



- I. Area of regal or imperial influence, and sometimes of rule, i.e., the area north of the Po, and west of the dotted line from the Po, which runs between Mutina and Bononia, Aretium Perugia and on to Populonia. The part coloured yellow on the Map.
- II. Area of papal influence or rule, i.e., the area included between the above dotted line, and another starting between Ancona and Firmum and going round Camerinum and Assisium to Sora and Terracina. The part coloured blue on the Map.
- III. Area of influence or rule of the Lombard and other petty princes, i.e., the area between the last mentioned dotted line and another between the rivers Trinius and Lao. The part coloured red on the Map.
- IV. Area of Greek influence or rule, i.e., the area south of the line from the Trinius to the Lao. The part coloured green on the Map.
- V. Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, were in the hands of the Saracens during most of this period.



THE  
LIVES OF THE POPES  
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752*, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

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CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES IN THE DAYS OF FEUDAL ANARCHY  
FORMOSUS TO DAMASUS II.  
891-1048

VOL. V.—999-1048

SECOND EDITION

LONDON  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.  
ST. LOUIS, Mo.: B. HERDER BOOK CO.

1925

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

To

HIS ALMA MATER

ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON



A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS  
USED IN THIS VOLUME.

- Jaffé, or Regesta . . . = *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
- Labbe . . . . . = *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
- L. P., *Anastasius*, or the } = *Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.  
*Book of the Popes* }
- M. G. H., or Pertz . . . = *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).
- P. G. . . . . = *Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
- P. L. . . . . = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
- R. I. SS. . . . . = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
- R. S., following an } = The edition of the Chronicles, etc.,  
edition of a book } published under the direction of  
the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
SYLVESTER II. (999-1003), . . . . .	I
JOHN XVII. (1003), . . . . .	121
JOHN XVIII. (1003-1009), . . . . .	126
SERGIUS IV. (1009-1012), . . . . .	142
BENEDICT VIII. (1012-1024), . . . . .	155
JOHN XIX. (1024-1032), . . . . .	212
BENEDICT IX. (1032-1045; also <i>de facto</i> 1047-1048), . . . . .	238
GREGORY VI. (1045-1046), . . . . .	252
CLEMENT II. (1046-1047), . . . . .	270
DAMASUS II. (1048), . . . . .	286
APPENDIX, . . . . .	298
INDEX, . . . . .	301



## SYLVESTER II.

A.D. 999-1003.

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*Sources.*—By far the most important source for the biography of Sylvester is his own letters. These, to the number of over two hundred, have been frequently edited. We will mention only some of the best-known editions. With the rest of his works, and with accompanying notes and biography, Mons. Olleris put forth a good edition of them in 1867. Migne, dividing them into two classes according as they were written before or after he became Pope, reproduced, for the former and more numerous class, the edition of Duchesne (*Hist. Franc. SS.*, t. ii.) in 1880 (*P. L.*, t. 139), and for the latter the isolated productions of various authors. But the edition which is most generally quoted now is that of Julien Havet (Paris, 1889), in the series of Picard's *Collection des Textes*. This is the edition of which we shall make use in this biography. Various circumstances, unfortunately, limit to some extent the use to which Sylvester's letters could be put. Their utility is considerably impaired, for instance, by the fact that they are undated, and in some cases lack any certain means by which it can be determined to whom they were addressed. Furthermore, they are in parts frequently obscure, and that not only from such a natural cause as our ignorance of many conditions to which he refers, but also owing to his love of brevity, and sometimes to a deliberate resolve on his part to be obscure. He used to maintain<sup>1</sup> that wisdom was to be found where there was no

<sup>1</sup> "Quod non habet verborum copia, continent sententiarum pondera."  
Ep. 40.

great abundance of words. His letters certainly give evidence that he acted up to his axiom that he who has business with a wise man has not to use many words.<sup>1</sup> Despite these drawbacks, however, the letters of Gerbert are of inestimable value for the light they throw both on the man and on his age. A French translation of them is given by Barthélemy at the end of his *Gerbert*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1868.

*Modern Works.*—A glance at the bibliographies of Cerroti (*Bibliografia di Roma*, 1893), Chevalier (*Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1877), and Potthast (*Bibliotheca Hist. Med. Ævi.*, Berlin, 2nd ed.) will serve to convince anyone that "Gerbert, who was afterwards known as Sylvester II.," has been a very popular theme with historical writers. As might have been expected, the authors who have had most to say about the first French Pope have been his fellow-countrymen. With the best of reasons are they proud of Sylvester II. I shall confine myself to noticing here the works I have myself examined. Besides the work of Barthélemy already mentioned, a biography of Sylvester is given by Havet and by the other editors of Gerbert's works quoted above. The *Life* of Sylvester which deserves to be noticed first is that by C. F. Hock, *Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester II.*, Vienna, 1837. Hock was one of the first of a series of non-Catholic authors whose writings did so much to clear away the dense clouds of prejudice which prevented the Middle Ages and the Popes of that period from being appreciated at their proper value. We shall cite the Abbé Axinger's French translation of Hock's work (*Hist. du Pape Sylvestre II.*, Paris, 1842), which, however, Barthélemy<sup>2</sup> holds in no great estimation. Founded to a large extent on Hock's book is an article in the *Dublin Review*, vi. 1839. Since the time of Hock fresh material (such as the *History* of Richer) for the life of Sylvester has been unearthed. Of this new matter the Abbé Lausser (*Gerbert, étude hist. sur le X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Aurillac, 1866), Mr. Allen ("Gerbert, Pope Silvester II.," an excellent essay in the *English Historical Review*, 1892. It was awarded the Lothian prize in the University of Oxford in

<sup>1</sup> "Ei qui cum sapiente rationem instituerit, non multa oratione inlaborandum." Ep. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Gerbert*, p. 118. "On ne saurait trop se défier de cette traduction, qui offre des noms méconnaissables pour la plupart."

1891), and Picavet (*Gerbert, un pape Philosophe*, Paris, 1897) have availed themselves. The origin of the stories of magic which later ages connected with the name of Gerbert is traced by Doellinger in his *Papstfabeln. Les Papes Français*, by C. P., Tours, Mame, 1901, a work on the thirteen French Popes, is written "simplement édifier et instruire" (Préf., p. 8).

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AFTER having had to deal so long rather with shadows of <sup>Sylvester</sup> II. men than with living human beings, it is a great satisfaction in the midst of this dark and misty tenth century to encounter one who steps forth from its gloom a living, breathing man. Of so many Popes in this century the records of history furnish the writer with merely a few dry bones which he has to try and arrange so as to represent the human form divine as best he may. But in Gerbert of Aquitaine he has the good fortune to come across one who, while able and willing so to do, has actually left for his would-be biographers such materials that, if they aim at no more than reproducing that with which he has supplied them, they can scarcely fail to give their readers some substantial idea of "the most accomplished man of the dark ages."<sup>1</sup>

Of his force of character and physical and mental accomplishments we must form no slight estimate when we remember that, from being an obscure monk of lowly birth among the mountains of Auvergne, he became head of the episcopal school of Rheims, the tutor of kings and emperors, and archbishop first of the important city of Rheims and then of Ravenna, after Milan the Italian see next in rank to that of Rome; and that finally, after being the trusted friend and adviser of noble and bishop, of king and emperor, he became the head of Christ's Church on earth.

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Hist. Lit.*, i. 71

What in Gerbert most impressed his own and subsequent ages was his profound learning. Learned he certainly was, and he both loved learning himself and befriended those in whose breasts glowed the same sacred fire. As in the case of our own Venerable Bede, he was skilled as well in physical science as in the ordinary more or less theological studies which were cultivated in his day. But he differed from our holy doctor, and from most of the other scholars of the early Middle Ages, in that he devoted himself to practical work in the domain of physical science.<sup>1</sup> And though, in the case of *medicine*, he did not care for the practical side of it—perhaps because he thought that that was no part of the work of a priest—he took a great interest in its theory.<sup>2</sup> Most dear to him were the books he had locked up in his chests;<sup>3</sup> he never wearied in his efforts to add to their number.<sup>4</sup> With all his love of every branch of learning and of its silent depositories, though he declared that he would never in his own case divorce learning and virtue, still he proclaimed the superiority of the latter over the former.<sup>5</sup> Possessed, then, not only of a large store of knowledge, but also of a true appreciation of its proper position, no wonder that in his case it could not have been said that “science puffeth up,” but that, on the

<sup>1</sup> He was often engaged in making globes. Cf. epp. 134, 148, etc.; and he tells us of the scientific instruments which he had—epp. 70, 91, 92, 163.

<sup>2</sup> “Nec me auctore quæ medicorum sunt tractare velis, præsertim cum scientiam eorum tantum affectaverim, officium semper fugerim.” Ep. 151; cf. ep. 169.

<sup>3</sup> “Carissima vobis ac nobis librorum volumina.” Ep. 81. “Claves librorum quas mitterem ignoravi propter communem usum similium serarum.” Ep. 8.

<sup>4</sup> “Bibliothecam assidue comparo . . . Romæ ac in aliis partibus Italiæ, in Germania quoque et Belgica (Lorraine), scriptores (copyists) auctorumque exemplaria multitudine nummorum redemi.” Ep. 44.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*

contrary, he was as much distinguished for his modesty<sup>1</sup> as for his attainments. He loved not learning merely for its own sake; the acquisition of it at all costs was not his sole aim in life. He was always ready to lay down his books whenever the honour of God or his neighbour's profit required it. As he reminded one good abbot who was very much immersed in public affairs, "the art of arts is, after all, the guidance of souls."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, when what he regarded as a crisis in the state or at least in the affairs of his friends, called for his active exertions outside his library, he threw studies to the winds, and forcibly bade those, who at that period would have had him still devote himself to scientific pursuits, await better times when he might be able to revivify the habits of learned research which were then dead within him.<sup>3</sup> He would not be caught at his books when the enemy were storming the walls of his city.

Another fine trait in Gerbert's character was his loyal adhesion to his friends. To any cause he took up, to any friend he adopted, he was ever faithful. And if for a brief space, overcome probably by fear for his life, and at a time when, possibly at any rate, he was still suffering from the effects of a severe illness, he was unfaithful to Hugh Capet and his son Robert, the deep sorrow he manifested<sup>4</sup> for his fall only makes his general habit of loyalty to his friends stand out in yet grander relief.

One who has great influence with the mighty ones of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. an instance of it in a letter (ep. 224, ed. Olleris) to a certain bishop, written by Gerbert after he became Pope.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 67. Cf. ep. 203, where he insists on the prudence and discretion necessary in dealing with the souls of men.

<sup>3</sup> "Num amici qui . . . mecum laborabant ob tornatile lignum (a globe he had been asked to make) deserendi erant? Patere ergo patienter moras necessitate impositas, ac meliora tempora expecta, quibus valeant resuscitari studia, jampridem in nobis emortua." Ep. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ep. 170-173.

this world, and is at the same time a man of large views,<sup>1</sup> noble aims, and fixed and elevated purpose, must, if known to be true to his friends, wield very considerable power. Gerbert was no exception to the rule. So great was his sway over the minds and hearts of men, and so evident the large share which his hands had in many of the most important political events of his time, that his enemies dubbed him the king-maker.<sup>2</sup>

But did he not acquire and use political power merely to serve his ambition? And, in order to keep the place his ambitious exertions had won for him, did he not show himself a disobedient servant, and refuse to offer due submission to the Pope? There is truth in both these accusations. However, till the reader has had the facts of Gerbert's life placed before him, we will confine ourselves to asking, "Does it seem an unnatural or evil thing to seek some reward after years of constant and faithful service?"<sup>3</sup> and to stating that if Gerbert's ardent spirit,<sup>4</sup> deeply crossed in a most tender spot, led him into words and actions derogatory to the dignity of the Holy See, he yielded in the end to calm advice and the adverse tide, and did not allow himself to drop either into heresy or schism. Without further introduction we may now proceed to describe in full the fine figure of the first French Pope which has thrown forward this shapely shadow.

Birthplace  
and parent-  
age of  
Gerbert.

Leaving behind him the picturesque mountains of Upper Auvergne, the traveller will find at the entrance of a quiet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ep. 12, where Gerbert treats of his wide views in a jocular spirit.

<sup>2</sup> "Me ad invidiam Karoli (Charles of Lorraine), nostram patriam tunc et nunc vexantis, digito notabant, qui reges deponerem, regesque ordinarem." Ep. 163. Ep. 177 is also calculated to give a strong impression of Gerbert's great political influence.

<sup>3</sup> Allen, p. 663.

<sup>4</sup> For he did not pretend to be free from the passions of "anger hatred, and pity." Cf. ep. 70.



valley which slopes upwards towards them the equally quiet town of Aurillac, the capital of the department of the Cantal.<sup>1</sup> Though its principal objects of interest, its old churches, its monasteries with the palace of the abbot, were destroyed by the Huguenots (1569), Aurillac still merits our regard as the first place associated with the name of Gerbert. A bronze statue of him in its principal square still keeps his memory there ever fresh. All that is known for certain of the origin of him who was to be "the vast Pope" (*papa ingens*),<sup>2</sup> Sylvester II., is that he was a native of Aquitaine, and came of a family of no great importance in the world.<sup>3</sup> From the last-mentioned fact, however, and from the fact that not only was Gerbert educated at Aurillac, but relations of his were to be found in the monastery there,<sup>4</sup> we may safely infer that he was born in or near Aurillac. When he left the monastery which had been the home of his boyhood (c. 970), he was described as a young man (*adolescens*),<sup>5</sup> and hence he is generally supposed to have been born about the year 940, *i.e.*, before the middle of the tenth century. A pontifical catalogue gives Agilbert as the name of his father.

<sup>1</sup> This with the Puy de Dome formed the old province of Auvergne, while that again was included, at the time of which we are now writing, in the dukedom of Aquitaine.

<sup>2</sup> *Catal.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii.

<sup>3</sup> Speaking of his elevation to the See of Rheims, he says that: "me nescire cur egenus, et exul, *nec genere*, nec divitiis adjutus, multis locupletibus et nobilitate parentum conspicuis prælatus sit." Ep. 217, p. 229. Cf. Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, i., c. 4, n. 13: "Gerbertus . . . minorum etiam gerens prosapiam virorum"; and the Chronicle of the abbey of Aurillac (ap. Mabillon, *Vet. Analecta*, ii. 237), "obscuro loco natus." Both Richer (*Hist.*, iii. 43) and the catalogues (*L. P.*, ii.) speak of him as "Aquitanus genere" and "natione Aquitanus"; as does Ademar of Chabannes, also a contemporary: "Girbertus (the name is often spelt thus) natione Aquitanus, monachus (sic) Aureliacensis S. Geraldii ecclesiæ." *Chron.*, iii., c. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Richer, iii. 43.

Early edu-  
cation at  
Aurillac.

