THE RENAISSANCE
THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION
AND
THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION
IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

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PREFATORY NOTE

This book is based upon the *Outlines of the Renaissance and the Reformation* by Professor George Lincoln Burr, printed, but not published, for the use of his students at Cornell. Here and there I have ventured to change the outlines, but the framework of the book remains his in every essential respect. To his list of references I am also indebted for guidance in my reading and for aid in compiling the list of books published for the first time in the second printing of my book. In the course of our long correspondence other books than those mentioned in his *Outlines* have been called to my attention by my former teacher, and for this aid, too, I wish to make public acknowledgment. Another debt to my master is for his "enthusiasm of humanity," which is so highly contagious, and which I hope pervades in some degree every page I have written.

For the subject-matter of the book I am particularly indebted to Gebhart, Berger, Dilthey, Gothein, and Beard, whose works are mentioned in the lists of references for the various chapters to which they relate.

E. M. H.

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WE shall begin the study of the Renaissance with the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Not that the Middle Ages ended at this time and that then the Renaissance, in all its aspects, began. One cannot say when the Middle Ages gave place to the Renaissance. Indeed, in some respects, the Middle Ages are not over yet. They still subsist, stealing in silent currents along the subterranean ways of the world. It is impossible to date the bounds of an era with any degree of accuracy. Eras are not initiated with single dramatic events. In the great development of civilization there is nothing sudden, but rather is the change like that which takes place in a forest — birth, growth, and death go on almost unnoticed side by side. There are always many foreshadowings of any intellectual movement. So, one must not expect to find the Renaissance, or any other important era, inaugurated by a striking event or a violent revolution. Only very gradually did the new dispensation take form and shape. It was not announced to a startled world by the blast of a sudden trumpet.

Let us first of all make a brief survey of the Europe of that day from Sicily to Scotland, and from Cape Finisterre to the frontiers of Muscovy. At the dawn of the Renaissance, Christendom could claim only a small part of the world. The Mohammedan conquests had greatly diminished its extent since the seventh century. Christianity, as the ruling power, had been expelled from her most glorious seats — from Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, North Africa, and from a considerable part of the Spanish peninsula. The Greek and Italian peninsulas

Extent of Christendom at the dawn of the Renaissance

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were hers, the German Empire, France, the northern part of the Spanish peninsula, the British Isles, the Scandinavian kingdom, and in a rather dubious way the outlying Slavic and Danubian kingdoms. In exchange for her old and illustrious strongholds she had fallen back upon the northern countries, and all along her frontiers she maintained a spirit of incessant watchfulness and sometimes of actual aggression.

The Divisions of Christendom

But Christendom was divided within itself into two parts. There were the Greek Church and the Latin Church. In the Greek peninsula, and in Asia Minor, were to be found the adherents of the former, surrounded and submerged by the conquering Moslem; and here and there, too, in the turbulent Danubian and Slavic lands. To the Latin Church belonged the remainder and by far the greater part of Christendom.

The Neighbors of Christendom

To the East and the South there lay the Soldan's country. When the Moslems were defeated by Charles the Hammer, in 732, the tide of their conquest in the West was checked; but in the East it continued to flow onward, slowly yet steadily, until even Constantinople itself was subject to the age-long threat of capture. Beyond Islam was the far Orient, of which little definite information was possessed by the Europeans.

The Greek Church

The schism that had divided Christendom into its Greek and Latin Churches took place in the tenth century; and so bitter had become the controversy between the two churches that in Constantinople the opinion was freely expressed that the Turkish turban would pollute St. Sophia less than the hat of the cardinal. The Greek Church had been reduced to a fatal though oftentimes mutinous subjection to the State; and it had little contact with Western life. Not only doctrinal and ritualistic differences had separated it from the Latin Church, but also political and racial. The elements that went to make up the Greek Church were very composite; and this is to be accounted for, in part, by the fact that there was a large Asiatic admixture.

