



CHESTERTON ACADEMY
A JOYFULLY CATHOLIC, CLASSICAL HIGH SCHOOL

History 11 Primary Sources



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The Fourth Crusade

From Robert of Clari, Chronicle (Selections)

Taken from Dana C. Munro, "The Fourth Crusade ", Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Vol 3:1, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, [n.d.] 1890s), 1-18. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

XI. ... While the pilgrims were staying on the island of St. Nicholas the doge of Venice and the Venetians went to speak to them and demanded the pay for the navy which had been prepared. And the doge said to them that they had acted wrongly in commanding through their messengers that vessels should be prepared for 4,000 knights and their equipment, and for 1000,000 foot-soldiers. Of these 4,000 knights, there were not more than 1,000 present, for the others had gone to other ports. And of these 100,000 foot-soldiers there were not more than 50,000 or 60,000. "Nevertheless," said the doge, " we want you to pay us the sum which you promised." When the crusaders heard this, they debated and arranged that each knight should pay four marks and four marks for each horse, and each esquire two marks; and those who paid less, should pay one mark. When they collected this money, they paid it to the Venetians. But 50,000 marks still remained due.

When the doge and the Venetians saw that the pilgrims had not paid more, they were all so incensed that the doge said to the pilgrims: "My lords, you have imposed upon us shamefully. For, as soon as your messengers had made the

agreement with me and my people, I issued orders throughout my whole land that no merchant should undertake a voyage, but all were to aid in preparing this fleet. They have been waiting ever since and have gained nothing for the last year and a half; and, accordingly, they have lost much. Therefore my men and I want you to pay us the money which you owe us. If you do not pay us, you shall not leave this island before we get our money; and no one shall bring you anything to eat or drink." The doge, however, was a very excellent man and did not prevent the people from bringing enough food and drink.

XII. When the count and the crusaders heard what the doge said they were much troubled and grieved. They made another collection and borrowed all the money they could from those who were thought to have any. They paid it all to the Venetians, but after this payment 36,000 marks still remained due. They said to the Venetians that they had been imposed upon; that the army was greatly impoverished by this last collection; that they could not pay any more money at all, for they had hardly enough to support the army.

When the doge perceived that they could not pay all the money and that they were in sore straits, he said to his people: "Sirs, if we let these people go back to their own country, we shall always be considered base and tricky. Let us go to them and say that, if they are willing to pay us the 36,000 marks which they owe us out of their part of the first conquests which we make, we will carry them across the sea." The Venetians were well pleased with the doge's proposition. Accordingly, they went to the camp of the pilgrims. When they came thither, the doge said to the crusaders: "Sires, we have agreed, I and my people, that if you are willing to guarantee faithfully to pay us the 36,000 marks, which you owe us, out of your share of the first conquests, we will carry you across the sea."

When the crusaders heard what the doge proposed they were very glad and fell at his feet for joy. They bound themselves very willingly to do faithfully what the doge had proposed. They were so joyous that night that there was no one so poor that he did not make a great illumination, and each one carried great torches made of candles on the end of his lance, both outside of the camp and inside, so that the whole army seemed intoxicated.

Afterwards the doge came to the army and said: "Sirs, it is now winter, we cannot cross the sea, nor does this depend upon me. For I would have had you cross already, if it had not depended upon you. But let us do the best we can. There is a city near here, named Zara. The people of this city have done us much evil, and I and my men want to punish them, if we can. If you will take my advice, we will go there this winter and stay until Easter. Then we will make

ready our navy and go to Outremer at Lady-day. The city of Zara is very rich and well supplied with all kinds of provisions." The barons and the nobles among the crusaders agreed to what the doge proposed. But no one in the army knew this plan, except the leaders.

XVI. In the meantime the crusaders and the Venetians remained at Zara during the winter. They considered how great the expense had been and said to one another that they could not go to Babylon or Alexandria or Syria; for they had neither provisions nor money for the journey. They had already used up everything they had, either during the sojourn that they had made or in the great price that they had paid for the vessels. They said that they could not go and, even if they should go, they would accomplish nothing; they had neither provisions nor money sufficient to support them.

XVII. The doge of Venice saw clearly that the pilgrims were ill at ease. He addressed them, saying: "Sirs, Greece is a very rich land, and bountifully supplied with everything. If we can find a sufficient excuse for going there and taking food and other things, so as to recuperate ourselves, it would seem to me advisable, and then we could easily go across the sea." Then the marquis [Boniface of Montserrat, the leader of the crusades] he rose and said: "Sir, I was in Germany at the emperor's [Philip of Swabia] court last Christmas. There I saw a young man who was the emperor's brother in law. [Alexis IV, brother of Queen Irene] This young man was the son of the emperor Kyrsac [i.e. Kyr (Lord) Isaac II Angelos] of Constantinople from whom his brother had taken the empire of Constantinople by treason. Whoever could get this young man," said the marquis, "could certainly go to the land of Constantinople and take provisions and other things; for this young man is the rightful heir."