He received his early training in virtue and in knowledge (*grammatica*) in the Benedictine house of St. Gerauld in Aurillac.<sup>1</sup> This monastery had been founded (894) in honour of SS. Peter and Clement by a Count Gerauld (†909). But it soon took the name of its founder, who died in the odour of sanctity. Famous for its beautiful church, and for the caligraphy of its monks,<sup>2</sup> it adopted the reform of Cluny and, at the time of which we are speaking, was under the guidance of a most enlightened man, Gerauld de Saint-Céré (†986). In this abode of piety and learning Gerbert was instructed not only in *grammar*, *i.e.*, in Latin, or "in what was then understood by rhetoric," but also in the science of the heart, in uprightness. And, what is more important, he was trained with that same loving care which is still characteristic of Benedictine educational methods even in this twentieth century—with that sweet skill which makes those who have been brought up under them look back with grateful fondness to their school life, and cherish the memory both of those who taught them and of the home in which masters and scholars lived so happily together. The master who made the greatest impression on the mind of the young Gerbert was the monk Raimond, who succeeded Gerauld as abbot. "To him," wrote<sup>3</sup> Gerbert when archbishop of Rheims, "after God, I owe any learning I may possess." In many of his letters Gerbert tenderly refers to Raimond, and many<sup>4</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Richer, iii. 43. "In cœnobio S. Geroldi a puero altus et grammatica edoctus est." Cf. epp. 45 (end), 194.

<sup>2</sup> Hock, pp. 59, 88.

<sup>3</sup> "In commune quidem omnibus vobis (the whole community of Aurillac) pro mei institutione grates rependo, sed spetialius patri R(aimundo), cui si quid scientiæ in me est, post Deum, inter omnes mortales gratias rependo." Ep. 194. Raimundus "cui omnia debeo." Ep. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Epp. 45, 91, 163. "Quanto amore vestri teneamur, noverunt Latini ac barbari qui sunt participes fructus nostri laboris." Ep. 45.

them are addressed to the good monk himself. "The love I bear you," he writes to him, "is known to all, as well Latins as barbarians, who share in the fruits of my labour." The name of his beloved master was ever upon his lips, so that his scholars at the episcopal school of Rheims were themselves inspired with respect for Raimond and wished to see him.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Abbot Gerould (986) and the election of his dear master to succeed him, most tactfully does Gerbert express his grief for the former event and his joy for the latter: "When death deprived me of my most illustrious father Gerould, it seemed to me that I had lost part of myself. But when, in harmony with my wishes, you, my best beloved, were chosen to succeed him, then was I again wholly reborn as your son."<sup>2</sup> Not only was the illustrious disciple in the habit of commending himself to his master's prayers, but he longed to have him by his side, so that even when a teacher himself his studies might be helped by the instruction of his old professor.<sup>3</sup>

But the affection of Gerbert for Aurillac was not limited to one of its masters. It extended to its abbot, to many of its monks in a more special way, and to the whole community in general—"that most holy company who had nourished him and brought him up."<sup>4</sup> Of his attachment to Gerould, his forty-sixth letter, which is addressed to the abbot of Aurillac, is a neat indication. "No better gift," he writes, "has God given to men than that of friends, if only they be such as may be fitly sought and honourably

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 45.

<sup>2</sup> "Clarissimo patre Geraldo orbatus, non totus superesse visus sum. Sed te desiderantissimo secundum vota mea in patrem creato, denuo totus renascor in filium." Ep. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Writing to Abbot Gerould after his months of misery at Bobbio, he tells him (Gerould), "Studiaque nostra tempore intermissa, animo retenta repetimus. Quibus, si placet, magistrum quondam nostrum Raimundum interesse cupimus." Ep. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 45. "Sanctissimus ordo, meus altor, informator,"

retained. Happy was the day, happy the hour in which I had the good fortune to become acquainted with a man the memory of whose name suffices to drive all care from me. Though if I might enjoy his presence but occasionally, I should not idly consider myself a happier man. . . . Ever firmly fixed in my breast is the face of my friend, of Gerauld, at once my master and my father." The desire Gerbert expressed of seeing his old superior was reciprocated by the abbot.<sup>1</sup> And it may be said that the friendship of Gerbert for Gerauld was typical of his love for the whole fraternity of Aurillac. To be of further use to them he enlisted in their behalf the interest of Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, probably at this period the most influential man in France. So completely did he succeed in this that he was able to assure the monks that not only all that he himself possessed was theirs, but that they might equally count on all that belonged to Adalberon.<sup>2</sup> To prove that he was not talking without good grounds, he announced<sup>3</sup> to Gerauld that, as an earnest of Adalberon's goodwill, the archbishop was, on one occasion, sending to him a worked linen coverlet, and, on another, a vestment of cloth-of-gold, a gold-embroidered stole, and other similar things.<sup>4</sup> And if we cannot now read any communication addressed to Aurillac by its famous pupil after he had become Pope, we must note that, while few of his pontifical letters have come down to us, we have it on satisfactory authority<sup>5</sup> that Sylvester II.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. epp. 17, 92, 70. "Quæ nostri juris sunt (he says to Gerauld), ut vestra spectate." Ep. 70. "Quæ sua (Adalberon's) sunt, vestra putate." Ep. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 17. "Sagum lineum operosum vobis mittit, sicut olim . . . . alterum miserat sed planum."

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Brev. Chron. Auril.*, ap. Mabillon, *Anal.*, ii., p. 241.

continued to correspond with his esteemed master Raimond. We are, therefore, abundantly justified in asserting that if ever there was a grateful scholar it was Gerbert of Aquitaine.

About the time that Gerbert had reached what we call "man's estate," the quiet, happy, and studious life he had been leading as a young monk at Aurillac was brought to an end by the arrival at the monastery of a great noble Borel, duke of the Spanish March (Catalonia) and count of Barcelona (967).

After the Franks, following up the victories of Charles Martel, had driven the Saracens out of Gaul, they pursued them over the Pyrenees. And just as, retreating before the invading Moors, the Visigoths at length found a foothold in the north-west of Spain, in the Asturias, so the victorious Franks, driving the Moslems before them, founded a dependency in the north-east. The counts of Barcelona soon became practically independent, and from the time of Wilfrid the Hairy (898-906) the government of the Spanish March was held by his descendants. Fifth in succession from Wilfrid, Borel inaugurated his reign, destined to be a very troubled one, by commending himself and his affairs to God at the monastery of Aurillac.<sup>1</sup> Eager to have his monks instructed in the highest branches of learning, Abbot Gerauld inquired of the duke if there were in Spain professors of the highest order (*in artibus perfecti*). Promptly assured that there were, the abbot begged Borel to take one of his monks back with him to Spain, and have him there trained. This the duke agreed to do, and Gerbert, deservedly the favourite of his abbot,

<sup>1</sup> "In quo (the monastery of S. Gerauld) utpote adolescens cum adhuc intentus moraretur, Borrellum citerioris Hispaniæ ducem orandi gratia ad idem cœnobium contigit devenisse." Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 43.

and at the same time the choice of his brethren,<sup>1</sup> was selected to return with Borel to Spain. There he was placed under the charge of Hatto, bishop of Vich (Ausona), and was by him carefully trained in mathematics.<sup>2</sup> Resting on the words of Richer, and on the fact that when Gerbert himself alludes to his sojourn in Spain it is to "the Spanish princes"<sup>3</sup> (Borel and Hatto) that he refers, we may safely reject the statement of Ademar,<sup>4</sup> that he studied at Cordova.

Cordova.

Still, it is far from being unlikely that Gerbert was indebted to the wisdom of the Arabs of Cordova at least indirectly. About the middle (755) of the eighth century there was established in that city the brilliant dynasty of the Ommeyyads. This dynasty, which was quite independent of the caliphs of Bagdad, was founded by the wildly chivalric and splendour-loving Abdur Rahman I. (Abderrhaman I.). "He was an encourager of literature, as appears from the number of schools he founded and endowed."<sup>5</sup> And the famous mosque of Cordova, still

<sup>1</sup> "Dux . . . . fratrum consensu Gerbertum assumptum duxit." Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 43. Cf. epp. 45, 72.

<sup>2</sup> "Apud quem etiam in mathesi plurimum et efficaciter studuit." Richer, *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 45.

<sup>4</sup> "Causa sophiæ . . . . Cordobam lustrans." *Chron.*, iii. 31. From the text it will be seen that Burke (*Hist. of Spain*, i., p. 287, ed. 1900) is mistaken in saying that the name of Gerbert's Spanish instructor is unknown. If the *Historia de las Universidades* of V. de la Fuente (which Burke, *ib.*, p. 284, says is the best general authority on the Universities of Spain) could be relied on, Gerbert could have gained nothing in the way of instruction in mathematics by a visit to Cordova, as his residence in Spain (967-970) was "at a time long anterior to the study of the exact sciences at Cordova." But the statement of Fuente seems hard to reconcile with some of the facts mentioned in the text. He repeats it, however, in his *Historia Eclesiástica* (ii. 194): "Pero es mas cierto que aprendió en Cataluna lo que por entónces quizá no se sabia en Córdoba," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. of Spain*, i. 259, by Dunham.

known as El Mezquita (*The Mosque*), is an abiding proof of his enlightened love of the magnificent. It was "the noblest place of worship then standing in Europe, with its 1200 marble columns (of which some 900 are still erect) and its twenty brazen doors; the vast interior resplendent with porphyry and jasper and many-coloured precious stones, the walls glittering with harmonious mosaics."<sup>1</sup> Some of his successors, particularly Abdur Rahman II. (821-852) and Abdur Rahman III. (912-961), followed in the wake of the first of their name in adorning Cordova. And when we read<sup>2</sup> of the suburb and palace of Az Zahra, which Abdur Rahman III., the greatest of the Spanish Arabs, added to the already great beauties of Cordova, we seem to be listening to the recital of works performed rather by the heated imagination than by the creative intelligence and the lithesome fingers of the Oriental. But after we have put before our minds what was accomplished in the domain of architecture by the rulers of Cordova, we need not wonder at the nun Hrotsvitha describing the capital of Mohammedan Spain as "the pearl of the world." The magnificent ideas of Abdur Rahman III. were inherited by his son Hakam II. (961-976). He, however, turned his attention rather to the advancement of literature than to the beautifying of his city. He is said—but surely the vivid imagination of the East must be here at least allowed for—he is said to have collected 400,000 volumes.<sup>3</sup> At any rate, undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Spain*, i. 168; cf. 142 f., by Burke.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Berrington (*Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages*, p. 442) says 600,000, and that the catalogue alone ran to 44 volumes; Mr. Allen, p. 627, gives 60,000 as the number of volumes. If this number is not that given by the sources, it is probably much nearer the truth than either of the other two, for what we read of the catalogue of Hakam's library seems to tell in favour rather of tens of thousands of books than of hundreds of thousands. Quoting Aben Hayan (whom he calls the best Arabian historian of Spanish affairs, and, elsewhere (i. 23), though

“his reign is the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain.”<sup>1</sup> “The academy of Cordova was founded under his auspices. Many colleges were erected, and libraries opened in other cities, while more than three hundred writers exercised their talents on various subjects of erudition.”

But whilst Gerbert was in Spain, supreme power in the Moslem part of it was in the hands of an official (Almanzor or the Victorious) whom we may call *mayor of the palace* to Hisham II. (976–1012). To keep his power, he played into the hands of the fanatical class of *fakih*s (students of the Koran), and allowed them to purge the collection of Hakam. All works that were in any way connected with the natural sciences were objects of deep abhorrence to this intelligent section of the Moslem community, and “tens of thousands of priceless volumes were publicly committed to the flames.”<sup>2</sup>

Though in all this no little allowance must be made for the expansion of historical facts by the heat of Oriental exaggeration, enough of the work of the medieval Spanish Moor in the domain of architecture still remains to enable us to form an unerring judgment as to his high state of civilisation even in the tenth century. “Hither Spain,” at no great distance from Saragossa, can scarcely have failed to be influenced by the great intellectual movement that was going on under the caliphs of Cordova. So that, indirectly at any rate, Gerbert will have profited by the Arab-learning of the tenth century. He seems to have

without telling us the age in which he lived, “the diligent and renowned historiographer of the Beni-Omeya dynasty”), Condé writes that the catalogues of Alhakem’s library “extended to forty-four volumes, each containing fifty sheets.” *Hist. of the Arabs in Spain*, Eng. trans., i. 461.

<sup>1</sup> Dunham, *ib.*, p. 292; *cf.* Burke, *ib.*, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Burke, *l.c.*, 174. In fact, according to some authors, “Bien peu de livres en échappèrent.” *Hist. Gén.*, by Rambaud and Lavis, i., p. 781.



used books translated from Arabic,<sup>1</sup> and he is said to have employed the so-called Gobar (Arabic) numerals, which he could have learnt only from Arabian sources. Such at least is the contention of Mr. Allen. But others maintain that the *Gobar* characters, which he used for his system of numeration, were derived by him from Boëthius or his disciples. They had, in their turn, received these characters (almost identical with our own) from the Indians. The Arabs found them already in use in Africa, and gave to them the name of Grobâr or "of the dust," because the signs were traced on tablets covered with dust.<sup>2</sup> The whole question, however, of the origin of our system of numeration is so beset with difficulties on every side that it may be doubted whether it will ever be cleared up.

After Gerbert had spent some three years (967-970) in "hither Spain," there came the turning-point in his life. Borel, like all the great men of his day, longed for complete independence. To bring his desires one step nearer fulfilment he resolved, in the first instance, to free his principality from all ecclesiastical subjection to the kingdom of France. Decrees of Popes<sup>3</sup> had placed the sees of the dukedom of Barcelona under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Narbonne. He would go to Rome, then, and have Vich erected into an archbishopric. Thither accordingly he proceeded, taking with him not only Bishop Hatto, but the latter's talented pupil also. For he knew that, in a matter

Gerbert in  
Rome.

<sup>1</sup> He asks a certain Lupito of Barcelona for his translation of a work on astrology (astronomy), and offers him anything he (Gerbert) has in return. It is supposed that the translation was from the Arabic (ep. 24).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Olleris, p. 575 f.; and *Hist. Gén.*, by Rambaud and Lavisse, i. 785 n.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Steph. VII. (VI.), 896, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 855. Cf. ep. Joan. X. to George of Ausona and other bishops, in which he tells them he sends the pallium to their metropolitan Agius of Narbonne. An. 928, ap. Labbe, ix. 576.

which would require the use not merely of intellectual ability but also of diplomatic skill, he would have a powerful support in his young protégé. But he probably did not foresee that, by bringing Gerbert into contact with the powerful forces which moved the world, his young ward would be drawn from his side, and into such a current as would ultimately carry him to the highest place in Christendom.<sup>1</sup> Borel accomplished his purpose,<sup>2</sup> but as a *quid pro quo* had to give up Gerbert. The latter's "industry and love of learning" had impressed itself upon John XIII. And because the sciences "of music and astronomy were then quite unknown throughout Italy, the Pope at once sent word to Otho, king of Germany and Italy, that a young man had arrived in Rome who was profoundly versed in mathematics, and would make a splendid teacher of them." Quite in his usual autocratic style, the emperor (Otho I.) at once bade the Pope on no account to allow the young man to leave Rome. John, however, proceeded more diplomatically (*modestissime*). The emperor, he said to Borel, wished to have Gerbert's services for a time; and he promised that, if the duke would oblige the emperor, he would himself see to it that the young monk was sent back with honour. Borel could not but assent. Accordingly, when he left Rome to return to his government, he sent Gerbert to the court of the emperor.<sup>3</sup> Without exaggeration could the young Gaul say of himself that he had traversed land and sea in the pursuit of knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Richer, L. iii., c. 43, supposes that God brought this journey about for the enlightenment of Gaul: "Cum Divinitas Galliam jam caligantem magno lumine relucere voluit predictis duci et episcopo mentem dedit ut Romam oraturi peterent."