The Pope

At the head of Latin Christendom was the Pope who claimed both spiritual and temporal supremacy, a claim which received its fullest expression at the hands of Innocent III and Boniface VIII. No Roman Emperor ever wielded such power. He it was who launched the Crusades against the infidel, the heathen, and the heretic. He alone could call a general council of the Church, and he alone could confirm its decisions. He could pronounce an interdict against an entire country; and he could create and depose kings. All Western Europe professed obedience to the Roman pontiff. The same splendid ritual was performed

in the same sonorous language, the same incomparable traditions were held in reverence, and the same doctrines received universal assent. Within this vast fold were to be found the most diverse peoples and kingdoms antagonistic one to the other. This great Church was exceedingly well organized and immensely rich. The Pope had his curia at Rome, the supreme appellate tribunal of the Church with great power and many functions. Indeed, the twelfth century had witnessed the final change of the pastoral character of the Roman see into the juristic and political character of the Roman curia, its moral and theological activity superseded by its worldly interests. Law had replaced theology as the basis of the papal power.

The cardinals were the advisers of the Pope, and it was they who elected his successor. Eventually they were to be found in all the principal countries, but as yet the non-resident cardinalate was only beginning and so the large majority of them were Italians. Beneath the Pope were the archbishops, who could exercise their power only after having received the pallium from him, and each of whom was the overseer of a number of bishops. Under the bishops were the priests who administered the services of the Church to the people in town and country. The regular clergy consisted of monks, and nuns, and friars. They were grouped into different orders, the more recently organized of which acknowledged obedience to a general. They were more directly under the control of the Pope than were the secular priests, who owed obedience to their bishops; the Pope could give them direct orders through the generals, or other officers, so they could be used as a sort of papal militia. The monks remained in their monasteries and left the care of men's souls to the secular clergy. But the friars, fortified with the privileges given them by the Pope, traversed the world. Everywhere they preached and heard confessions. They were itinerant priests. Through the friars especially the papal power was felt directly in every part of the continent.

The Clergy of the Latin Church

The Latin Church had gradually built up a most comprehensive and, with regard to its fundamental dogmas, a well-articulated system of belief; though one must not think that all its various elements had been completely harmonized, because there were many cross-currents, many conflicts of theory with practice, and not a little that was confusing. For her creed she claimed in the most outspoken of terms indefeasible authority. She alone was the interpreter to man of the will and the word of God. Seven sacraments had been instituted for the salvation of man; they were indispensable to his spiritual life, and they

Creeds and Practices of the Latin Church

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could be administered, with the exception of baptism under certain conditions, only by a regularly ordained priest. So the laity were absolutely dependent upon the priesthood for the nourishment of their religious life. Outside the pale of the Church it was hopeless to seek an approach to God. In temporal matters, also, the Church was omnipresent. Her penetrating power touched every worldly subject. She had come to be not only a religious guide, but also a great juristic, economic, and financial institution. Over the temporal as well as the spiritual personalities of men she exercised control in an extraordinary degree. Nor was her power confined to this world. She had been given authority to bind and loose in purgatory as well as upon earth.

There were two empires, both of them "imperial shadows that represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne," yet both of them claiming the inheritance of the ancient authority of Rome. For centuries the Greek Empire had been essentially a static not a dynamic State. Its history is that of a government, not that of a nation. Its story is that of administration and law, rather than that of literature or of liberty. Yet it must not be forgotten that through the Middle Ages it held in its keeping the treasures of Greek learning. Out of hordes of barbarians it had created the kingdoms of Servia, Croatia, and Bulgaria. To Slavs and to Goths it had given ideas and institutions of government; and its missionaries were to be found from the shores of the Baltic to Abyssinia. Yet now it was in its last agonies of servile decrepitude, awaiting inevitable extinction at the hands of the Turk.