Then all the barons of the army and the Venetians were summoned. When they had all assembled, the doge of Venice rose and said to them: "My lords, we have now a sufficient excuse for going to Constantinople, if you think it wise, for we have the lawful heir." Now some who did not want to go to Constantinople, spoke thus: "Bah! what are we going to do at Constantinople? We have our pilgrimage to make and intend to go to Babylon or Alexandria. Our ships are rented for only one year and the year is already half over."

The others said in reply: "What are we going to do at Babylon or Alexandria, since we have neither provisions nor money enough to go? It is better to go where we have a sufficient excuse for obtaining money and provisions by conquest, than to go where we shall die of hunger. Then we can do it, and he offers to go with us and to pay for our ships and our navy another year at his own expense." And the marquis of Montferrat did all in his power to urge

our going to Constantinople, because he wished to take vengeance for a wrong which the emperor of Constantinople had done him.

Afterwards all the barons assembled one day at the palace of the emperor [Alexis - the crusaders rarely speak of Isaac as emperor] and demanded of him their pay. He replied that he would pay them, but he wished first to be crowned. Accordingly they made preparations and set a day for the coronation. On that day he was crowned emperor with due ceremony, with the consent of his father, who willingly granted it. After he had been crowned the barons demanded their pay. He said he would very willingly pay what he could and at that time he paid 100,000 marks. Of this sum the Venetians -received one-half; for they were to receive one-half of the conquests. Of the 50,000 which remained, 36,000, which the Franks still owed for the vessels, were paid to the Venetians. And all those who had advanced money to pay for the passage were paid out of the 14,000 marks which the pilgrims had left.

At these words the barons left the palace and returned to their camp. After returning they deliberated upon the course to follow. Meanwhile they sent two knights to the emperor and demanded again that he should pay them. He replied to the messengers that he would pay nothing, he had already paid too much, and that he was not afraid of any one. He also commanded them to go away and leave his land; they were to understand that if they did not depart, he would injure them. Then the messengers went back and told the barons the emperor's reply. When the barons heard this, they deliberated as to what they should do. The doge said that he wanted to speak to the emperor.

He sent a messenger to demand that the emperor should come to the harbor to speak to him. The emperor went on horseback. The doge prepared four armed galleys; he went in one and took the other three for protection. When he was near the shore he saw the emperor who had come on horseback. He addressed the latter as follows:

"Alexis, what do you think you are going to do? Remember we have raised you from a very humble estate. We have made you lord and you not keep your agreement with us and crowned you emperor. Will you not keep your agreement with us and will you not do more?" "No," replied the emperor, "I will not do anything more." "No?" said the doge, "wretched boy, we have raised you from the mire, and we will throw you into the mire again and be sure that I will do you all the injury that I can, from this time on."

LXXII. When the pilgrims saw this, they were very angry and grieved much; they went back from the other side of the harbor to their lodgings. When the

barons had returned and had gotten ashore, they assembled and were much amazed, and said that it was on account of their sins that they did not succeed in anything and could not capture the city. Meanwhile the bishops and the clergy in the army debated and decided that the war was a righteous one, and that they certainly ought to attack the Greeks. For formerly the inhabitants of the city had been obedient to the law of Rome and now they were disobedient, since they said that the law of Rome was of no account, and called all who believed in it "dogs." And the bishop said that for this reason one ought certainly to attack them, and that it was not a sin, but an act of great charity.

LXXIII. Then it was announced to all the host that all the Venetian and every one else should go and hear the sermons on Sunday morning; [Apr 11, 1204] and they did so. Then the bishops preached to the army, the bishop of Soissons, the bishop of Troyes, the bishop of Havelstadt [Halberstadt] master Jean Faicette [De Noyon, chancellor of Baldwin of Flanders], and the abbot of Loos, and they showed to the pilgrims that the war was a righteous one; for the Greeks were traitors and murderers, and also disloyal, since they had murdered their rightful lord, and were worse than Jews. Moreover, the bishops said that, by the authority of God and in the name of the pope, they would absolve all who attacked the Greeks. Then the bishops commanded the pilgrims to confess their sins and receive the communion devoutly; and said that they ought not to hesitate to attack the Greeks, for the latter were enemies of God. They also commanded that all the evil women should be sought out and sent away from the army to a distant place. This was done; the evil women were all put on a vessel and were sent very far away from the army.