<sup>2</sup> Jaffé, 3746-9 (2871-4).

<sup>3</sup> All this from Richer, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> "Ego ille multum jactatus terris et alto, dum philosphorum inventa persequor." Ep. 217.

The young professor was a man of high ideals. He was unwilling to teach even at the court of an emperor, and with an emperor as his pupil,<sup>1</sup> until he was thoroughly well educated himself. Unlike so many nowadays, he knew he could not teach even science satisfactorily until he had studied logic and mental philosophy. Into these views of the requirements of a good professor Otho thoroughly entered. Hence when there came to his court<sup>2</sup> as ambassador of Lothaire, king of the Franks, Gerannus, the archdeacon of the Church of Rheims, who was regarded as "most skilled in logic," the emperor allowed the ardent student to place himself under this new master, and even, on his departure, to accompany him to Rheims. His sojourn of some two years with the great Otho was fraught with the most important consequences to the career of Gerbert. His grateful nature caused him never to forget the kindness of the first Otho. He attached himself irrevocably to the house of the Saxon emperors; and at length could say with truth that to three generations of the Othos, amidst trials of every sort, had he ever displayed the truest fidelity.<sup>3</sup>

In the philosophic lore of Gerannus Gerbert made the most rapid strides, but when in return he instructed his professor in mathematics, the logical mind of Gerannus could not grasp the musical branch of that science, and, overcome by the difficulty of his task, he gave up its study altogether. It was not long before the fame of the distinguished scholar and teacher in his cathedral city

<sup>1</sup> Otho II., who in 967 was crowned emperor at the age of twelve. Otho II. "non semel disputantem (Gerbertum) audierat." Richer, L. iii., c. 43 and c. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Otho was in Italy all this time. He did not leave it till the close of the summer of 972.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 185; Richer, *l.c.*, cc. 44-5; ep. 187, addressed to Otho III. "Si quo enim tenui scientiæ igniculo accendimur, totum hoc gloria vestra peperit, patris virtus aluit, avi magnificentia (the generous patronage of Otho I.) comparavit."

Gerbert  
with  
Otho I.,  
971-972.

Gerbert at  
Rheims,  
c. 972-982.

reached the ears of Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, the most powerful and enlightened prelate in Gaul. Engaged in reforming his diocese spiritually and intellectually, he at once perceived that in Gerbert he would have an agent well qualified to aid him at least in the latter task. He accordingly offered him the post of *scholasticus* or head of his cathedral school—a school which had much declined from its deserved reputation under Hincmar. As his patron Otho I. († May 973) and his old professor in Spain (Hatto, † August 971) were both dead, Gerbert accepted the archbishop's offer, and commenced "to instruct crowds of scholars<sup>1</sup> in the arts."

The number of his disciples increased every day. It was noised abroad not only throughout *the Gauls*, but throughout Germany and Italy to the Adriatic and the Tyrhennian Seas<sup>2</sup> that there was at Rheims a master who did not think it enough to lecture on the profoundest philosophy of the ancients, but who expounded the natural sciences, and who knew how to brighten one set of studies with the graces of the poet, and enlighten the other by the use of the most wonderful instruments. Richer<sup>3</sup> gives us the names of some of the books used by Gerbert in instructing his pupils in grammar, dialectics, rhetoric (the so-called *trivium*), and in the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, astronomy, and geometry). It will be seen that Boëthius was his guide to no inconsiderable extent both in philosophy and in mathematics. The first work mentioned by the historian as used

<sup>1</sup> Richer, iii. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, c. 55. "Numerus discipulorum in dies accrescebat. Nomen etiam tanti doctoris ferebatur non solum per Gallias, sed etiam per Germaniæ populos dilatabatur. Transiitque per Alpes ac diffunditur in Italiam usque Thirrenum et Adriaticum." So great became his fame as a teacher that when he went to Bobbio as its abbot, Egbert, archbishop of Trèves, wanted to send students to him even when so far away. *Cf.* ep. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, c. 46-54.

by Gerbert was the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. It was an introduction to the philosophy of Aristotle, and treated of the universals—genus, difference and species, essence and accidents. Ignorant of Greek, Gerbert used the translation of Victorinus, as corrected and commented on by Boëthius. Then he explained the *Categories* and the *Interpretation* (*περὶ ἑρμηνείας*) of Aristotle, and the *Topics* of Cicero, again following Boëthius.

When, by the aid of these abstruse works and other commentaries of the last of Rome's philosophers, Gerbert judged that the minds of his scholars had been well trained to think, he proceeded to instruct them in the art of rhetoric, viz. in the best way of expressing their thoughts. After long hours spent on the study of space and of substance, of the reasoning faculty and of other powers of the soul, we can well understand the delight of his pupils when their beloved master with his bright, quick, and well-informed mind and his sympathetic nature unfolded to them the beauties of style and of thought which were to be found in Virgil, in Statius, and in Terence, in Juvenal, in Persius, and in Horace, and in the *Pharsalia* of Lucan. For most correctly did Gerbert judge that no man could be an orator who had not something of the imagination and language of the poet.<sup>1</sup> In his free use of the poets of antiquity Gerbert differed from certain of his brethren. The superiors of some of the monasteries, timid, narrow-minded, or lazy souls, afraid of shadows, or finding it easier to proscribe what they could not or would not understand, or what they were too nerveless to prevent from leading to harm, would not allow the classical poets to be studied by

<sup>1</sup> "Post quorum *laborem*, cum ad rhetoricam suos provehere vellet, id sibi suspectum erat, quod sine locutionum modis, qui in poetis discendi sunt, ad oratoriam artem ante perveniri non queat." Richer, iii. c. 47.

their subjects. The zeal for the intellectual advancement of his monks displayed by Gerbert's own superior at Aurillac, is, however, enough to convince one—were proof required—that, as might have been expected, but few of the heads of monasteries were wanting in moral courage, in intelligence, or in energy,<sup>1</sup> and that consequently the reading of the profane poets was anything but prohibited in all the monasteries, even of the Cluniac reformation.

Gerbert's method of teaching was especially characterised by his combination of the practical with the theoretical, a matter in which the Middle Ages erred as much by defect as our own age is erring by excess. Hence when his scholars had had their course of rhetoric, he employed a sophist to exercise them in the art of debate. And when he came to instruct them in the quadrivium,<sup>2</sup> he spared no pains to illustrate his lessons experimentally. Many of the instruments which he used he invented and made himself. Richer tells, with evident pride in his master's ability, how, by means of a monochord, he showed the difference between tones and semitones, etc., and demonstrated that the tones varied in proportion to the length and thickness of the vibrating cord. He seems also to have turned his attention to the construction of organs,<sup>3</sup> and even to have set to music certain

<sup>1</sup> Hence the language of M. Pfister (*Robert le Pieux*, p. 5) would seem exaggerated: "Au X<sup>e</sup> et au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle les auteurs anciens n'ont pas eu de pires ennemis que les moines, surtout ceux qui avaient subi la réforme de Cluny." And so Luchaire (*Les premiers Capétiens*, p. 129 n.), siding with Sackur (*Die Cluniacenser*, ii. 330), points out that, as a matter of fact, the writings of the Cluniacs are impregnated with classical literature, and are even found defending the opinions of the Fathers by quotations from classical authors. Hence in the twelfth century we even find the monks of St. Bernard reproaching the Cluniacs with an excessive love of pagan literature.

<sup>2</sup> "In mathesi vero *quantus sudor expensus sit, non incongruum dicere videtur.*" Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 48.

<sup>3</sup> In some of the passages of his letters *organa* seem to refer to his scientific apparatus in general.

hymns<sup>1</sup> which he himself had composed. As a result of his labours in this direction music, which had for a long time ceased to be cultivated in *the Gauls*, became very popular.

To render the motions of the heavenly bodies less difficult of comprehension, he constructed globes and orreries. And whilst he passed the day in explaining them to his pupils, his nights he devoted to the study of the stars, making observations by means of tubes. As an aid to arithmetical calculations, he constructed an abacus on a large scale. It had twenty-seven compartments, and a thousand movable pieces made of horn.<sup>2</sup> To his admiring disciple Richer it seemed that there was something *divine* in the productions of his master's handiwork.

To prosecute all these studies, Gerbert obviously stood in need of a good library. In dialectics alone he read and explained more of the treatises of Aristotle than any of his own predecessors; and even "the most celebrated master of the eleventh century, Abelard, knew no more in this domain than Gerbert and Fulbert"<sup>3</sup> of Chartres, his illustrious disciple. To gather together the books he needed was to Gerbert a constant care and a never-failing source of joy. "With my efforts to lead a good life," he wrote,<sup>4</sup> "I

A collector  
of books.

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have composed a hymn in honour of the Holy Ghost, and a prose in honour of the angels. Cf. Olleris, p. 568. For his musical talents, with Richer, iii. 49, compare ep. 92, and the preface to his work, *De numerorum divis.*, ap. Havet, p. 238. Legend enabled William of Malmesbury to attribute to him the construction of a sort of steam organ.

<sup>2</sup> Richer, *ib.*, 50-54; Thietmar, *Chron.*, vi. 61. Cf. Gerbert's *Regula de abaco computi*, and the *Liber abaci* of his disciple, Bernelinus; his letter (as Pope) to Constantine, abbot of St. Mesmin, on the construction of a globe; and his *Libellus de numerorum divisione*, addressed to the same. It is disputed whether Gerbert was the author of the *Geometria* which is usually assigned to his pen.

<sup>3</sup> Picavet, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 44, to Ebrard, abbot of S. Julian's at Tours. The letter was written about the beginning of 985, and from Rheims.

have always joined endeavours to speak well, as philosophy does not separate these two things. And although to live a good life is more important than to be a good speaker, and although to those who are free from the cares of government the one is enough without the other, still, to us who are engaged in public affairs, both powers are necessary. For it is of the highest advantage to be able by well-fashioned speech to persuade, and by sweet words to restrain angry souls from deeds of violence. Hence am I ever toiling to form a library. And as for a long time past, by means of large sums of money and the kind assistance of the friends of my native province, I have maintained copyists and bought books in Rome and in other parts of Italy, in Germany also and in *Belgica* (the kingdom of Lorraine), grant that I may now and again obtain the like from you and by you. I will give at the end of this letter a list of the books I want transcribing.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with your instructions I will send to the copyists parchment and the funds necessary for their expenses, and will, moreover, never be unmindful of your kindness. Not to transgress the limits of a letter, I may say that the reason of all this toil is contempt of fickle fortune; contempt which in my case is not, as with many, the result simply of natural temperament, but of long-continued study. Hence in leisure as in work I teach what I know, and learn what I do not know." As with every other man who begins to collect books, the habit of adding to "his beloved<sup>2</sup> volumes" never left him. "You know," he wrote<sup>3</sup> to a monk of Bobbio after his return to Rheims, "with what zeal I collect books from every country." Moreover, he gathered books together not only from all quarters,

<sup>1</sup> This list unfortunately has not come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> "Carissima nobis librorum volumina." Ep. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 130, c. September 988. Cf. 40 and 44.



but on all subjects. He accumulated works on mental philosophy and on science, on rhetoric and on medicine. To the numerous works of "the father of Roman eloquence" he added the poets and historians of ancient Rome.<sup>1</sup> He sought for translations too,<sup>2</sup> and aimed at getting more correct versions of important works.<sup>3</sup> And in his efforts to procure books he spared neither himself, his influence, nor his money. He copied some himself,<sup>4</sup> others he got copied by or through his friends. To obtain a poem he offered to make a globe or sphere in exchange; in return for favours he was asked to perform, he exacted books; and to ensure receiving the works he wanted, he agreed to pay such sums as he was asked for and at the time agreed.<sup>5</sup> The enlightened zeal of Gerbert in the cause of studies effected a real revival of intellectual activity. What had been done under Charlemagne in the promotion of liberal studies by our countryman Alcuin, and what St. Bruno had effected in the same direction under Otho the Great for the Germans, was accomplished for the newly rising kingdom of France by Gerbert of Aquitaine. And it must be confessed that he was superior to either of those great and good men. He had no emperor at his back at this the most important period of his literary work, while the range of subjects with which he dealt was much more liberal and

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 130. "Fac ut michi scribantur M. Manlius (Boëtius?) de astrologia, Victorius (Victorinus?) de rethorica, Demostenis Optalmicus." Cf. epp. 40, 134, 9, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 7. "Plinius emendetur, Eugraphius (a commentator on Terence) recipiatur, qui (libri) Orbacis (Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons) et apud S. Basolum sunt perscribantur. Fac quod oramus," he writes in conclusion to Airard, a monk of Aurillac, "ut faciamus quod oras."

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 8. "Istoriã Julii Cæsaris a domno Azone abbate Dervensi (Montiérender, in the diocese of Chalons) ad rescribendum nobis adquirite." Cf. ep. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Epp. 130, 134, 116.

comprehensive, and the influence of his work was perhaps deeper than that of either Alcuin or Bruno. If John Scot can be called the father of the heretics of the Middle Ages, Gerbert may be described as the father of the schoolmen of that period.

Otric. Success, unfortunately, besides engendering respect, provokes jealousy. While a strong light<sup>1</sup> illumines many objects, it throws others into shadow. And Otric of Saxony, of the palace school of Magdeburg, imagined that his fame was dimmed by the rising reputation of Gerbert. He determined to prick the Gallic bubble! Accordingly he sent one of his pupils to study under Gerbert, with the object of finding out a weak point in his teaching. The disciple was not long before he imagined he had discovered what his master was in search of. He returned to inform Otric that, in his division of the sciences, Gerbert had subordinated physics to mathematics as a species to a genus. As a matter of fact, he had declared they were on an equal footing. The supposed mistake<sup>2</sup> of his rival was eagerly proclaimed to Otho II. by Otric. Unwilling to believe that his old professor could be in the wrong, Otho caused a public disputation to be held between Otric and Gerbert on the occasion of a visit of the latter to Pavia when on his way to Rome with Adalberon (980). The discussion took place at Ravenna, whither the emperor and his guests went by boat, and in presence of Otho himself and a great assemblage of students (*scolastici*), who, quite in accordance with the traditional habits of their class, were not slow to manifest their

<sup>1</sup> And Gerbert's was such according to the biographer of Robert the Pious: "Gerbertus pro maximo suæ sapientiæ merito, qua toto radiabat in mundo." Helgaldus, ed. Duchesne, *SS. coætanei*, iv. 63.

<sup>2</sup> "Ac per hoc, nihil eum philosophiæ percepisse, audacter astruebat (Otricus)." Richer, iii. 56.

approval or disapproval, as the case might be, of the conduct of the debate.

The disputation was opened by Otho himself, "who was accounted most skilled in these (philosophic) pursuits." Discussion, he contended, stimulated our natural torpor to deeper reflection. And with the express object of exciting Gerbert, he introduced the question of the subdivisions of philosophy. The enthusiastic scholastic of Rheims did not require much urging. He threw himself into the dispute with all the natural ardour of his temperament. His division of theoretical philosophy was soon accepted. And then, for the greater part of the day, the stream of Gerbert's eloquence flowed on. Such questions were treated of as the relative extension of the terms "rational and mortal." When at the close of the day the emperor declared the session over, all were exhausted but the indefatigable Frenchman.<sup>1</sup> In unfolding this discussion at some length, a countryman of Gerbert has shown that the questions brought up in it are neither so puerile nor so unconnected as some critics have supposed; and truly notes that the habit of "dividing and subdividing," so extensively practised in the schools during the Middle Ages, has given to our minds "the habit of analysis, and to our tongues clearness and precision." Gerbert returned to Rheims loaded with presents from Otho, and with an increased reputation.