The Greek Empire

The Holy Roman Empire

The Holy Roman Empire extended from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean and from France to Hungary. Nominally this vast territory was ruled over by an Emperor with supreme authority, but except in his own personal dominions his power was but a shadowy thing. Under strong and able successors of Charles the Great the imperial power had been made something more than symbolical, but under weak and irresolute ones it had diminished again to the vanishing-point. There were many reasons for this,—geographical, social, and political. The Holy Roman Empire had for its basis only an idea, that of cosmopolitan dominion, or world-monarchy; but feudalism established itself in Germany as elsewhere, and before the fact of feudalism the idea of imperialism gave way. Every decade saw the centrifugal force increase and the common bond of union grow weaker. The imperial office was not hereditary but elective; and the election lay in the hands of great feudatories who were generally

unwilling to place in power any one who would be likely to check the gradual growth of their own independence. Imperial taxation and an imperial army, two things indispensable to the exercise of imperial authority, had never been acquired. So the Empire remained a congeries of some 362 principalities, ecclesiastical and secular; many of them composed of patches lying separate from each other; and many of them too infinitesimal to be represented on any ordinary map. Among the more important of the Germanic secular States were Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Bohemia.

And now, having glanced briefly at the empires, let us look at the kingdoms. In Germany the most striking fact of the time is the election of Rudolf I of Hapsburg to the imperial throne. The territorial possessions of that secondary prince were insignificant, but in a few years he acquired Austria and Styria and so a new dominion was created, destined to assume great importance among the principalities that made up the Holy Roman Empire. Bohemia, which lies in the very heart of Europe, almost equally distant from each of the great seas, a distinct physical unit by virtue of its encircling and forested mountains, became a kingdom in the middle of the twelfth century, but it remained within the Empire. In France the principle of consolidation had been at work for a long time, and was continuing when the age of the Renaissance opened. Nowhere else was there to be found so highly centralized a government. These things were made possible by the sense of nationality which the French people had acquired, and by the existence of a national army and national taxation. In England the long reign of Edward I, a vigorous, able, and truly national king, had just begun. It was an era in which the English came into their own, a time of political, economic, and social development, and of territorial aggrandizement. In the land won back from the Moslem invaders in the Spanish peninsula there were four Christian kingdoms,— Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal. At times there had been more than three Spanish kingdoms. Their unions and divisions had been frequent, and such changes were to continue until at last but two kingdoms, Spain and Portugal, should share the territory south of the Pyrénées. In the far North there were three Scandinavian kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, whose relations to each other had constantly shifted. To the North and East three Slavic kingdoms were to be found. Bohemia, the land of the Czechs, was, as we have seen, a member of the German Empire. Poland had grown up from a collection of small States into a powerful kingdom. Lithuania, the last

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of the heathen States in Europe, which had led a troubled career, witnessed at the close of the Middle Ages a great outburst of vigor and became one of the most far-extended of the European countries. In the territory drained by the Danube there was Hungary, the land of the Magyars, who with the Ottoman Turks, were the only Turanian people who succeeded in establishing permanent States in the continent of Europe. The two other Danubian kingdoms, Servia and Bulgaria, were both Slavonic powers, and the chief of them was Servia, whose people made a brave resistance to the Turk.

The Cities

Italy was made up of innumerable little republics and despotisms, petty commonwealths that were constantly at war with each other. In that Southern peninsula it was the cities that were of chief importance. In Italy and in Germany territorial disintegration had favored the rise and growth of cities that became centers first of commerce and then of culture. Venice, Milan, Florence, Rome, Padua, Siena, and Naples were among the principal Italian cities. In other countries, too, cities had achieved importance. They were to be seats of the new secular culture that was to work so great a change in the world. In Germany there were Augsburg and Nuremberg, and in the far North, Lübec, Hamburg, and Bremen. In the Low Countries, Bruges, Ghent, Amsterdam, and Antwerp were all busy hives of commerce.