A Description of the Abbey of Clairvaux (c.1143)

From William of St. Thierry, *Chronicle*

Taken from Frederic Austin Ogg, ed., A Source Book of Mediaeval History: Documents Illustrative of European Life and Institutions from the German Invasions to the Renaissance, (New York, 1907, reprinted by Cooper Square Publishers (New York), 1972), pp. 258-260. Sourced from Hordham Halsall IHSP.

At the first glance as you entered Clairvaux by descending the hill you could see that it was a temple of God; and the still, silent valley bespoke, in the modest simplicity of its buildings, the unfeigned humility of Christ's poor. Moreover, in this valley full of men, where no one was permitted to be idle, where one and all were occupied with their allotted tasks, a silence deep as that of night prevailed. The sounds of labor, or the chants of the brethren in the choral service, were the only exceptions. The orderliness of this silence, and the

report that went forth concerning it struck such a reverence even into secular persons that they dreaded breaking it---I will not say by idle or wicked conversation, but even by proper remarks. The solitude, also, of the place---between dense forests in a narrow gorge of neighboring hills---in a certain sense recalled the cave of our father St. Benedict, so that while they strove to imitate his life, they also had some similarity to him in their habitation and loneliness....

Although the monastery is situated in a valley, it has its foundations on the holy hills, whose gates the Lord loves more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of it, because the glorious and wonderful God therein works great marvels. There the insane recover their reason, and although their outward man is worn away, inwardly they are born again. There the proud are humbled, the rich are made poor, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them, and the darkness of sinners is changed into light. A large multitude of blessed poor from the ends of the earth have there assembled, yet have they one heart and one mind; justly, therefore, do all who dwell there rejoice with no empty joy. They have the certain hope of perennial joy, of their ascension heavenward already commenced. In Clairvaux, they have found Jacob's ladder, with angels upon it; some descending, who so provide for their bodies that they faint not on the way; others ascending, who so rule their souls that their bodies hereafter may be glorified with them.

For my part, the more attentively I watch them day by day, the more do I believe that they are perfect followers of Christ in all things. When they pray and speak to God in spirit and in truth, by their friendly and quiet speech to Him, as well as by their humbleness of demeanor, they are plainly seen to be God's companions and friends. When, on the other hand, they openly praise God with psalms, how pure and fervent are their minds, is shown by their posture of body in holy fear and reverence, while by their careful pronunciation and modulation of the psalms, is shown how sweet to their lips are the words of God---sweeter than honey to their mouths. As I watch them, therefore, singing without fatigue from before midnight to the dawn of day, with only a brief interval, they appear a little less than the angels, but much more than men....

As regards their manual labor, so patiently and placidly, with such quiet countenances, in such sweet and holy order, do they perform all things, that although they exercise themselves at many works, they never seem moved or burdened in anything, whatever the labor may be. Whence it is manifest that that Holy Spirit works in them who disposes of all things with sweetness, in whom they are refreshed, so that they rest even in their toil. Many of them, I hear, are bishops and earls, and many illustrious through their birth or

knowledge; but now, by God's grace, all distinction of persons being dead among them, the greater anyone thought himself in the world, the more in this flock does he regard himself as less than the least. I see them in the garden with hoes, in the meadows with forks or rakes, in the fields with scythes, in the forest with axes. To judge from their outward appearance, their tools, their bad and disordered clothes, they appear a race of fools, without speech or sense. But a true thought in my mind tells me that their life in Christ is hidden in the heavens. Among them I see Godfrey of Peronne, Raynald of Picardy, William of St. Omer, Walter de Lisle, all of whom I knew formerly in the old man, whereof I now see no trace, by God's favor. I knew them proud and puffed up; I see them walking humbly under the merciful hand of God.

Testament of St. Francis

From St. Francis of Assisi, *Writings*

Taken from Fr. Pascal Robinson, The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi. The Dolphin Press. Philadelphia, 1905. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

The Writings Of Saint Francis Of Assisi by Father Paschal Robinson

The Lord gave to me, Brother Francis, thus to begin to do penance; for when I was in sin it seemed to me very bitter to see lepers, and the Lord Himself led me amongst them and I showed mercy to them. And when I left them, that which had seemed to me bitter was changed for me into sweetness of body and soul. And afterwards I remained a little and I left the world. And the Lord gave me so much faith in churches that I would simply pray and say thus: "We adore Thee Lord Jesus Christ here and in all Thy churches which are in the whole world, and we bless Thee because by Thy holy cross Thou hast redeemed the world."