He was also to have that form of reputation, which of all others is most dear to a master, viz. the renown that Gerbert's pupils.

<sup>1</sup> "Cumque verbis et sententiis nimium flueret et adhuc alia dicere pararet, Augusti nutu disputationi finis injectus est, eo quod et diem pene in his totum consumserant et audientes proluxa atque continua disputatio jam fatigabat." Richer, iii. 65. The details of this disputation, which are given by Richer (*ib.*, c. 55-65), are discussed by Picavet, p. 143 f. Gerbert's definition of philosophy was comprehensive. It was "the science of things divine and human."

comes from distinguished scholars. At one time or another he had pupils illustrious not only by birth and position, as Otho II., Otho III., and Robert the Pious, king of France, but by conspicuous abilities. Among the latter may be named Fulbert, the founder of the famous school of Chartres; Leutheric, the learned archbishop of Sens; Bernelius, whose treatise on the abacus was better than that of his master; John, schoolmaster and bishop of Auxerre; Richer, who dedicated his History to his old professor; and St. Heribert, chancellor of Otho III. and archbishop of Cologne.

Gerbert,  
abbot of  
Bobbio,  
983.

One result of the "Otric dispute" was that Otho conceived a still greater admiration for his illustrious master, and resolved to attach him more closely to himself. Towards the close of 982, or more probably at the beginning of 983, he named Gerbert abbot of the monastery of St. Columbanus (†615) at Bobbio. This abbey, situated among the Apennines between the rivers Trebbia and Bobbio and not far from Pavia, was among the most famous of the monasteries of Italy. From the fact that it possessed property "in every part" of the peninsula,<sup>1</sup> it ought also to have been one of the richest and most powerful. But though, as we shall see, it was not wealthy at the time of Gerbert's appointment, Otho no doubt made it over to one on whom he could rely, in order that, when its property was recovered, he might be able to count on the abbot of Bobbio for substantial support in men and money. He was preparing to make another attempt to carry into effect the policy of his house by making himself master of South Italy, driving out both Greeks and Saracens—a policy which had received a severe check owing to his defeat by the latter near Crotone (982).

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 12. "Quæ pars Italiæ possessiones b. Columbani non continet"?

Obviously, to have a friend as abbot of Bobbio would be of no little service to Otho. But neither Gerbert nor his patron were destined to get from Bobbio what they had hoped.

A little pleasure, indeed, the new abbot of Bobbio did derive from his new position. It enabled him to have a hunt for and among books. There is extant a tenth-century catalogue<sup>1</sup> of the books then possessed by the abbey of Bobbio. It is far from unlikely that it was drawn up by Gerbert himself. But, unfortunately for his happiness, the unsatisfactory state in which he found his monastery prevented him from being much in the company of his beloved books. Even left to our own imaginations, we should have had no difficulty in conceiving the disgust felt by Gerbert, who had been accustomed to the discipline of Aurillac and of bishops Hatto and Adalberon, when he arrived at Bobbio and found neither order nor money. But we are not left to fall back upon imagination. The series of Gerbert's letters begins with his arrival at Bobbio. From them we learn that he found in his own case that "the troubles of kingdoms are the ruin of the Church,"<sup>2</sup> and that "the ambition of the powerful, and the miseries of the times, had turned right into wrong, and that no man kept faith with anybody."<sup>3</sup> His predecessor, Petroald, taking advantage of the disorders of the times, had alienated under one device or another the property of the monastery, and had, as might have been expected, suffered the greatest disorders to become rampant among the monks. Gerbert found "that the whole sanctuary of God had been sold, but that its price was not forthcoming, that the store-houses and granaries were empty, and that there was nothing in the monastic purse."<sup>4</sup> His monks were in want

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii. ævi*, iii. 898; reprinted ap. Olleris, p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 2, 3.

of food and clothes. The situation was unbearable. He could endure to suffer poverty himself among the Gauls, but to be a beggar with so many needy monks among the Italians was more than he could tolerate.<sup>1</sup> Convinced that it was his plain duty to be the faithful steward of his monastery in temporals as well as in spirituals, he at once set vigorously to work to stop the encroachments which were on all sides being attempted on such property as was still acknowledged to belong to the monastery. He showed his spirit in no doubtful language. To a certain Boso he wrote :<sup>2</sup> "Let us leave words and cleave to facts. The sanctuary of God I will not give for gold nor for love ; nor will I consent to the alienation, if it has been given away. Restore to Blessed Columbanus the hay which your people have carried off, if you would not experience what I can effect by the favour of Cæsar and by the help of my friends." He did not hesitate to write to any one in this same fearless manner. And so to the Empress-mother Adelaide, who was then residing at Pavia and who evidently wished to have the lands of Bobbio parcelled out in accordance with her wishes, he wrote<sup>3</sup> that to meet the wishes of the emperor he had granted some of her requests, but could not grant them all. "How can I take away to-morrow the land which I granted to my dependents (*nostris fidelibus*) yesterday ? If everything is to be done which anybody chuses to order, what is my occupation here ? And if I give away everything, what is left for me to hold ? Even if I could, I would not grant a benefice to Grifo." Sometimes his firmness seems rather too uncompromising. To settle certain differences which had sprung up between them, Peter Canepanova, bishop of Pavia (afterwards Pope

<sup>1</sup> "Si cum gratia domini mei fieri posset, satius esset me solum apud Gallos egere, quam cum tot egentibus apud Italos mendicare." Ep. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 6.

John XIV.), proposed a personal interview. He received the following answer to his request: "We owe no thanks to any Italian that we seem to possess the abbey of St. Columbanus. If you have praised me to the emperor, I have oftentimes given you not undeserved eulogies. You ask for an interview, and cease not to plunder my Church. You, who ought to bring together what has been scattered, divide my property among your soldiers as though it were your own. Harry and plunder, rouse up against me the forces of Italy. You have a rare opportunity; for my lord (Otho) is involved in war. I will not detain the armed bands which have been made ready to aid him, nor will I undertake what is his work. If I can have peace, I will devote myself to the service of Cesar, present or absent. But if not, his presence alone will console my miseries; and since, as the poet says (*Virgil, Æneid, iv. 373*), 'Good faith is nowhere to be found,' and since what has been neither seen nor heard is imagined, I will make known my wishes to you only in writing, and will only listen to yours when expressed in the same way."<sup>1</sup>

Gerbert's spirited efforts to restore to its ancient status the glorious old abbey which had been entrusted to him, naturally made him many enemies both secret and open.<sup>2</sup> They calumniated him to the emperor,<sup>3</sup> they turned the most innocent things which he did into evidences of crime. Because he brought some of his relations with him from France (*de Frantia*), they declared he had a wife and children, and said even worse things

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 5.

<sup>2</sup> "Secundum amplitudinem quippe animi mei, amplissimis me honoravit (fortuna) hostibus." Ep. 12.

<sup>3</sup> "Quid ora caudæque vulpium blandiuntur hic (in the imperial palace at Pavia) domino meo?" Ep. 11. "Ubi gladio ferire nequibunt, jaculis verborum appetent." Ep. 12.

of him.<sup>1</sup> The emperor, they said, who nominated such a man was an ass ; and when Otho sent certain of his agents to effect the restoration of the property of Bobbio, they took counsel to put them to death.<sup>2</sup>

Gerbert's special foes were, of course, those whom he had succeeded in dispossessing of their ill-gotten goods. For, as he said, the vanquished have no shame. And during the twelve months or thereabouts that he remained at Bobbio, he succeeded, by one means or another, in rescuing some of the property which belonged to his abbey. When Otho II. came into Italy (983) to resume his campaign against the Saracens, Gerbert went to meet him at Pavia. He cleared himself of the calumnies which had been upcast against him, and explained to Otho the difficulties of his position. "Let him not be accused of treason," he urged, "who regards it as a glory to be on the side of the emperor, an ignominy to be opposed to him."<sup>3</sup> But though this interview resulted in something being done to ameliorate his position, his enemies still contrived to make his life unbearable. "Where am I to live?" he writes to Otho, after the latter had left Pavia and moved south. "If I return to my native land, I have to neglect the oath of fidelity I have sworn to you ; and, if I do not return, I am but an exile here. Still," he concluded with a play upon the words, "it is better to be an exile in the *palatium* (*i.e.* in the emperor's service), while true to one's oath, than, false to one's oath, to reign in *Latium* (*i.e.* in France)."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Taceo de me quem novo locutionis genere equum emissarium susurrant, uxorem et filios habentem, propter partem familiæ meæ de Frantia recollectam." Ep. 11. Picavet thinks that "equum emissarium" does not mean "cheval étalon," but contains an allusion to the "emissary goat."

<sup>2</sup> Epp. 11, 12. "Ipse Cæsar . . . a furciferis asino coæquatur." Ep. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 11. Cf. ep. 12, "Recordare me malle esse militem in Cæsarianis castris quam regem in extraneis."



Needless to say, his difficulties rapidly increased on the death of Otho (December 7, 983). He knew not what to do. In his distress he turned whither so many wretched souls turned for help in the Middle Ages, viz. to the See of Rome, and wrote to the Pope (John XIV.), even to that Peter of Pavia to whom he had written the sharp letter we have just cited. He must have had full confidence that the former bishop of Pavia bore him no grudge. "To the most blessed Pope John, Gerbert, in name only, abbot of Bobbio. Whither, O father of our country, am I to turn? If I appeal to the Apostolic See, I am laughed at. I can neither come to you on account of my enemies, nor am I free to leave Italy. And yet it is difficult to remain, since neither inside the monastery nor outside of it is there anything left me but my pastoral staff and the apostolical benediction. The Lady Imiza is my friend because she is your friend. Make known to me through her, either by messenger or by letter, what you would have me do. Through her, too, I will inform you as to what I think will interest you in the state of public affairs."<sup>1</sup>

No doubt, in laughing at Gerbert for thinking of appealing to Rome at this juncture, his enemies were in the right. They knew that under the circumstances, with a child as king of Germany and the antipope Boniface VII. to cause trouble in Rome, John XIV. would be unable to afford effectual help to any one. If, however, the abbot of Bobbio had chosen for a time to change his pastoral staff for a sword, he might have maintained himself in secure possession of what was still left to his monastery, and even have recovered something of what had been lost to it. His soldiers were ready to take arms and to fortify the strong places which they held.<sup>2</sup> For it must not be for-

Gerbert  
quits  
Bobbio,  
984.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 14.

<sup>2</sup> "Milites mei quidem arma sumere, castra munire parati." Ep. 16.

gotten that the abbot of Bobbio ranked as a count, and so of course had an armed force at his disposal. But Gerbert could not see that there was hope of any speedy improvement in the state of affairs, and he was a monk and student, and not a soldier.<sup>1</sup> "What hope is there," he wrote<sup>2</sup> to the abbot of his old monastery of Aurillac, "when the country is without a ruler, and when the fidelity, morality, and disposition of certain Italians is such as we know it? I yield then to fortune, and will resume my studies which, though interrupted for a time, have ever been cherished in my thoughts." As he explained later to his dear master Raimond, if he had remained at Bobbio, he would either have had in a cowardly way to submit to oppression, or to have sanctioned bloodshed. "The state of things in Italy was such that, if I had wished to shelter myself beneath my innocence, I should have had basely to endure the yoke of tyrants; or, if I had appealed to force, I should have had to seek on all sides for partisans, to fortify strong positions, and to tolerate pillage, incendiarism, and slaughter. Hence I chose rather the assured leisure of study than the uncertain chances of war."<sup>3</sup>

Early then in the year 984 did Gerbert return to Rheims that he might again be near his beloved superior Adalberon, whose absence was one of the abbot's great griefs at Bobbio,<sup>4</sup> and that he might again have quiet leisure for his scientific pursuits. He did not, however, resign his abbatial dignity, nor cease to struggle for the recovery of

Gerbert  
lack at  
Rheims,  
984-991-  
998.

<sup>1</sup> Besides, as we may judge from a later letter, he had no great faith in his soldiers. They were Italians, and not men. "Sine præsencia dominæ meæ Th. (Theophano) credere non ausim fidei meorum militum, quia Itali sunt." Ep. 91. Italy may produce crops, but Gaul and Germany breed soldiers. Cf. the preface to his *Libellus de rationali*, p. 298, ed. Oll.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 16, written at the very beginning of 984.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 8.

its rights;<sup>1</sup> but he ceased to reside in his abbey. For in contending for his rights he acted on the principle that what had been given to him by the emperor and confirmed to him by the Pope<sup>2</sup> ought not to be abandoned without a hard struggle. In the meantime, however, as we have said, he left Italy and allowed "the blind cupidity of certain pauper nobles to have its way for a time."<sup>3</sup>

His exertions for the cause of his abbey were one reason why his second sojourn at Rheims was not so tranquil as his first. He was now no longer a mere professor. As confidant of Archbishop Adalberon, and as abbot of Bobbio, he had to take a part in public affairs. The duration of his second stay at Rheims, viz. some fourteen years, may be divided into two sections of more or less equal length. During the first period he was engaged with Adalberon in working to secure the throne of Germany to the young Otho, and that of France to the Capetians as against the Carolings. During the second, he was at war with the Pope to maintain himself in the archbishopric of Rheims. Altogether we cannot be far wrong if we call the fourteen years from 984 to 998, and especially the second half of that period, the most agitated epoch of Gerbert's life.

The greater number of his letters were penned during the time which elapsed between his return to Rheims (984) and his election as its archbishop (991). Written for the most part in the name of Adalberon, their contents are in the main concerned with the affairs of Lothaire (†986), Louis V. (the last Carolingian king, †987), and Hugh Capet, kings of France, and of Otho III. of Germany. They are,

He supports the interests of Otho III. and Hugh Capet.

<sup>1</sup> "Crebris itineribus causam patris mei Columbani pro viribus executus sum." Ep. 130. Cf. epp. 91, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 159. "Dico equidem quod spoliatus amplissimis rebus imperiali dono collatis, apostolica benedictione confirmatis, nec una saltim villula ob fidem retentam vel retinendam donatus sum."

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 20.

consequently, of more importance for the history of France and Germany<sup>1</sup> than for that of the Popes. As, however, they are the work of Gerbert, and show us how he was employed during seven years, they cannot be passed over entirely.

Following and, where enlarging, exaggerating a statement of Widukind,<sup>2</sup> Freeman<sup>3</sup> thus presents the questions into which Gerbert and Adalberon threw themselves. "The tenth century was a period of struggle between the Teutonic and Romance languages, between Laon and Paris,<sup>4</sup> between the descendants of Charles the Great and the descendants of Robert the Strong," and, we may add, between the East and West Franks for the possession of Lorraine. When Adalberon and his secretary, Gerbert, entered into the struggle, it had reached an acute stage. Before they left it, the Capets had triumphed over the Carolingians, and Lorraine had become attached to the German empire. In all the intrigues into which these two great churchmen entered,

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the works already cited in connection with the *Life* of Gerbert, the English reader will find an account of the politics of France and Germany at this period in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. Cf. also Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, and Pfister, *Robert le Pieux*.