The Universities

In this brief survey of Europe the universities must not be overlooked. Until the rise of secular culture made the cities of chief importance in the social life of Europe the universities were the most potent of the intellectual forces. In them were to be found the acutest minds of the time drawn from every country and from every class. Far to the South lay Salerno, then as always chiefly a medical school. The great law school at Bologna gathered to itself vast numbers of students from every land and by its inculcation of the principles of Roman Law became a force in the decline of feudalism and the rise of the modern nations. The mother university, the one that served as a model for others, was Paris, and there scholasticism made for itself a stronghold. In England there were Oxford and Cambridge. In Spain there was Salamanca, devoted especially to law, and quite aloof from its sister institutions of other countries. At the beginning of the Renaissance period Germany did not possess a single university. Prague was founded in 1348, and the same century witnessed the establishment of Vienna, Erfurt, Heidelberg, and Cologne. There were other schools of lesser importance such as Padua, Toulouse, and Montpellier; but altogether

there were not many universities. The new age was to make important additions to their number.

Such was the general condition of Europe when, on Christmas Eve, 1294, Benedetto Gaetani was elected Pope and assumed the title of Boniface VIII. He was a scholar learned in the civil and the canon law, handsome, eloquent, and arrogant, and filled with the lust of worldly power. Although he was an old man his vigor, as he proceeded to assert the most extreme claims of the Papacy, soon became apparent. Nine years previously there had succeeded to the French throne Philip IV, a man bent upon continuing the work of welding France into a compact monarchy. He was ably assisted in his government of the country by men of the sword and men of the law. Between the Papacy and France there was soon precipitated a quarrel. In the great struggle with the Empire the Papacy had triumphed, very largely because the world-wide dominion to which the Empire aspired was opposed to the tendencies of the time. In its struggle with France it was destined to fail, because it had come into conflict with one of the rising forces of the time, that of national development.

Boniface VIII

Philip the Fair was the representative of the growing feeling of nationality. The French and the English kings were at war with each other over the possession of Guienne. The Pope required them to submit to his arbitration, and when they refused, he issued the bull *Clericis laicos* which forbade the clergy to pay taxes or to make gifts to laymen without the papal consent, and summoned the French prelates to confer with him in Rome. This bull, one of the most important pronunciamentos of the temporal power of the papacy, is also the keynote of its decline. Both Philip and Edward I replied with retaliatory measures. The former, by prohibiting the exportation of money from France without the royal consent, cut off French contributions to Rome. In 1300, while this struggle between the medieval Papacy and the rising tide of nationality was still in its first stages, Boniface proclaimed the famous year of Jubilee. Remission of sins was granted to all who should visit the Holy City in that year. Vast throngs of pilgrims from many countries came flocking to the "threshold of the apostles," filled with the desire to see the holy places with their bodily eyes, and leaving large sums of money as a token of their devotion. Boniface was seemingly triumphant. He had crushed the Colonna, his personal enemies in Rome, and he had proclaimed that the Pope was set over the kingdoms of the world, to aid or to destroy. But he could not read the signs of the times. He was misled by the outburst of feverish religious enthusiasm, and he failed to estimate the grow-

