a place of punishment where souls would atone for venial sins—also developed during this period. By the fifteenth century, the church had extended indulgences to cover the souls of people already dead, allowing the living to buy a reduced sentence in purgatory for their deceased loved ones. Such practices

contributed to the Avignon papacy's reputation for materialism and political scheming and gave reformers new ammunition.

Pope John XXII Pope John XXII (r. 1316–1334), the most powerful Avignon pope, tried to restore papal independence and return to Italy. This goal led him into war with the Visconti, the powerful ruling family of Milan, and a costly contest with Emperor Louis IV (r. 1314–1347). John had challenged Louis's election as emperor in 1314 in favor of the rival Habsburg candidate. The result was a minor replay of the confrontation between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. When John obstinately and without legal justification refused to recognize Louis's election, the emperor retaliated by declaring John deposed and putting in his place an anti-pope. As Philip the Fair had also done, Louis enlisted the support of the Spiritual Franciscans, whose views on absolute poverty John had condemned as heretical. Two outstanding pamphleteers wrote lasting tracts for the royal cause: William of Ockham, whom John excommunicated in 1328, and Marsilius of Padua (ca. 1290–1342), whose teaching John declared heretical in 1327.

In his *Defender of Peace* (1324), Marsilius of Padua stressed the independent origins and autonomy of secular government. Clergy were subjected to the strictest apostolic ideals and confined to purely spiritual functions, and all power of coercive judgment was denied the pope. Marsilius argued that spiritual crimes must await an eternal punishment. Transgressions of divine law, over which the pope had jurisdiction, were to be punished in the next life, not in the present one, unless the secular ruler declared a divine law also a secular law. This assertion was a direct challenge to the power of the pope to excommunicate rulers and place countries under interdict. The *Defender of Peace* depicted the pope as a subordinate member of a society over which the emperor ruled supreme and in which temporal peace was the highest good. (See "Marsilius of Padua Denies Coercive Power to the Clergy.")

John XXII made the papacy a sophisticated international agency and adroitly adjusted it to the growing European money economy. The more the Curia, or papal court, mastered the latter, however, the more vulnerable it became to criticism. Under John's successor, Benedict XII (r. 1334–1342), the papacy became entrenched in Avignon. Seemingly forgetting Rome altogether, Benedict began construction of the great Palace of the Popes and attempted to reform both papal government and the religious life. His high-living French successor, Clement VI, placed papal policy in lockstep with the French. In this period the cardinals became



A book illustration of the Palace of the Popes in Avignon in 1409, the year in which Christendom found itself confronted by three duly elected popes. The "keys" to the kingdom of God, which the pope held on earth as the vicar of Christ, decorate the three turret flags of the palace. In the foreground, the French poet Pierre Salmon, then journeying via Avignon to Rome, commiserates with a monk over the sad state of the church and France, then at war with England. Book illustration, French, 1409. Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale. AKG Photo.

barely more than lobbyists for policies favorable to their secular patrons.

National Opposition to the Avignon Papacy As Avignon's fiscal tentacles probed new areas, monarchies took strong action to protect their interests. The latter half of the fourteenth century saw legislation restricting papal jurisdiction and taxation in France, England, and Germany. In England, where the Avignon papacy was identified with the French enemy after the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, statutes that restricted payments and appeals to Rome and the pope's power to make high ecclesiastical appointments were passed by Parliament several times between 1351 and 1393.

In France, ecclesiastical appointments and taxation were regulated by the so-called Gallican liberties. These national rights over religion had long

MARSILIUS OF PADUA DENIES COERCIVE POWER TO THE CLERGY

According to Marsilius, the Bible gave the pope no right to pronounce and execute sentences on any person. The clergy held a strictly moral and spiritual rule, their judgments to be executed only in the afterlife, not in the present one. Here, on earth, they should be obedient to secular authority. Marsilius argued this point by appealing to the example of Jesus.

■ Does Marsilius's argument, if accepted, destroy the worldly authority of the church? Why was his teaching condemned as heretical?