<sup>2</sup> *Res Sax.*, i. 29. "Unde usque hodie certamen est de regno Karolorum stirpi et posteris Odonis (count of Paris), concertatio quoque regibus Karolorum et orientalium Francorum super regno Lotharii."

<sup>3</sup> *L.c.*, p. 155. For it should be stated that more recent authors, both English and French, are agreed that Freeman goes much too far in making Hugh and Lothaire representatives of French and German nationality. "There is not a scrap of evidence to prove that the later Carolings were different in tongue, ideas, or policy from the Robertian house. There was no real national feeling in the tenth century, and, if there were, no proof that the one house was more national than the other." Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> "Remarquons ici que Paris n'a joué aucun rôle dans les événements qui amenèrent la chute des Carolingiens." Lot, *Les derniers Carol.*, p. 391 n.

Gerbert was animated by the one thought of advancing the interests of the Othos, and Adalberon by a deep-seated wish for the peace and prosperity of the land, as well as for the advancement of the empire. This led the powerful archbishop to favour the aspirations of Hugh Capet, duke of France, though his nominal sovereigns were the Carolingians Lothaire and Louis V., and though he was chancellor of the kingdom of the Franks. Just as in the eighth century the Frankish nobles found that it was necessary for the preservation of order to replace the effete Merovingian line by the vigorous Carolingians, Adalberon saw that there was no hope of peace unless Hugh, who was king in fact,<sup>1</sup> should become king in name as well. The last Carolingians were not so helpless as the *fainéant* race to which Pippin put an end. But, heirs to a woefully diminished inheritance, they were crushed out by the descendants of Robert the Strong, whose fief had grown into the practically independent *Duchy of France*, and whose successor, Hugh Capet, especially when aided by the Normans, was more than a match for his king in military power, and was destined to convert his duchy into a kingdom.

On his return to Rheims Gerbert did not indeed cease to teach, "to offer from time to time to most noble pupils the sweet fruit of liberal studies,"<sup>2</sup> nor to collect books,<sup>3</sup> whether profane or liturgical, or whether bound simply or in gold.<sup>4</sup> And he was the more anxious, as he said, to form

Gerbert  
does not  
forget  
Bobbio.

<sup>1</sup> "Lotharius rex Franciæ prælatu est solo nomine, Hugo vero non nomine sed actu et opere." Ep. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Epp. 24, 25, 44, 72, 96, 105, 123, 130, 134. Ep. 116 shows him paying by instalments of two silver denarii (six francs) for the copying of a MS.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 108. "Sacramentalis (= sacramentarium?) auro decentissime insigniti."

a good library that, engaged in public affairs, he had not only to live well, but to speak well, and books were essential to the proper performance of the latter duty.<sup>1</sup> Nor did he forget his abbey of Bobbio. Those monks who remained faithful to him he encouraged, those who submitted to his enemies, "to the tyrants," he reproved. "You who have professed the rule of St. Benedict, and, by deserting your abbot, have abandoned it, you (I speak not of you all), you who have of your own accord bent your necks to the yoke of the tyrants, will you be willing, under the leadership of these your tyrants, to appear before the tribunal of Christ? This I write, not for the sake of keeping my dignity; but, whilst with true pastoral solicitude I say what I ought, I at once free my own conscience from blame, and bind those who give not heed to me. Recall to your minds the privileges which have been granted by the Popes. Bring back to your memories those very anathemas<sup>2</sup> which you (once) showed me yourselves. Grasp the import of the sacred canons: 'He who shall in any way communicate with those who have been excommunicated, let him be excommunicated himself.'<sup>3</sup> See in what peril you stand. May the Supreme Judge enable you to realise His commands, and at the same time put them in practice."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, he never ceased labouring to win

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 44. "At nobis in re publica occupatis utraque necessaria (bene vivere et bene dicere). Nam et apposite dicere ad persuadendum et animos furentium suavi oratione ab impetu retinere, summa utilitas. Cui rei præparendæ, bibliothecam assidue comparo."

<sup>2</sup> The papal bulls which granted their privileges to the abbots of Bobbio were preserved in the monastery, and they were, of course, terminated with the usual sentence of anathema on such as ventured to interfere with them. Cf. *Hist. pat. Monument.*, i. 6-8. Note of Havet, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Canons of the Apostles, n. 11, ap. *P. L.*, t. 67, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 18. Cf. epp. 19, 82 for letters of encouragement to the faithful section of the community. In ep. 83 he pleads for the interest of Hugo, marquis of Tuscany.

back for his abbey its rights and its privileges. "From the time that I went forth from amongst you, I have never ceased to go about and toil for the interests of St. Columbanus."<sup>1</sup> He appealed to the influential for their support; to empress and to Pope for justice.<sup>2</sup> But at the time his labour was, to a large extent, lost. "The ambition of kings, the terrible condition of the times, turned right into wrong."<sup>3</sup> However, he lived long enough to be able to secure justice for the abbey he loved so well. When he became archbishop of Ravenna, he obtained through Otho III. the restoration of much of its property; and when he became Pope he placed at the head of it Petroald, who, under the good influence of Gerbert, reformed his character, and became worthy to rule the abbey he had once plundered.<sup>4</sup>

Besides attending to business in which he was himself more immediately concerned, Gerbert found time to interest himself in affairs of public interest in both Church and State. He showed himself very much distressed when he heard that Oilbold, or perhaps rather a nameless would-be successor to Oilbold, had been uncanonically elected to the great abbey of Fleury-on-the-Loire. His was a nature that waxed hot at the sight of the perpetration of high-handed acts of injustice. He conceived that he was himself called upon to strive for their redress. In the present instance, indeed, he had a special reason for feeling personally aggrieved. He was himself a Benedictine abbot, and one of his particular friends, the learned monk

He works  
i. for mon-  
astic disci-  
pline, 986-  
988.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Epp. 20-23.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the diplomas cited by Havet, pp. xxix., xxxii. On the former page documents are quoted which show that, as archbishop of Ravenna, Gerbert endeavoured to check the abuse of granting Church property for long leases at a nominal rent. He caused it to be decreed by a council and by the emperor that such leases should terminate at the death of the bishop or abbot who granted them.

Constantine,<sup>1</sup> was an inmate of the abbey, and was chafing under the usurper. Moreover, the monastery of Fleury, through its possession of at least the larger portion of the relics of St. Benedict, was one of the most important houses of the whole Benedictine order. Disorder in it cut Gerbert to the quick. He called upon Maïeul, abbot of the great reforming monastery of Cluny, and, as Gerbert himself called him, a most shining<sup>2</sup> star, to step in and root out the scandal. "If you keep silence, who will speak out? If this offence be allowed to pass, what wicked man will not be encouraged to do the like? It is zeal for the love of God which moves me to speak, so that if your examination of the case should show him (Oilbold) to be innocent, he may be duly acknowledged as abbot, but that, if he be proved guilty, he may be cut off from communion with all the abbots and from the whole order."<sup>3</sup> But the character of Maïeul was the very opposite to that of Gerbert. He was retiring and prudent. We have seen him refuse the Papacy; and in the present instance he declined to interfere. The usurper ought, indeed, to be condemned, declared Maïeul, but it was not for him to pass that condemnation. More harm than good, he thought, would result if he were excommunicated.<sup>4</sup> Such a careful course of action, we may well believe, did not suit the temperament of Gerbert. In the name of Archbishop Adalberon, he endeavoured to inflame the placid abbot. "The holy fathers," he wrote,<sup>5</sup> "resisted heresies, and, when

<sup>1</sup> "Est (Constantinus) ænim nobilis scolasticus, adprime eruditus, michique in amicitia conjunctissimus." Ep. 92.

<sup>2</sup> "Lucidissima stella." Ep. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 69. Cf. epp. 80, 86-88, 92, 95, 142-3.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 87, an. 986. "Restiterunt sancti patres heresibus nec putaverunt ad se non pertinere, quicquid alicubi male gestum audire. Una est quippe æclesia catholica, toto terrarum orbe diffusa."



they heard of scandals anywhere, did not think that they were no concern of theirs. For the Catholic Church is one spread throughout the whole earth. You say, or rather the Holy Ghost says through you: 'There will be no true Christian who will not detest this ambitious piece of audacity.' Detest then this usurper. Let him feel that you have no sympathy with him, that you do not communicate with him, and that through you not only is he cut off from all the religious of your order, but that, if it can be managed, he will be condemned by the censures of the Roman pontiff." But Gerbert was not content with denouncing the usurper to Maïeul, he stirred up against him Ebrard, abbot of St. Julian of Tours,<sup>1</sup> and the abbots of Rheims. In the name of the latter he wrote<sup>2</sup> to Fleury to encourage the resistance of those monks who were indignant at the intrusion of an abbot over them by the secular arm. He informed them of the adverse decision passed on Oilbold by those two shining lights of the Church, Maïeul and Ebrard. "Separate yourselves, sheep of Christ, from one who is not a shepherd but a wolf who ravages the fold. Let him rely on kings and dukes, princes of this world, by whose favour alone he has made himself a ruler of monks." Though Gerbert did not succeed in his efforts to have the intruder ousted—for it was only by death that, "to the salvation of many,"<sup>3</sup> the intruder ceased to be abbot—one cannot but admire the zeal for justice and for the good of religion with which this episode shows Gerbert to have been inspired. At this period of his life he was ready to root up cockle even if corn was torn up along with it. It was nothing to him if he precipitated the fall of the heavens, if he could himself bring about the triumph of justice.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 88, an. 986.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 95, an. 986.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 142; *cf.* 143, an. 988.

ii. for Otho  
III. and  
Hugh  
Capet.

But, as we have already said, Gerbert's chief occupation during his second prolonged stay at Rheims was in the domain of politics. From being the pupil<sup>1</sup> of Adalberon in the science and art of diplomacy, he became his adviser. In the letters which he wrote in the name of the archbishop, it is he himself as much as Adalberon who speaks in them. And though it was his patron and not he himself who put the crown on the head of Hugh Capet<sup>2</sup> and on that of his son, and thus put an end to the dynasty of the Carolings, it was Gerbert whom men called the king-maker.<sup>2</sup>

Otho II. had not been long dead before his youthful son was taken out of his mother's control by Henry of Bavaria, cousin to Otho II.,<sup>3</sup> who had been as unfaithful to the father as he now showed himself to his son. Under the name of tutor he would be king.<sup>4</sup> But with all his military power he was no match for the unarmed monk who presided over the schools at Rheims. The favours which the latter had received from Otho I. and his son<sup>5</sup> had won for their house his grateful love. As he had been faithful to the first two Othos,<sup>6</sup> he would be true to the third Otho, for he regarded them as one.<sup>7</sup> Hence, of course, was he devoted to Adelaide,<sup>8</sup> the grandmother, and to Theophano,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> And so we see him, when abbot of Bobbio, carrying out political commissions for Adalberon. *Cf.* ep. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 163.      <sup>3</sup> Thietmar, *Chron.*, iii. 16; Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 22.

<sup>5</sup> "Nos quidem pietas, et multa circa nos Ottonum beneficia, filio Cæsaris adversari non sinunt." Ep. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. 1. "Non dicatur majestatis reus, cui pro Cæsare stare semper fuit gloria, contra Cæsarem ignominia."

<sup>7</sup> "Quippe cum in tribus unum quiddam quodammodo intellexerim." Ep. 159. "Cæsarem in filio superesse putavimus." Ep. 34. *Cf.* ep. 158.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 20.

<sup>9</sup> "Nulli mortalium aliquando jusjurandum præbui, nisi divæ memoriæ O. (Otho II.) Cæsari. Id ad dominam meam Th. (Theophano) ac filium ejus O. (Otho III.) augustum permanasse ratus sum." Ep. 159. *Cf.* ep. 37.

the mother of the little Otho. But Gerbert was attached to the house of the Othos not merely by personal bonds. He cleaved to it because, like all the great churchmen and thinkers of the Middle Ages, he was an ardent upholder of the idea of one Church and one Empire.<sup>1</sup>

And so, when the heir of the Othos and of the empire was in danger, Gerbert could not rest till he had striven to remove it. The like activity in the same direction was displayed by Adalberon.<sup>2</sup> Modern historians have wondered what made the archbishop so keen a supporter of the little Otho. We may be allowed to assert that, next to his general policy of working for the advancement of the empire,<sup>3</sup> the principal reason was the influence of his secretary over him. At any rate, whatever was the reason, Adalberon worked as hard for the interests of Otho III. as did Gerbert. The first step taken by the energetic archbishop and his at least equally energetic secretary was to secure the adhesion of "our kings"<sup>4</sup> (Lothaire and his son Louis) to the cause of Otho. This they were the more successful in accomplishing, seeing that Lothaire hoped to obtain for himself the guardianship of the young king, and by that means to possess himself of Lorraine.<sup>5</sup> But they were not content with working merely in France for the interests of

<sup>1</sup> "Cum inter humanas res nichil dulcius vestro aspiciamus imperio, sollicitis pro vobis nichil dulcius significare potuistis, quam vestri imperii summam gloriam." Ep. 183 to Otho III.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 35. Cf. 37.

<sup>3</sup> In this connection we will translate an apposite remark of Lot (*Les derniers Carol.*, p. 239): "At the close of the tenth century, the bishops and some few learned clerics, the only ones who had any political capacity, did not see in the domination of the Othos a German empire, but the continuation pure and simple of the Christian Roman empire founded by Constantine."

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 27. "Reges nostros ad auxilium ejus (Otho III.) promovimus." Cf. epp. 30, 37, 22.

<sup>5</sup> The country between the Meuse, the Vosges, the Rhine, and the sea.

Otho. Their agents penetrated into all parts of Lorraine and Germany, bearing letters in which the partisans of the child-king were encouraged, his enemies attacked, and the loyalty of waverers strengthened. Egbert, archbishop of Trèves (Trier), is exhorted to stand firm, and not to forget the benefits he had received from the Othos ;<sup>1</sup> Willigis of Mayence, with "whom a very great number of the Westerns (Lorrainers) were associated,"<sup>2</sup> is reminded that much would have to be done by all of them before the blessings of peace could be secured ;<sup>3</sup> and, in the person of Charles, duke of Lorraine, a scathing letter was addressed to Diedric (Thierry), bishop of Metz. He was told that he had not sense enough to see that he had scarcely a single ally in his treason ; but that, on the contrary, so far was Charles from standing alone (as in his nocturnal cups the bishop had contended), that with him were the nobles of Gaul, the kings of the Franks, and his faithful Lorrainers. All these were devoted to Otho ; whereas the bishop was but like the snail which in its shell mistook itself for a butting-bull. He was, in fine, denounced as a man who had heaped up mountains of gold at the expense of the widow and the orphan.<sup>4</sup> In a word, Gerbert could safely declare that the great number of partisans he had secured for Otho and his mother was a matter of notoriety throughout all Gaul.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 26.      <sup>2</sup> Thietmar, *Chron.*, iv. 2.      <sup>3</sup> Ep. 27. Cf. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 32. Cf. ep. 33 where, writing to Diedric in his own name (Gerbert, a loyal servant of Cesar), he excuses himself for the language of his previous letter by saying that his words had really not been as strong as the passion of Charles had wished them to be.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 37. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, p. 71 (Paris, 1905), very much to the point, writes : "It ought not to astonish anyone to see Gerbert devote himself to this cause with a zeal which will drive him later to combat his own king, when he found him endeavouring to use the situation for his own ends. At this period the empire had not yet lost in the eyes of men that character of internationality which was part of its very essence. It was a matter of concern to the world ; and the emperor, like the Pope, was at home in every country. What was

The energy of Gerbert was soon rewarded. Not much more than six months had elapsed from the death of Otho II. when Henry (or Hezilo, as he is sometimes called) of Bavaria had to give up the child-king into the hands of his mother (June 29, 984). But the ambition of the Bavarian duke was not dead. It reasserted itself immediately, and its new plans placed Adalberon and Gerbert in a very awkward position. Henry secured the promise of the support of their king, Lothaire, by offering him Lorraine. Now Adalberon was chancellor of the kingdom of the Franks, Lothaire was his liege lord. However, he had thrown in his lot with Otho, and by Otho he resolved to stand. It is needless to say that he endeavoured as far as he could to conceal his designs from his sovereign,<sup>1</sup> and that that effort must have involved him in much scheming. He had both to support Lothaire by his troops, and Otho by his advice and secret service, and must have felt all along that he was doomed to be discovered in the end.