Philip IV and his Quarrel with the Pope

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ing sense of nationality in Europe. He strained the bow too hard and it broke in his hands. The breach between the Papacy and France went on widening. The people of France, including the lawyers whom the recent development of legal studies had created, and even the clergy, were gathered about Philip, for they saw in him the champion of French nationality. In the course of the controversy the papal legate was imprisoned and brought to trial. In reply, Boniface, on December 5, 1301, issued the bull *Ausculta fili* in which he reasserted the papal power over kings and kingdoms, denied the right of all laymen to exercise any power over ecclesiastics, and repeated the summons of the French prelates to his presence. Philip caused the bull to be burned in public; the legate was banished, and the clergy forbidden to attend the papal conference. On November 18, 1302, Boniface issued the bull *Unam sanctam* in which he declared that the Pope holds both the temporal and the spiritual sword, of which he delegates the former to secular princes; and that it is absolutely necessary to salvation that every human creature should be subject to the head of the Church. Both sides began the final attack. At a meeting of the States-General in June 1303, in which every class of the nation, except the peasantry who were unrepresented, voiced its protest against the demands of the pontiff, the Pope was accused of heresy, tyranny, and unchastity, and an appeal was made from him to a general council of the Church. Boniface, who had gone to the little mountain town of Anagni, pronounced excommunication against Philip and was preparing to declare the French throne vacant, when he was seized by an emissary of the French king aided by Italians who had suffered injury at the hands of the Pope. It had been planned to capture the Pope and bring him before a Council in Lyons, but one of the cardinals persuaded the repentant populace of the town, who had abandoned the Pope to his enemies, to avenge the outrage upon the pontiff. The conspirators were driven from the town and the Pope released. A few weeks later, greatly weakened, if not mad with rage and terror, Boniface died. The outrage of Anagni has been called a "generative fact." With it the political supremacy of the Papacy comes to an end, and its ecclesiastical supremacy is threatened. Even the great Innocent III had failed to secure for the political claims of the Papacy more than a temporary success, and since his time the new force of nationality had made their success more hopeless than ever. So, when those claims were asserted at this time by a pontiff of inferior power, in words more haughty than those of the most powerful of his predecessors, it is scarcely a

matter of surprise that the struggle ended with their defeat. Henceforth if we would find the medieval Papacy we must descend with Dante to visit the regions of the dead.

Boniface was succeeded by Benedict XI, a mild and conciliatory Dominican friar, who died within a year after his accession to the papal throne. The next Pope, Clement V, elected after an interregnum of nine months, was the nominee of Philip IV. He was a Frenchman, and after his coronation at Lyons he never set foot in Italy. For some time he wandered over Gascony and Guienne, stopping wherever he found reverence and entertainment. Then he took up his residence in the town of Avignon, which, in 1348, became the property of the pontiffs. With the election of Clement there began the long foreign residence of the Papacy. Seven successive pontiffs resided in Avignon, surrounded by French influence and, in the opinion of contemporary Europe, dominated by French interests. It is true that Clement V and his immediate successor bowed to the will of the French monarchy, but the other Avignonese popes were more independent of French control than has been commonly supposed. Clement, at the instigation of Philip, revoked the obnoxious bulls of Boniface VIII, and concurred in the suppression of the Templars whose property the king desired and whose power and privileges he wished to take away. The next Pope, John XXII, quarreled with Louis of Bavaria who had succeeded to the Germanic Empire; and when he pronounced heretical the doctrine of the Spiritual Franciscans that the Church and the clergy should follow the example of Christ and his apostles and hold no corporate or individual property he alienated a large part of that powerful body and also great numbers of the German peasantry. Benedict XII was a modest and feeble Cistercian who remained a monk under the purple robes of the pontifical office. Clement VI was an amiable man, luxurious and lettered, fond of the society of scholars and artists, and self-indulgent to the point of laxity. Under Innocent VI, a born ascetic and something of a reformer, the license of the papal court which had become notorious was somewhat checked. Urban V displayed no little sagacity in carrying out the reforms to which he was earnestly devoted. He returned to Rome but deemed himself too insecure there and so went back to France. The last of the Avignonese popes, Gregory XI, was also an able man of high character, sincerely though not very aggressively active in the work of ecclesiastical reform.

The "Captivity" of the Papacy in Avignon

What had transpired in Rome, the erstwhile capital of Latin Christendom, during all these years of the "Babylonish Cap-