We now wish . . . to adduce the truths of the holy Scripture . . . which explicitly command or counsel that neither the Roman bishop called pope, nor any other bishop or priest, or deacon, has or ought to have any rulership or coercive judgment or jurisdiction over any priest or nonpriest, ruler, community, group, or individual of whatever condition. . . . Christ himself came into the world not to dominate men, nor to judge them [coercively] . . . not to wield temporal rule, but rather to be subject as regards the . . . present life; and moreover, he wanted to and did exclude himself, his apostles and disciples, and their successors, the bishops or priests, from all coercive authority or worldly rule,

both by his example and by his word of counsel or command. . . . When he was brought before Pontius Pilate . . . and accused of having called himself king of the Jews, and [Pilate] asked him whether he had said this . . . [his] reply included these words. . . . "My kingdom is not of this world," that is, I have not come to reign by temporal rule or dominion, in the way . . . worldly kings reign. . . . This, then, is the kingdom concerning which he came to teach and order, a kingdom which consists in the acts whereby the eternal kingdom is attained, that is, the acts of faith and the other theological virtues; not however, by coercing anyone thereto.

Excerpt from *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace: The Defensor Pacis*, trans. by Alan Gewirth. Copyright © 1967 by Columbia University Press, pp. 113–116. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

been exercised in fact and were legally acknowledged by the church in the *Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges*, published by Charles VII (r. 1422–1461) in 1438. This agreement recognized the right of the French church to elect its own clergy without papal interference, prohibited the payment of annates to Rome, and limited the right of appeals from French courts to the Curia in Rome. In German and Swiss cities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, local governments also took the initiative to limit and even to overturn traditional clerical privileges and immunities.

JOHN WYCLIFFE AND JOHN HUSS

The popular lay religious movements that most successfully assailed the late medieval church were the **Lollards** in England and the **Hussites** in Bohemia. The Lollards looked to the writings of John Wycliffe (d. 1384) to justify their demands, and both moderate and extreme Hussites to the writings of

John Huss (d. 1415), although both Wycliffe and Huss would have disclaimed the extremists who revolted in their names.

Wycliffe was an Oxford theologian and a philosopher of high standing. His work initially served the anticlerical policies of the English government. He became within England what William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua had been at the Bavarian court of Emperor Louis IV: a major intellectual spokesman for the rights of royalty against the secular pretensions of popes. After 1350, English kings greatly reduced the power of the Avignon papacy to make ecclesiastical appointments and collect taxes within England, a position that Wycliffe strongly supported. His views on clerical poverty followed original Franciscan ideals and, more by accident than by design, gave justification to government restriction and even confiscation of church properties within England. Wycliffe argued that the clergy "ought to be content with food and clothing."

Wycliffe also maintained that personal merit, not rank and office, was the only basis of religious authority. This was a dangerous teaching, because it raised allegedly pious laypeople above allegedly corrupt ecclesiastics, regardless of the latter's official stature. There was a threat in such teaching to secular as well as ecclesiastical dominion and jurisdiction. At his posthumous condemnation by the pope, Wycliffe was accused of the ancient heresy of **Donatism**—the teaching that the efficacy of the church's sacraments did not lie in their true performance, but also depended on the moral character of the clergy who administered them. Wycliffe also anticipated certain Protestant criticisms of the medieval church by challenging papal infallibility, the sale of indulgences, the authority of scripture, and the dogma of transubstantiation.

The Lollards, English advocates of Wycliffe's teaching, like the Waldensians, preached in the vernacular, disseminated translations of Holy Scripture, and championed clerical poverty. At first, they came from every social class. Lollards were especially prominent among the groups that had something tangible to gain from the confiscation of clerical properties (the nobility and the gentry) or that had suffered most under the current church system (the lower clergy and the poor people). After the English peasants' revolt in 1381, an uprising filled with egalitarian notions that could find support in Wycliffe's teaching, Lollardy was officially viewed as subversive. Opposed by an alliance of church and crown, it became a capital offense in England by 1401.

Heresy was not so easily brought to heel in Bohemia, where it coalesced with a strong national movement. The University of Prague, founded in 1348, became the center for both Czech nationalism and a native religious reform movement. The latter began within the bounds of orthodoxy. It was led by local intellectuals and preachers, the most famous of whom was John Huss, the rector of the university after 1403.

The Czech reformers supported vernacular translations of the Bible and were critical of traditional ceremonies and allegedly superstitious practices, particularly those relating to the sacrament of the Eucharist. They advocated lay communion with cup as well as bread, which was traditionally reserved only for the clergy as a sign of the clergy's spiritual superiority over the laity. Hussites taught that bread and wine remained bread and wine after priestly consecration, and they questioned the validity of sacraments performed by priests in mortal sin.