The political work of the archbishop and that of his indefatigable secretary had to be done all over again. And Gerbert, full of loyalty<sup>2</sup> to the young Otho, and in new to the tenth century was *nationality*, that kind of patriotism which ends with the frontiers of a kingdom, and not with the boundaries of civilisation. Hence men like Gerbert and Adalberon himself, who owed so much to the emperors, could regard themselves as bound to them by a bond more sacred than that which attached them to the king of France."

<sup>1</sup> Not unnaturally many authors, especially French—*e.g.* Lot, *Les derniers Carol.*, p. 242—are rather severe in the judgments they pass on the character of Adalberon. They urge that he betrayed his benefactors and his liege lords. Mr. Allen (p. 647) would, however, modify the harshness of their conclusions: "If he betrayed his king it was to preserve his country; if there was a fault, it lay in preferring his country to his lord, his country's safety to the preservation of a dynasty."

<sup>2</sup> "Ego quidem cui ob beneficia Ottonis *multa est fides* circa herilem filium . . ." Ep. 39.

touch with all that was going forward,<sup>1</sup> was prepared to do it. Again his letters were sent in all directions to arouse the zeal of Otho's friends. "Are you keeping watch, O father of your country, you who were once so well known for your zeal in Otho's cause," he wrote<sup>2</sup> to Notger, bishop of Liège, "or does blind fortune and ignorance of the state of affairs make you drowsy? He is being deserted to whom, on account of his father's services, you have promised fidelity. . . . Already the kings of the Franks are secretly drawing near to Alt-Breisach on the Rhine, where Henry, who has been declared a public enemy, is to meet them on the first of February. Take counsel, my father, and in every way you can prevent them from coming to any agreement adverse to your lord." Although, as Gerbert said, the dangers of the times prevented plain writing, it seems clear from his letters that he and Adalberon very soon began to stir up the powerful Hugh Capet, duke of France, against Lothaire.<sup>3</sup> And great need was there that they should try every resource if they were to succeed, as Lothaire's cause in Lorraine was prospering. "Make no treaty with the Franks, hold aloof from their kings (Lothaire and Louis V.),"<sup>4</sup> was the word that Gerbert poured into the ears of the Lorrainers. He obtained leave to visit the prisoners whom the Frankish monarch had taken, and utilised his opportunity by encouraging them and their relations to resist to the last.<sup>5</sup>

Hugh  
Capet,  
king, 987.

These doings of Gerbert and his communications with the Empress Theophano<sup>6</sup> could not all escape the know-

<sup>1</sup> "Novimus Henrici alta consilia." Ep. 39.      <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Cf. 42, 43, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ep. 41, written at the end of 984. "Tempora periculosa libertatem tulerunt dicendi quæ velis dilucide." Cf. epp. 48, 51, and 58, in which last letter we read that a report that Hugh Capet was collecting troops had the effect of promptly breaking up an assembly of the Franks at Compiègne.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Epp. 51, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Epp. 52, 59.

ledge of Lothaire. The archbishop and his secretary began to be seriously suspected<sup>1</sup> by the Frankish monarch. Adalberon found it necessary to send a letter to the king professing loyalty to him. "You know," he wrote<sup>2</sup> to the king, "that it is my wish ever to have regard for your interests and the fidelity I owe to you, and, saving my duty to God, ever to obey you." However, despite the suspicions of Lothaire, the exertions of Gerbert and his master were again crowned with success. About the end of June 985, Henry of Bavaria finally submitted to Theophano at Frankfort.<sup>3</sup> But it was only the death of Lothaire<sup>4</sup> (March 2, 986), and the influence over his successor, Louis V., exerted by his mother Emma, who was well disposed towards Adalberon, that saved the archbishop and his adviser from being crushed beneath the weight of their own successful enterprises. As half-sister of Otho II. it was not unnatural that Emma should regard her nephew, Otho III., with a favourable eye. His friends were her friends. Adalberon became her adviser,<sup>5</sup> and Gerbert her secretary. But suspicion of the archbishop was stronger in the son than in the father. Louis threw off the tutelage of his mother,<sup>6</sup> and denounced Adalberon, with no little justice, "as of all men on earth the most guilty of favouring in everything Otho, the enemy of the Franks."<sup>7</sup> Not content with words, Louis made an armed attempt, which failed, to obtain possession of Rheims.<sup>8</sup> Then, to embarrass the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 53, ap. 985. Cf. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Thietmar., *Chron.*, iv. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Gerbert wrote his epitaph; and a very ordinary one it was. Ap. Havet, p. 70. Written in four verses, it was to this effect: "Oh! Cesar Lothaire, who once was clad in purple, on the second day of blustering March (*terrifici Martis*) beside thy tomb in monumental grief stood thy nobles and every good man who honoured thee."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ep. 73. "Is quem caruisse regali gratia putastis, a nulla familiaritate seclusus est."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ep. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Richer, *Hist.*, iv. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 89.

archbishop as much as possible, he ordered him to demolish certain fortified places which belonged to the archdiocese but which, being held under the empire, were not included, like the other lands of the archbishopric, in the kingdom of France. In fine, Adalberon was ordered to appear before an assembly of the Franks to clear himself of the charges made against him. The archbishop, now thoroughly alarmed, dispatched the faithful Gerbert to Nimeguen to implore the aid of Theophano and her son.<sup>1</sup> Again, however, death solved Adalberon's difficulties. Louis V., the last representative sovereign of the Carolingian line, died *c.* May 21, 987; and the assembly of the Franks which, had Louis lived, might have condemned the great archbishop, not only acquitted him, but, guided by him, declared Hugh Capet their king, and on July 3, 987, the first monarch of the Capetian line was crowned, probably<sup>2</sup> at Noyon. His coronation did not bring much increase of power to Hugh. Though the ancestor of all the kings who have ruled in France, he was practically only its first noble, and owed his crown, in some degree, to his own feudal power and to the support of the Normans, but chiefly to the exiled abbot of Bobbio.<sup>3</sup>

Charles of  
Lorraine.

Hugh, moreover, had a rival. This was Charles, duke of Lorraine, brother of the king (Lothaire) whose son Hugh

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 89, but *cf.* 100, 101.

<sup>2</sup> On the date and place of the coronation, *cf.* Lot, *Les derniers Carol.*, 410.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 163. What M. Edme Champion says of the success of Hugh Capet may be taken as descriptive of most of the triumphs in Western Europe at this period: "La victoire de Hugues Capet . . . ne fut elle-même qu'un incident insignifiant, la victoire d'une famille, non celle d'une race ni d'un prince," *Philosophie de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1882. Those historians who see in all the struggles of the early Middle Ages in Rome and elsewhere conflicts between races and great ideas are, it must be said once more, introducing into that period political views which have only a solid basis when the nations began in some degree to know themselves as such.



had succeeded. He grounded his claim to the throne on his more direct descent from Charlemagne. To render his position more secure, the new king associated his son, Robert, with him in the crown (December 25, 987), and employed Gerbert as his secretary. Hugh straightway employed the ready pen of his able and trusted servant as one of the most powerful means at his disposal for strengthening his newly acquired dignity. His supporters had to be encouraged, while those whose loyalty to him was doubtful had to be roused. Among these latter was Siguinus, archbishop of Sens (977-999), who at first refrained from acknowledging the new king in any way. "As we are unwilling," wrote<sup>1</sup> the diplomatic secretary in his master's name, "to abuse the royal power even to the smallest extent, we regulate the affairs of the state after consultation with our trusty councillors, and in accordance with their views. Now we regard you as one of the very chief among our advisers. And so we admonish you, in all honour and affection, for the peace and concord of God's Church and of all Christian people, to take before the first of November (987) that oath of fidelity which the others have already taken to us. But if, what indeed we do not expect, led away by certain wicked men, you take no heed to what is your obvious duty, know that you will have to endure the harsher sentence of the Lord Pope (John XV) and the bishops of your province, and that our clemency, known as it is to all, will have to give place to the justice of the king."

With a view to still further consolidating his position, and undeterred by the failure to which such negotiations were generally doomed, Hugh endeavoured to effect a matrimonial alliance between the Eastern Empire and his own family. Gerbert accordingly drew up a letter to

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 107.

Basil II. and Constantine VIII., brothers of Theophano, and "orthodox emperors." "The nobility of your birth and the fame of your great deeds impels us to seek your friendship. For we are convinced that there is nothing more valuable than your goodwill. In striving for your friendship and alliance, we are aiming neither at your kingdom nor at your wealth. But this alliance would make all our rights yours. And, if it please you to accept it, our union would be productive of great advantage, and would lead to important results. No Gauls nor Germans<sup>1</sup> could harass the frontiers of the Roman Empire were we in opposition to them. To give lasting effect to these ideas, we are supremely anxious to procure for our royal<sup>2</sup> and only son an imperial bride. For, owing to blood relationship, we cannot wed him to any of the neighbouring royal houses. If this request find favour in your most serene ears, pray let us know it either by letter or by trusty messenger."<sup>3</sup> Even if this diplomatic epistle, written in the first quarter of the year 988, was ever dispatched, it led to nothing; and before April 988 Robert was the husband of Susanna, the widow of Arnulf II., count of Flanders.<sup>4</sup>

Gerbert's efforts to induce Hugh to march to the help of his old friend Count Borel against the Saracens also came to nothing. Hugh, indeed, expressed his willingness<sup>5</sup> to aid the count of the Spanish March, and made his intention an excuse for having his son Robert crowned king (December 25, 987). He was, however, prevented from carrying out his praiseworthy intentions by the disconcerting movements of Charles of Lorraine. By treachery that

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the subjects of Otho III., king of Germany, Lorraine, and Italy, are here referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Robert had been crowned king, Christmas 987.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Lot, *Les dern. Caroling.*, p. 219.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 112.

prince obtained possession in the early summer (988) of the royal and strong city of Laon, the <sup>1</sup> capital of Hugh's kingdom ; and, as some will have it, with a view to making a diplomatic capture of parallel importance, he invited Gerbert to a conference. To this invitation the latter replied <sup>2</sup> that he would go if the duke would send him trustworthy guides to escort him in safety through the roving companies of his troops. Meanwhile, he exhorted him to treat with the utmost clemency the two important prisoners he had taken, viz. Adalberon or Ascelin, bishop of Laon, and Emma, the widow of King Lothaire. This exhortation was the more necessary seeing that Charles had anything but good feeling towards Emma, as he regarded her as the cause of his loss of influence with his brother, Emma's late husband. Finally, Gerbert advised the duke not to confine himself within the walls of a town. But even if, by writing in this strain, he had hoped to retain a friend in the opposite camp, it cannot be supposed, in view of the determined <sup>3</sup> opposition against Charles of his friend and patron, Adalberon of Rheims, that Gerbert had any intention of giving active support to Charles. Both the archbishop and his trusted friend shared with Hugh in the difficulties and dangers of the siege of Laon, which was soon begun by him. Gerbert contracted a fever,<sup>4</sup> and Adalberon likely enough the germs of his mortal sickness during the course of the two fruitless sieges<sup>5</sup> of the stronghold of Laon undertaken by Hugh in the course of the year 988. The death of the great metropolitan of Rheims in the beginning of the following year (January 23, 989), if it freed him from the fraud and deceit of those in the midst of whom he

<sup>1</sup> "Laudunum, ubi ex antiquo regia esse sedes dinoscitur." Richer, iii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 123. Cf. epp. 127. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 135.

lived,<sup>1</sup> was a serious loss to Hugh and the beginning of great trouble to Gerbert.

The death  
of Adal-  
beron, 989.

The demise of Adalberon was a serious blow to his secretary. Gerbert both loved and leaned upon him. He was his dear father for whom he felt the most tender affection; the two had but one heart and one soul,<sup>2</sup> and the stronger character of Adalberon was Gerbert's support. The thought that he was now the sole exponent of their joint views, and that, without the archbishop's powerful will, he had alone to face Adalberon's enemies, made him tremble that he had survived his patron.<sup>3</sup> He was, however, buoyed up with the hope of succeeding to his friend's position. During the last year of his life, Adalberon had shown himself anxious to procure a bishopric for Gerbert;<sup>4</sup> and when he felt the hand of death upon him, he made it known that he wished to have his secretary as his successor, and gained over to his views the clergy and a considerable number of the influential laity.<sup>5</sup> But, unfortunately, as well for Gerbert as for the French kings, the dying wishes of Adalberon were not respected.

Arnulf,  
archbishop  
of Rheims.

At any rate, his death was the signal for the commencement of intrigues of all kinds of which Gerbert was the centre. More than ever was he in the midst of plot and counter-plot.<sup>6</sup> There were various candidates for the See of Rheims;<sup>7</sup> but the one favoured by Hugh was not the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 129. "Mores, studia, dolos, fraudes eorum inter quos habito scitis," he wrote to his brother.

<sup>2</sup> "Quippe cum esset nobis cor unum et anima una." Ep. 163. Cf. ep. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 163. Cf. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Epp. 117-8.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 152. "Taceo de me . . . et quod pater A(dalberon) me successorem sibi designaverat, cum totius cleri, et omnium episcoporum, ac quorundam militum favore."

<sup>6</sup> "Ego quidem factionum, conspirationum, juris consulti, ac consulentium conscius." Ep. 164.

<sup>7</sup> Ep. 150. "Qui sedem Remorum ambiunt."

trusted friend of Adalberon. Nominally, the right of election lay with clergy and people, but the will of the king practically settled the question; and Hugh was resolved that the new archbishop should be Arnulf, the natural son of King Lothaire and nephew of Charles of Lorraine. This resolve was taken by the French king—despite the contrary advice of the wise—in the fond hope of dividing the last descendants of Charlemagne among themselves, by thus attaching one of their number to himself. At the same time, to soothe the feelings of the outraged Gerbert, the ungrateful monarch caused various splendid offers to be made to him.<sup>1</sup> In a word, he promised him everything except what he wanted, viz. the archbishopric of Rheims. Hence, though Gerbert, giving up all his studies and rousing his friends,<sup>2</sup> threw himself with vigour into the contest, Arnulf “as duly elected—“by fraud,” declared his opponent;<sup>3</sup> “without guile,” ran his decree of election.<sup>4</sup>

But with the termination of election strife the difficulties of the defeated candidate were far from over. In fact, with the election of Arnulf his troubles were only beginning. The new archbishop retained him as his secretary; and so, no doubt, he soon became cognisant of his treasonable intercourse with Charles of Lorraine. It became necessary for him to take his stand. Was he to avenge the ingratitude which Hugh had displayed towards him by aiding the

Gerbert  
takes part  
with  
Charles.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 152.