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tivity"? Even under the ablest of the popes who lived in Rome before the Captivity the Papal States had never been effectively governed. Every city of importance was either a self-governing community or subject to a despot. In Rome itself the popes had exercised very little direct authority. Indeed, in turbulent times popes had been obliged to seek safety in flight. It was a difficult city to govern. Its rabble had been demoralized ever since the days of *panem et circenses*. Its streets were narrow and tortuous. It was perpetually crowded with thousands of foreigners, many of whom doubtless discarded their own code of morals when they visited a city of alien manners, a fact frequently true of travellers today. But the chief cause of disorder was perhaps the fact that the great feudal families, particularly the Orsini and the Colonna, who had made the city a cluster of fortified camps, carried on warfare with each other within the city walls. It was seldom that the popes when they were in Rome had been able to quell the disturbances; and now that they were absent, the lawlessness and the license went on without restraint; the squalid populace was the prey of first one baronial family and then another; and brigands came up to the very gates of the city. At last Cola di Rienzi (1313?–54), a man of humble birth, took it upon himself to restore Rome to her greatness. He persuaded her people to resist the oppression of the nobles. On May 20, 1347, a self-governing community was established. But it was only for a brief time that the pale shadow of the great republic had been evoked from the ruins of the Campagna, for Rienzi was essentially a weak man. The new government fell at the end of seven months, and Rome relapsed into anarchy.

Rome during the Captivity

Despite the fact that the removal of the papal residence could be justified, in part at least, by the prolonged state of political anarchy that had prevailed in Italy, the residence of the popes in Avignon had the most deleterious effects upon the Church. When the Papacy became to all outward seeming the mere vassal of France, it lost in a large measure the respect and the allegiance of other countries. Its revenues diminished. To offset this it resorted to increased taxation and to irregular practices. Bishoprics and abbacies were handed over to laymen in consideration of payments to the Papacy, that they might enjoy the incomes. Plurality of benefices was allowed for the same reason. The meshes of the whole network of the deplorable fiscal system were drawn ever tighter. At the head of monastic establishments were men better fitted to wear the helmet than the miter, and on the episcopal thrones were men who would have made better bankers than bishops. Increased fees were demanded for induc-

The Church during the Captivity

tion into the episcopal office and for the trial of cases in the ecclesiastical courts. This financial system contributed with the Avignonese residence to a great loss in the prestige of the Papacy. No longer did the Papacy derive any support from the fact of living outside the jurisdiction of any one of the conflicting European nations. No longer did it obtain additional reverence by residence at the shrine of the two great apostles, in a city universally deemed sacred and sonorous with the voice of many centuries.

Effects of the Captivity upon the Religious Life of the Time

Upon the religious life of the time the effect of the captivity was no less undesirable. It is true that several of the Avignonese popes were not unworthy men themselves, and that they initiated that patronage of the Renaissance which the papacy generally maintained until the Council of Trent; but their court was only too often a center of scandal. As the seat of the Papacy, Avignon was a cosmopolitan city and the center of European politics. Artists, scholars, statesmen, and adventurers flocked thither. It was a city given up very largely to worldly affairs, to pleasures and to gaieties. Its corrupt politics and foul immorality provoked the wrath of Dante, the mockery of Petrarch, and the censure of all who had the welfare of the Church at heart. The moral state of Latin Christendom matched that of its temporary capital. Everywhere immorality was increasing. The Franciscan revival was a thing forgotten; and the preaching friars of St. Dominic had themselves fallen into the most deplorable degeneration. Among the monastic and secular clergy alike, monks and nuns, prelates and priests, moral corruption was rampant. The quarrel with the Spiritual Franciscans had produced a profound division within the Church. Lollardy in England had alienated the sympathy of thousands. And everywhere mysticism was making for less dependence upon the Church and her sacraments. But while there was much corruption within the Church and incipient revolt against the Papacy there were many devout men who desired the return of the pope to Rome and an internal reform that should sweep away the crying evils of the time. It was St. Catherine of Siena, a dreamy and mystic girl, who in a state of ecstasy, so she believed, saw Christ and received the Host from the hand of an angel, that gave supreme expression to this spirit of religious enthusiasm. From her convent cell she had closely watched the politics of Italy, and had become aware of the wide-spread corruption that prevailed. She determined to restore the Papacy to Rome and to initiate a moral reform. There floated before her eyes "the vision of a purified Church, of which the restoration of the papacy to its original