Wycliffe's teaching appears to have influenced the movement very early. Regular traffic between

England and Bohemia had existed for decades, ever since the marriage in 1381 of Anne of Bohemia to King Richard II. Czech students studied at Oxford, and many returned with copies of Wycliffe's writings.

Huss became the leader of the pro-Wycliffe faction at the University of Prague. In 1410, his activities brought about his excommunication and the placement of Prague under papal interdict. In 1414, Huss won an audience with the newly assembled Council of Constance. He journeyed to the council eagerly, armed with a safe-conduct pass from Emperor Sigismund, naïvely believing he would convince his strongest critics of the truth of his teaching. Within weeks of his arrival in early November 1414, he was formally accused of heresy and imprisoned. He died at the stake on July 6, 1415, and was followed there less than a year later by his colleague Jerome of Prague.

The reaction in Bohemia to the execution of these national heroes was fierce revolt. Militant Hussites, the Taborites, set out to transform Bohemia by force into a religious and social paradise under the military leadership of John Ziska. After a decade of belligerent protest, the Hussites won significant religious reforms and control over the Bohemian church from the Council of Basel.



A portrayal of John Huss as he was led to the stake at Constance. After his execution, his bones and ashes were scattered in the Rhine River to prevent his followers from claiming them as relics. This pen-and-ink drawing is from Ulrich von Richenthal's Chronicle of the Council of Constance (ca. 1450). Corbis



Justice in the late Middle Ages. Depicted are the most common forms of corporal and capital punishment in Europe in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. At top: burning, hanging, drowning. At center: blinding, quartering, the wheel, cutting of hair (a mark of great shame for a freeman). At bottom: thrashing, decapitation, amputation of hand (for thieves). Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

THE GREAT SCHISM (1378–1417) AND THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT TO 1449

Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370–1378) reestablished the papacy in Rome in January 1377, ending what had come to be known as the “Babylonian Captivity” of the church in Avignon, a reference to the biblical bondage of the Israelites. The return to Rome proved to be short lived, however.

Urban VI and Clement VII On Gregory’s death, the cardinals, in Rome, elected an Italian archbishop as Pope Urban VI (r. 1378–1389), who immediately announced his intention to reform the Curia. This was an unexpected challenge to the cardinals, most of whom were French, and they responded by calling for the return of the papacy to Avignon. The French king, Charles V, wanting to keep the papacy within the sphere of French influence, lent

his support to a schism, which came to be known as the **Great Schism**.

On September 20, 1378, five months after Urban’s election, thirteen cardinals, all but one of whom was French, formed their own conclave and elected Pope Clement VII (r. 1378–1397), a cousin of the French king. They insisted they had voted for Urban in fear of their lives, surrounded by a Roman mob demanding the election of an Italian pope. Be that as it may, the papacy now became a “two-headed thing” and a scandal to Christendom. Allegiance to the two papal courts divided along political lines. England and its allies (the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland) acknowledged Urban VI, whereas France and those in its orbit (Naples, Scotland, Castile, and Aragon) supported Clement VII. The Roman line of popes has, however, been recognized *de facto* in subsequent church history.

Two approaches were initially taken to end the schism. One tried to win the mutual cession of both popes, thereby clearing the way for the election of a new pope. The other sought to secure the resignation of the one in favor of the other. Both approaches proved completely fruitless. Each pope considered himself fully legitimate, and too much was at stake for a magnanimous concession on the part of either. One way remained: the forced deposition of both popes by a special council of the church.

Conciliar Theory of Church Government Legally, a church council could be convened only by a pope, but the competing popes were not inclined to summon a council they knew would depose them. Also, the deposition of a legitimate pope against his will by a council of the church was as serious a matter then as the forced deposition of a monarch by a representative assembly.

The correctness of a conciliar deposition of a pope was thus debated a full thirty years before any direct action was taken. Advocates of **conciliar theory** sought to fashion a church in which a representative council could effectively regulate the actions of the pope. The conciliarists defined the church as the whole body of the faithful, of which the elected head, the pope, was only one part. And the pope’s sole purpose was to maintain the unity and well-being of the church—something the schismatic popes were far from doing. The conciliarists further argued that a council of the church acted with greater authority than the pope alone. In the eyes of the pope(s), such a concept of the church threatened both its political and its religious unity.