<sup>3</sup> “Ille (Arnulfus) eam (the see) vobis dolo et fraude abstulit.” Ep. 181. In his speech at the council of Mouzon, when speaking of Adalberon, Gerbert said: “Ab eodem ignorans ad sacerdotium præelectus sum, atque in ejus discessu ad Dominum, coram illustribus viris futurus pastor ecclesiæ designatus. Sed simoniaca hæresis in petri soliditate me stantem inveniens repulit, Arnulfum prætulit.” Ap. Olleris, p. 246. But see ep. 217.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 155. “Sint procul ab electione nostra dolus et fraus.” This decree was drawn up by Gerbert himself.

designs of Duke Charles, or was he to remain true to the new dynasty he had placed upon the throne of France? The course he followed would naturally lead to the supposition that he wished for revenge, but some of his words would seem to show that he acted not from inclination but from fear. He tells us that, cast into the midst of the greatest dangers,<sup>1</sup> he desired to play the man, and failed;<sup>2</sup> and hence, following a favourite maxim of his, derived from Terence,<sup>3</sup> as he could not do as he wished, he resolved to make his wishes commensurate with his possibilities. He accordingly threw in his lot with Arnulf and Charles, denounced Hugh and his son as mere regal stop-gaps (*interreges*), and by letters<sup>4</sup> endeavoured to form a party for Charles among the adherents of the new dynasty. For, in the meanwhile, through the treachery of Arnulf, Rheims had fallen (*c.* August 989) into the hands of the duke of Lorraine, and Gerbert had passed under the control of the power of the party opposed to the one which he had himself elevated.

But, during the months he was unfaithful to Hugh and his son, he was not at peace with himself. Men, he wrote, might account him happy, but in fact he felt most miserable.<sup>5</sup> He regarded himself as the prime conspirator. Not for long, however, could he endure the upbraidings of his conscience. He was soon heartsick of being "the organ of the devil, and of advocating the cause of falsehood

<sup>1</sup> Epp. 152, 163.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 151. "Si de meo statu queris . . . liceat respondere, me positum in adversis, virum fortem sequi, non consequi."

<sup>3</sup> *Andria*, II. i. 5-6. "Quoniam non potest id fieri quod vis, Id velis quod possit." Ep. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Epp. 164-5.

<sup>5</sup> "Quibus (curis) post urbis nostræ prodicionem sic implicamur, ut ante oculos hominum felices, nostro iudicio habeamur infelices. Quæ mundi sunt, querimus, invenimus, perficimus, et, ut ita dicam, principes scelerum facti sumus." Ep. 167. *Cf.* 172.

against truth."<sup>1</sup> The promptings of his conscience, too, were powerfully aided by the arguments of Bruno,<sup>2</sup> bishop of Langres, who, though a near relative of Duke Charles and of Arnulf, remained true to the oath of fidelity he had sworn to the two kings.

Thus, urged by his friends and by his own sense of duty Gerbert contrived to elude the vigilance of Charles, and so, after a defection of a few months, could write to Egbert of Trier (Trèves): "I am now again in the king's court, meditating on the words of life with the priests of God";<sup>3</sup> and to Arnulf: "I have changed my country and my sovereign . . . for when our faith is pledged to one man, we owe nothing to another."<sup>4</sup>

Gerbert returns to the allegiance of Hugh Capet.

Hugh received Gerbert with open arms, restored him completely to his good graces, and at once began again to employ his ready pen in his service. A provincial council was assembled at Senlis,<sup>5</sup> and its decree of anathema against those who had betrayed Laon and Rheims, against their aiders and abettors, and against those who, under the pretext of purchase, had appropriated the property of others, was drawn up by Gerbert. In the last-named clause of the anathema especially may be seen the hand of Gerbert, as Arnulf had, immediately on his flight, bestowed his property on his enemies—his "houses which, with great trouble and expense, he had built himself, and the churches which he had acquired by lawful and solemn donation, according to the custom of the province."<sup>6</sup> He was also the author of a strong letter to Pope John XV., calling upon him to take action against Arnulf.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 178. "Libellus repudii."

<sup>5</sup> Epp. 176, 177, and the acts of the Council of Verzy, n. 14 f., ed. Olleris.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. 178.

<sup>7</sup> Olleris, p. 202. The letter was written about August 990.

He becomes arch-  
bishop of  
Rheims,  
991.

We have already seen<sup>1</sup> that as the appeal to Rome did not answer the expectations of Hugh and Gerbert, a provincial council was assembled in the monastery of St. Basle at Verzy, near Rheims (June 991). At this synod Arnulf was degraded, and Gerbert probably elected to fill his place. The decree of election, which, strange to say, does not mention the treason of Arnulf, insinuates only that he had been elected irregularly, as the bishops had yielded to the clamours of a body of clergy and people who had been corrupted "by hope of gain." But now, "with the goodwill and co-operation" of the kings Hugh and Robert, and with the consent of those of the clergy and people who fear God, the bishops of the diocese of Rheims elect as their archbishop "the Abbot Gerbert, a man of mature years, and in character prudent, docile, affable, and merciful. Nor do we prefer to him inconstant youth, vaulting ambition, and rash administration (Arnulf). . . . Hence we elect Gerbert, whose life and character we have known from his youth upwards, and whose knowledge in the things both of God and man we have experienced."<sup>2</sup> Nothing could bring out in stronger light the utter irregularity of the deposition of Arnulf than this very decree of Gerbert's election. It shows plainly that the former was validly elected, and was deposed for no canonical fault. It is quite enough of itself to brand Gerbert's election as a usurpation.

His profession of faith as archbishop-elect has also come down to us. Those of its articles which do not consist of a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed are thought to have been directed against the heresy of the Cathari or Puritans,

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, vol. iv. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 179. Gerbert declared to Wilderod, bishop of Strasburg, that he was forced to accept the archbishopric. "Noverunt fratres et coepiscopi mei, qui post Arnulfi dejectionem, sub divini nominis attestatione, hoc officium me suscipere coegerunt." Ep. 217.



later known as the Albigensians, who at this period were spreading their doctrines through various parts of France. Among other tenets they held that there was an essentially evil principle who was the author of the Old Testament. They also condemned marriage and the use of animal food. Hence we find Gerbert professing that God was the one author both of the Old and the New Testament ; that the devil was not evil by his very essence, but had become so by his own will ; and that he did not prohibit marriage or second marriage nor the use of flesh meat. He confessed that no one could be saved outside the Catholic Church, and concluded by accepting "the six holy synods which our universal mother the Church accepts."<sup>1</sup>

What we know of Gerbert's acts in his official capacity as archbishop of Rheims redounds to his credit. And difficult indeed was the task he had to perform ; for, by the dire ravages of war, the diocese was in a sad condition. He showed himself an ardent defender of the oppressed, and of the rights of his see. He displayed at once firmness and moderation in dealing with wrong-doers. To a youthful bishop whom presents had induced to inflict some undeserved penalty on one of his priests, his metropolitan writes:<sup>2</sup> "Owing to the difficulties of the times, we have not hitherto been able to seek the things of God as we could wish." He proceeds to say that now, however, by the mercy of the Lord, he has a little breathing space, and he reminds his correspondent that, if all priests have to do what is in accordance with the laws, still more have bishops. "Why then do we set money before justice? Why by unholy cupidity do we crush beneath our feet the laws of God? . . . Overcome your want of years by the gravity of your life. Let continual reading and study im-

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 198.

prove your mind." He must at once restore what has unjustly been taken away.

To certain powerful violators of the rights of the clergy and the poor he grants a brief space for doing penance and making satisfaction. At the end of the prescribed time "they will then be recognised as fruitful branches of the Church, or as dead wood to be cut away from God's vineyard by the sword of the Spirit."<sup>1</sup> He does not, however, fail to recommend moderation in the infliction of ecclesiastical censures. He would have no excess in this particular; for, where the salvation of souls is at stake, there is need of the greatest restraint. "No one must be deprived of the Body and Blood of the Son of God with any undue haste; for by this mystery it is that we live a true life, and such as are justly deprived of it are in life already really dead."<sup>2</sup>

His  
struggle  
with Rome.

But Gerbert had not much time to devote to the specific business of his office. From his election in the summer of 991 to the time of his taking his final leave of France in the summer of 997, he was occupied in trying to maintain himself in his see against the opposition of the Pope.<sup>3</sup> So keen was the struggle, so exhausting were its details, that he reckoned the honour he had attained was bought at the expense of all peace of mind. And he, who does not appear to have been one of those physically brave men on whom the terrors of death make no impression, declared that he would sooner engage in battle than become involved in a legal dispute,<sup>4</sup> and that, too,

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 199. Cf. 201, 2, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 208. Cf. ep. 203: "Quanto moderamine salus animarum tractanda sit, et vestra fraternitas novit, et summopere pensandum est ut ne quid nimis."

<sup>3</sup> For details see above, vol. iv. p. 360 ff.

<sup>4</sup> "Estque tolerabilior armorum colluctatio, quam legum disceptatio. . . Barbarorum feritate inaceratus, totusque, ut ita dicam,

though he could wield the law, on occasion, as well as any man.<sup>1</sup>

He certainly made a brave fight to keep the honour he had won. He wrote in all directions to urge his friends to resistance, and his powerful patrons to come to his aid. His friends are told that they should feel assured that he was not the only one whose independence was being aimed at; they must remember that their substance was in danger when their neighbour's wall was being burnt.<sup>2</sup> Above all things they must not keep silence before their judge, for to do so is to acknowledge their guilt;<sup>3</sup> he is ever faithful, he declared, to his friends and a great lover of truth,<sup>4</sup> and they must show themselves the same. He endeavoured to persuade them that to yield would be to compromise the dignity and importance of the episcopal body, and even to endanger the state.<sup>5</sup> If the matter is settled, he urged, over the heads of the bishops, their power, importance, and dignity are brought to naught, since it will show that they had no right, and ought not to have deprived a bishop, no matter how guilty, of his rank.<sup>6</sup> He implored the help of the Empress Adelaide, the grandmother of the young Otho III.; for, "in wondering where faith, truth, piety and justice have taken up their abode," he could only think

alteratus, . . . . quæ juvenis concupivi, senex contempsi. Tales fructus affers michi, O voluptas, talia mundi honores pariunt gaudia. Credite ergo michi experto. In quantum principes exterius attollit gloria, in tantum cruciatus angit interius." Ep. 194.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ep. 217 and his account of the council of Verzy. In this very letter (194) he tells us he refuted his rivals: "dicendi arte legumque proluxa interpretatione."

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 191: "Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet." Horace, epp. I. xviii. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 191. "Hoc enim concessio, dignitas vel potius gravitas confunditur sacerdotalis, status regni periclitatur."

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*

of her. To her, therefore, did he fly "as to a special temple of pity," and hers was the help which he sought. All were against him, "even Rome, which ought to be his comfort."<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the struggle he tried the effect of a personal appeal to Rome<sup>2</sup> (996), and yet was ever endeavouring to guard beforehand against an adverse decision from the Pope by contending that, if he issued any decrees which were at variance with existing ecclesiastical laws, such decisions were of no avail.<sup>3</sup> In this connection of opposition to unfavourable decisions from Rome, he was very fond of quoting from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians:<sup>4</sup> "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema."

Gerbert  
quits  
France for  
ever.

When Otho III. left Italy (August 996), Gerbert, neither acquitted nor condemned by the new Pope, Gregory V., returned to France. Most unfortunately for him his patron, Hugh Capet, died before the close of the year (October 24, 996), and his successor Robert, though one of the archbishop's old pupils, showed him no favour. On the one hand, the new king was conscious that Gerbert was opposed to his marriage with his cousin Bertha, which took place soon after his father's death; and, on the other, in view of probable difficulties with the Holy See, in connection with his unlawful marriage, he did not wish to be in opposition with it on other accounts. Without the support of the king, Gerbert could not maintain himself in his archiepiscopal city. His own dependants, regarding him as still excom-

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 204. Cf. 217: "Ipsa Roma omnium æcclesiarum hactenus habita mater, bonis maledicere, malis benedicere fertur."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ep. 213 f., and the note of Havet to 213; Richer, *sub fin.*

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 190. Cf. the resolution come to by the Synod of Chelles, ap. Richer, iv. 89.

<sup>4</sup> I. 8. Cf., e.g., epp. 113, 192.

municated,<sup>1</sup> or at least contumacious, would hold no communication with him, in matters either sacred or profane.<sup>2</sup> Treatment of that kind no man could endure. From this "unmerited persecution of his brethren," as he calls<sup>3</sup> it, he had to fly. Thus, about the beginning of the summer of 997, Gerbert quitted the kingdom of the Franks, nor, despite blandishments or threats,<sup>4</sup> did he ever again return to it. He turned his back on France, broken in health and spirit. "My days have passed," he wrote<sup>5</sup> to the Empress Adelaide, a few weeks before he retired to Germany. "Old age threatens me with death. Pleurisy oppresses my lungs, my ears tingle, my eyes run water, my whole frame seems to be pierced with needles. All this year have I been in bed, stricken down with pain. Scarcely have I risen from my couch when I find myself assailed by an intermittent fever."

† However, the warmth of the welcome he received from Otho, into whose territory he betook himself, soon began to tell favourably on his health, and to lessen the bitterness of exile.<sup>6</sup> "By the divine favour he was freed from his immense dangers, and his lines were cast in pleasant

Gerbert in  
Germany,  
997.

<sup>1</sup> It has already been noted that it is not known for certain the exact date when John XV. excommunicated the bishops who had condemned Arnulf. Havet (p. 179, n. 4) says that two twelfth century writers, unfortunately of little authority in this matter, give 994. Cf. epp. 192, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 181.

<sup>3</sup> "Me a fratrum meorum indebita persecutione Dei gratia liberatum læto animo accepistis," he wrote (ep. 211) to the bishop of Metz.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 208. As in 970 he was an *adolescens*, he is thought to have been born about 940. He would in 997 be about sixty. He soon began to recover his health after he left his troubles behind him. About the close of the year he could speak of his restored health: "Nunc secunda valitudine reddita." *Libel. de rat., pref.*, ap. Havet, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> "Exilium . . . non sine multo dolore tolero." Ep. 181.

places."<sup>1</sup> He soon resumed his beloved occupation of teaching. Otho gave him the domain of Sasbach;<sup>2</sup> and in return he gave the young emperor not only what he so eagerly<sup>3</sup> sought, instruction and counsel, but also encouragement. "What greater glory can there be in a prince, what more praiseworthy constancy in a leader," he asked<sup>4</sup> of Otho, who was about this time making war on the Slavs, "than to collect his armies, burst into the country of his enemies, support by his presence the foeman's assault, and expose himself to the greatest dangers for his country and for his faith, for his own and his country's salvation?"