The Council of Pisa (1409–1410) On the basis of the arguments of the conciliarists, cardinals representing both popes convened a council on their

own authority in Pisa in 1409, deposed both the Roman and the Avignon popes, and elected a new pope, Alexander V. To the council's consternation, neither pope accepted its action, and Christendom suddenly faced the spectacle of three contending popes. Although the vast majority of Latin Christendom accepted Alexander and his Pisan successor John XXIII (r. 1410–1415), the popes of Rome and Avignon refused to step down.

The Council of Constance (1414–1417) The intolerable situation ended when Emperor Sigismund prevailed on John XXIII to summon a new council in Constance in 1414, which the Roman pope Gregory XII also recognized. In a famous declaration entitled *Sacrosancta*, the council asserted its supremacy and proceeded to elect a new pope, Martin V (r. 1417–1431), after the three contending popes had either resigned or been deposed. The council then made provisions for regular meetings of church councils, within five, then seven, and thereafter every ten years. (See "The Chronicler Calls the Roll at the Council of Constance.")

Despite the role of the Council of Constance in ending the Great Schism, in the official eyes of the church it was not a legitimate council. Nor have the schismatic popes of Avignon and Pisa been recognized as legitimate. (For this reason, another pope could take the name John XXIII in 1958.)

The Council of Basel (r. 1431–1449) Conciliar government of the church peaked at the Council of Basel, when the council negotiated church doctrine with heretics. In 1432, the Hussites of Bohemia presented the Four Articles of Prague to the council as a basis for the negotiations. This document contained requests for (1) giving the laity the Eucharist with cup as well as bread; (2) free, itinerant preaching; (3) the exclusion of the clergy from holding secular offices and owning property; and (4) just punishment of clergy who commit mortal sins.

In November 1433, an agreement was reached between the emperor, the council, and the Hussites, giving the Bohemians jurisdiction over their church similar to that held by the French and the English. Three of the four Prague articles were conceded: communion with cup, free preaching by ordained clergy, and like punishment of clergy and laity for mortal sins.

The end of the Hussite wars and the reform legislation curtailing the papal power of appointment and taxation were the high points of the Council of Basel. The exercise of such power by a council did not please the pope, and in 1438, he gained the opportunity to upstage the Council of Basel by negotiating a reunion with the Eastern church. The

agreement, signed in Florence in 1439, was short lived, but it restored papal prestige and signaled the demise of the conciliar movement. The Council of Basel collapsed in 1449. A decade later Pope Pius II (r. 1458–1464) issued the papal bull *Execrabilis* (1460) condemning appeals to councils as "erroneous and abominable" and "completely null and void."

Although many who had worked for reform now despaired of ever attaining it, the conciliar movement was not a total failure. It planted deep within the conscience of all Western peoples the conviction that the role of a leader of an institution is to provide for the well-being of its members, not just for that of the leader.

A second consequence of the conciliar movement was the devolving of religious responsibility onto the laity and secular government. Without papal leadership, secular control of national or territorial churches increased. Kings asserted power over the church in England and France. In German, Swiss, and Italian cities, magistrates and city councils reformed and regulated religious life. This development could not be reversed by the powerful popes of the High Renaissance. On the contrary, as the papacy became a limited territorial regime, national control of the church ran apace. Perceived as just one among several Italian states, the Papal States could now be opposed as much on the grounds of "national" policy as for religious reasons.

Medieval Russia

In the late tenth century, Prince Vladimir of Kiev (r. 980–1015), at that time Russia's dominant city, received delegations of Muslims, Roman Catholics, Jews, and Greek Orthodox Christians, each of which hoped to see Russians embrace their religion. Vladimir chose Greek Orthodoxy, which became the religion of Russia, adding strong cultural bonds to the close commercial ties that had long linked Russia to the Byzantine Empire.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Vladimir's successor, Yaroslav the Wise (r. 1016–1054), developed Kiev into a magnificent political and cultural center, with architecture rivaling that of Constantinople. He also sought contacts with the West in an unsuccessful effort to counter the political influence of the Byzantine emperors. After his death, rivalry among their princes slowly divided Russians into three cultural groups: the Great Russians, the White Russians, and the Little Russians