Between Otho, conscious to himself of possessing "some sparks of the genius of Greece," and anxious to have his "Saxon rusticity" banished by the powerful flame of his tutor's genius,<sup>5</sup> and Gerbert, professing to find nothing more agreeable than his empire, there was, it may be said, always sympathy and close friendship. Still, the tainted breath of suspicion did occasionally tarnish their friendly relations, as may be gathered from the following letter addressed by Gerbert to Otho during the course of this very first year (997) of their more intimate connection: "I am well aware that in many things I offend and have offended God. But I am at a loss to understand what accusations of my having injured you and yours can have been brought against me, that my devotion has so suddenly become displeasing. Would that it had been granted me either never to have received from your munificence so great favours given me

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Thought to be the one near Strasburg. "Magnifice magnificum Sasbach contulistis," ep. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Writing to him (ep. 186) he asks: "Quatinus nobis inductis, et male disciplinatis, vestra sollers providentia in scriptis necnon et dictis non præter solitum adhibeat studium correctionis, et in re publica consilium summæ fidelitatis."

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 186.

with such honour, or never with such confusion to have lost them when once acquired. . . . Time was when it was thought that, by my favour with you, I could serve many; now it is well for me to have as patrons those whom I once befriended, and to place more condence in my enemies than in my friends. The latter have ever declared that all would go well with me; the former, either endowed with the spirit of prophecy or animated with that of hate, have ever maintained that neither my good counsels nor my service would benefit me. This is, indeed, a sadder prospect for me than I could wish, but it is scarcely creditable to your imperial majesty. During three generations, in the midst of arms and enemies, have I ever displayed to you, your father, and your grandfather the sincerest fidelity. . . . I wished rather to taste death than not see the then captive son of Cesar mount the throne."<sup>1</sup> Though this strong letter was more than enough to dissipate any want of confidence in "his master" which may have taken a little hold of the heart of the young emperor, Gerbert did not obtain all he had hoped from his enthusiastic pupil. He had expected that through the imperial influence he would be able to keep Arnulf out of the See of Rheims, and secure his own safe occupation of it.<sup>2</sup> But the Slavs and the Romans gave Otho quite enough to do without embroiling himself with the king of France. Before the year 997 had run its course, Otho had to march to Rome against the rebellious Crescentius. With him went his master and adviser, Gerbert of Aurillac.<sup>3</sup>

It was while in Italy at the end of the year 997, or at the beginning of the following year, that Gerbert learnt that all hope of his regaining the See of Rheims was lost. Arnulf, he was correctly informed, had been released from confinement, and was reinstated in his position with the goodwill

Gerbert,  
archbishop  
of Ra-  
venna, 998.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. epp. 183, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Richer, *sub fin.*

of King Robert and of Pope Gregory.<sup>1</sup> If, however, Otho was powerless to prevent this misfortune from falling on his respected master, he could counterbalance its effect. About this very time the archbishopric of Ravenna became vacant. Otho at once offered it to Gerbert; and Pope Gregory, glad, no doubt, to find so ready a means of facilitating the settlement of the Rheims difficulty, ratified the choice, and in due course (April 28, 998) sent him the pallium, and confirmed the spiritual and temporal privileges of his see.<sup>2</sup> He made him archbishop and Prince of Ravenna.

Throughout the year in which Gerbert held the office of archbishop of Ravenna, one of the chief sees not merely of Italy but of the Christian world, we may fairly conclude, even from the little we know of his actions during that period, that his previous activity, especially in the direction of practical reform, was fully maintained. He naturally did not forget his abbey of Bobbio. Not only did he restore order therein, and secure, by means of an imperial diploma, the restitution of property usurped during his absence, but he took measures of more general utility which would benefit ecclesiastical property in general as well as that of Bobbio in particular. Still full of angry memory as to the way in which the goods of his abbey had been alienated by his predecessor under the pretence of long leases, he had it decreed in council and confirmed by the emperor that such leases or donations were to die with those bishops or abbots

<sup>1</sup> Richer, *sub fin.* Gregory's approval of Arnulf's restoration was not absolute: "Gregorius papa tandiu permittit Arnulfo officium sacerdotale, donec in temporibus racionabiliter aut legibus adquirat aut legibus amittat."

<sup>2</sup> Still Richer. Cf. the bull of Gregory, ap. Oll., p. 547, or Jaffé, 3883 (2971); and Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, i., c. 4, n. 13. After the death of the empress Adelaide, Gerbert was to have "districtum Ravennatis urbis, ripam integram, monetam, teloneum, mercatum, muros et omnes portas civitatis, itemque Comaclensem comitatum." The bull just cited.



who granted them.<sup>1</sup> He had previously held a synod at Ravenna (May 1) condemning various simoniacal practices,<sup>2</sup> some of them very curious; such, for example, as the selling by the subdeacons of Ravenna of the chrism to the archpriests and of hosts (breads) of a special shape (Formata) to each newly consecrated bishop. As a last instance of his work as archbishop of Ravenna, it may be noted that along with Otho he was present at the Roman council which condemned the marriage of Robert of France. He had already spoken against it as archbishop of Rheims, and as the first of the Italian primates who assisted Gregory to anathematise it, his signature is found to follow that of the Pope.<sup>3</sup>

Gerbert had occupied the See of Ravenna scarcely a year when Pope Gregory V. died or was killed (February 999); and Otho, who in him had placed a relation on the chair of Peter, now caused his respected master to fill the same position.<sup>4</sup> The new Pope, who took the name of Sylvester—no doubt because with Otho he intended to act as the first Sylvester was then supposed to have acted with Constantine the Great—was consecrated on Palm Sunday (April 2, 999). As he jokingly said<sup>5</sup> himself—alluding to the fact that the names of the three sees he had held all

Gerbert  
becomes  
Sylvester  
II., 999.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the constitution of Otho, which tells us of the synod held by Gerbert (September 29, 998) in the basilica of St. Peter, "ad cœlum aureum," at Pavia, ap. Labbe, ix. 774.

<sup>2</sup> Hefele, *Concil.*, vi. 229; Labbe, ix., 769. <sup>3</sup> Labbe, ix. 773.

<sup>4</sup> "Is (Silvester) gratia imperatoris eidem (Gregorio) successit," Thietmar, vi. 61. "Propter philosophiæ gratiam," adds Ademar of Chabannes, *Chron.*, iii., c. 31. (Ademar was born about 988, and was of noble birth. He spent most of his life in the monastery of St. Cyr at Angoulême, but died in Palestine in 1034. His Chronicle, "though not a work of the first order, is a source of real importance after it becomes original," *i.e.*, from 829 to 1028. Cf. the preface of Chavanon to his edition for Picard's *Collect. de Textes*). Cf. his epitaph by Sergius IV., and Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, i., c. 4, n. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Helgaldus, *in vit. Roberti*, c. 2.

began with the letter R—"Gerbert ascended from Rheims to Ravenna, and then became Pope of Rome" ("scandit ab R Gerbertus in R., post papa viget R."). By sheer force of merit, the first French Pope, like the only English Pope, reached the highest dignity in the world from being a simple monk of lowly birth. Science and faith—a combination so highly praised by Gerbert that he declares (ep. 190) that the ignorant may be said not to have faith—science and faith had in both cases been rewarded. It is much to be regretted that, compared with the rest of his life, there is comparatively little to be said, because comparatively little is known about the pontificate of Sylvester II.

"The year  
1000."

We know at any rate something of the times in which he lived. They were, in a word, very evil.<sup>1</sup> As a sign of their deep-seated corruption, Gerbert notes that public opinion itself had gone astray.<sup>2</sup> That only was declared to be right which, just as amongst animals, lust or violence could bring about.<sup>3</sup> But with all this, contrary to what is asserted by many, Sylvester's difficulties were not increased by any widespread and deep-seated apathy or terror produced by fear of the end of the world occurring in the year one thousand. There is no doubt that some were awaiting the advent of that year "with fear and expectation of what was to come." The Abbot Abbo, whose name has frequently appeared in these pages, assures<sup>4</sup> us that, when he was a young man, he heard a preacher in a Paris church maintain that antichrist would come at the close of the thousandth year, and that the general judgment would follow soon

<sup>1</sup> "Dira ac miseranda tempora fas verterunt in nefas." Ep. 130. "Acerba tempora." Ep. 147; cf. 152.

<sup>2</sup> "Corruptissimi temporis est, non posse discerni secundum popularem opinionem, quid sit magis utile." Ep. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 92.

<sup>4</sup> At the close of his *Apologeticus*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 139, p. 471.

after. He tells us, however, that with what skill he could he opposed the opinion "by quotations from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the Book of Daniel." He was also commissioned by his "wise Abbot Richard" to refute an opinion that the world would most indubitably come to an end when the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) fell on Good Friday. Adson, abbot of Moutier-en-Der, was commissioned by Queen Gerberga, the wife of Louis d'Outremer, to refute similar opinions.<sup>1</sup> A hymn which was sung at this period is quoted as another proof of the general belief in the approach of the day "of supreme wrath, when darkness shall cover the earth and the stars fall upon it."<sup>2</sup> But though in certain parts this expectation of the wrath to come may have been spread among the more superstitious or unlettered (and in our own time we have seen the same section of the people entertain the same ideas), or may have been entertained by mystically-minded persons, there is not enough evidence to justify the assertion of many modern authors<sup>3</sup> that it caused a general stagnation. There is not the slightest allusion to any such alarming state of things in any of the papal bulls of the period, nor

<sup>1</sup> See his work ap. *P. L.*, t. 101. He was one of Gerbert's correspondents, and was addressed by him as "my father." *Cf.* ep. 81.

<sup>2</sup> The following, as quoted by Gebhart, *Moines et Papes*, p. 4, are the opening lines of the hymn:—

"Audi, tellus, audi, magni maris limbus ;  
Audi, homo, audi omne quod vivit sub sole  
Veniet, prope est, dies iræ supremæ,  
Dies invisæ, dies amara ;  
Qua cœlum fugiet, sol erubescet,  
Luna mutabitur, dies nigrescet,  
Sidera supra terram cadent.  
Heu miseri, heu miseri ! Quid, homo, ineptam  
Sequeris lætitiâ ?"

*Cf.* c. 14 of Pardiac's *Life of S. Abbo* for a full account of "the year one thousand."

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* Lausser, *Gerbert*, p. 323.

does either Gerbert or Otho make any mention of it. The tangible difficulty that both Pope and emperor had to encounter in the midst of their lofty schemes for the regeneration of the world by the joint action of the Papacy and the empire was the intractable Roman.

The new  
constitution  
of Otho.

Otho, who, on the death of Gregory, had come to Rome from Gæta, where he had been to visit S. Nilus, remained there for a month or two. In the fullest harmony, Pope and emperor were engaged during that time in granting privileges at each other's request,<sup>1</sup> in holding synods for the transaction of business, and no doubt in maturing plans for their joint government of the world. Then during the summer heats they were constantly away from Rome. We find traces of them at Beneventum and at Farfa. It seems to have been during this interval that their governmental schemes were matured. For in one of his diplomas Otho himself declares that, leaving Rome, he had a conference with Hugh, marquis of Tuscany, on the question of "restoring the republic," and had held counsel with the venerable Sylvester II. and with various of the great men of the State regarding the empire.<sup>2</sup>

With a view to gratifying, not so much the enthusiastic historical instincts of one who "had inherited the treasures of Greek and Roman learning,"<sup>3</sup> as the Romans,<sup>4</sup> it was resolved that Rome and not Germany should again be made the seat of empire; and that, with a view to overawe them, the emperor should be surrounded with the elaborate

<sup>1</sup> "Per interventum . . . D. Silvestri summi Pont.," "Rogatu Ottonis imperatoris." Jaffé, 3900 (2986) f.

<sup>2</sup> The diploma is dated October 3, 999, "Notum esse volumus, qualiter nos quadam die Romam exeuntes pro restituenda Republica," etc. *Ap. R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 493. Fragments of the new constitution have been found by Mabillon and by Pertz.

<sup>3</sup> So Gerbert speaks of Otho, ep. 187, who in turn insinuates his "Grecisca subtilitas," ep. 186.

<sup>4</sup> "Roma, quam pre cæteris diligebat." Thiet., *Chron.*, iv. 30.

ceremonial of the Byzantine court. Though many were of opinion that little good would be effected by the realisation of these ideas,<sup>1</sup> efforts were at once made to give them effect. Otho's seals proclaimed that the empire of the Romans was renewed. "Renovatio Imperii Romanorum" was the legend they bore. In his edicts he signed himself: "Emperor of the Romans, Augustus, Consul of the Senate and People of Rome."<sup>2</sup> He surrounded himself, so it is said by many, with crowds of officials after the manner of the Eastern emperors, and distinguished them with the same titles. He had a Proto-vestiarius (chamberlain), a Protospatharius and a Hyparch, a Count of the Sacred Palace, a Logothetes, a Prefect of the Fleet, and many other similar functionaries with equally high-sounding appellations.<sup>3</sup> In his palace, which he built (or adapted) on the Aventine, near the monastery of St. Boniface, in which his beloved St. Adalbert had dwelt, he sat down to dine by himself at a semicircular table, raised to a higher level than the others.<sup>4</sup> To bring into perfect unison the action of Pope and emperor, the seven "palatine judges"<sup>5</sup> were placed on a new footing. Chosen, as before, from among the clergy, they were to have equal standing in both the Church and the State. They were "to consecrate" the emperor; and, with the clergy of Rome, elect the Pope. They had also to form the emperor's council. Without them he was not to issue

<sup>1</sup> "Imperator antiquam Romanorum consuetudinem . . . suis cupiens renovare temporibus multa faciebat, *quæ diversi diverse sentiebant.*" Thiet., *Chron.*, iv. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., 496. Cf. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii., 468, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For this and what follows cf. Olleris, p. clxxi. Gregory of Tusculum, of whom we shall hear more, was Prefect of the Fleet. Cf. also Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii., p. 444 f.

<sup>4</sup> Thiet., *Chron.*, iv. 29.

<sup>5</sup> They were also known as "judices Ordinarii."

any important decree. The *Primicerius* and *Secundicerius* were to be the first ministers of the emperor, and to hold the chief rank in the Church. The *Arcarius* (or treasurer)<sup>1</sup> had to see to the collection of the revenue, while the *Sacellarius* was the army paymaster, and was responsible for the proper distribution of alms to the poor. The *Protoscrinarius* (chancellor) was the chief of the scribes, and the *Primus Defensor* had to watch the administration of justice. To the seventh judge, the *Adminiculator*, was entrusted the care of the widow and the orphan and of the unfortunate generally.<sup>2</sup>

Had this constitution come thoroughly into being, it would have resulted in the formation of an empire differing both from that of Old Rome—for the emperor would not have been the sole lord—and from that of Charlemagne, on account of the permanent and important position assigned to the clergy.<sup>3</sup> It is more than likely it would have proved to have been impractical. Popes and emperors do not easily agree. But it was an effort to bring them into harmony, and to forestall the terrible troubles which their discords brought on the Middle Ages. And it is possible that, if a long joint-reign of Sylvester and Otho had given the scheme an opportunity of getting into good working order, it might at least have acted as a brake on both Pope and emperor, and so have at least lessened the evils which

<sup>1</sup> In the court of Charlemagne the "arcarius palatii" had been the "dispensator thesaurorum" or an almoner, evidently more like the papal Sacellarius. Cf. ep. Alcuini, 111, ed. Düm.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the lists of *papal* officials given by John the Deacon in his *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 194), which he addressed to Alexander III. (1159-81); and by the author of the third part (p. 171 f.) of the *Graphia*. This part its editor (Ozanam, Paris, 1850) believes to have been compiled at some time after the sixth century and before the ninth. But the bulk, at any rate, of this work also only dates from the twelfth century.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Picavet, p. 196.