After that the Lord gave me, and gives me, so much faith in priests who live according to the form of the holy Roman Church, on account of their order, that if they should persecute me, I would have recourse to them. And if I had as much wisdom as Solomon had, and if I should find poor priests of this world, I would not preach against their will in the parishes in which they live. And I desire to fear, love, and honor them and all others as my masters; and I do not wish to consider sin in them, for in them I see the Son of God and they are my masters. And I do (his because in this world, I see nothing corporally of the most high Son of God Himself except His most holy Body and Blood, which they receive and they alone administer to others. And I will that these most holy mysteries be honored and revered above all things and that they be placed in precious places. Wheresoever I find His most holy Names and written words in unseemly places, I wish to collect them, and I ask that they may be collected and put in a becoming place. And we ought to honor and

venerate all theologians and those who minister to us the most holy Divine Words as those who minister to us spirit and life.

And when the Lord gave me some brothers, no one showed me what I ought to do, but the Most High Himself revealed to me that I should live according to the form of the holy Gospel. And I caused it to be written in few words and simply, and the Lord Pope confirmed it for me. And those who came to take this life upon themselves gave to the poor all that they might have and they were content with one tunic, patched within and without, by those who wished, with a cord and breeches, and we wished for no more.

We clerics said the Office like other clerics; the laics said the Paternoster, and we remained in the churches willingly enough. And we were simple and subject to all. And I worked with my hands and I wish to work and I wish firmly that all the other brothers should work at some labor which is compatible with honesty. Let those who know not [how to work] learn, not through desire to receive the price of labor but for the sake of example and to repel idleness. And when the price of labor is not given to us, let us have recourse to the table of the Lord, begging alms from door to door.

The Lord revealed to me this salutation, that we should say: "The Lord give thee peace." Let the brothers take care not to receive on any account churches, poor dwelling-places, and all other things that are constructed for them, unless they are as is becoming the holy poverty which we have promised in the Rule, always dwelling there as strangers and pilgrims.

I strictly enjoin by obedience on all the brothers that, wherever they may be, they should not dare, either themselves or by means of some interposed person, [*5] to ask any letter in the Roman curia either for a church [*6] or for any other place, nor under pretext of preaching, nor on account of their bodily persecution; but, wherever they are not received let them flee to another land to do penance, with the blessing of God. And I wish to obey the minister general of this brotherhood strictly and the guardian whom it may please him to give me. And I wish to be so captive in his hands that I cannot go or act beyond his obedience and his will because he is my master. And although I am simple and infirm, I desire withal always to have a cleric who will perform the office with me as it is contained in the Rule.

And let all the other brothers be bound to obey their guardian and to perform the office according to the Rule. And those who may be found not performing the office according to the Rule and wishing to change it in some way, or who are not Catholics, let all the brothers wherever they may be, if they find one of these, be

bound by obedience to present him to the custos who is nearest to the place where they have found him. And the customs shall be strictly bound, by obedience, to guard him strongly day and night as a prisoner so that he cannot be snatched from his hands until he shall personally place him in the hands of his minister. And the minister shall be firmly bound by obedience to send him by such brothers as shall watch him day and night like a prisoner until they shall present him to the Lord of Ostia, who is master protector, and corrector of this brotherhood.

And let not the brothers say: This is another Rule; for this is a remembrance, a warning, and an exhortation and my Testament which I, little Brother Francis, make for you, my blessed brothers, in order that we may observe in a more Catholic way the Rule which we have promised to the Lord. And let the minister general and all the other ministers and custodes be bound by obedience not to add to these words or to take from them. And let them always have this writing with them beside the Rule. And in all the Chapters they hold, when they read the Rule let them read these words also. And I strictly enjoin on all my brothers, clerics and laics, by obedience, not to put glosses on the Rule or on these words saying: Thus they ought to be understood; but as the Lord has given me to speak and to write the Rule and these words simply and purely, so shall you understand them simply and purely and with holy operation observe them until the end.

And whoever shall observe these things may he be filled in heaven with the blessing of the Most High Father and may he be filled on earth with blessing of His Beloved Son together with the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, and all the Powers of heaven and all the saints. And I, Brother Francis, your little one and servant, in so far as I am able, I confirm to you within and without, this most holy blessing. Amen.

The Legend of St. Dominic

From Gerard de Frechet, *Vita et Legenda Sancti Domenici* (Selections)

Taken from: Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers 1206-1259. Translated by Placid Conway, O.P. Edited with Notes and Introduction by Bede Jarrett, O.P. 1955. Blackfriars Publications, London. This translation was first published by Mawson Swan & Morgan, 1896. Reprinted with the addition of the Prologue and the omission of Part III by Burns Oates & Washbourne in 1924. This edition was first published in 1955.

[*Lives of the Brethren: Index*](#)

CHAPTER VIII

HE OBTAINS BREAD FROM HEAVEN

After this the glorious father returned to Italy in company with a lay brother named John. This brother became so reduced from hunger in the Lombard Alps

that he could not move a step further, nor even rise to his feet. ‘What ails you, my son?’ enquired the gentle father. ‘Why do you not keep up with me!’ ‘Father, I am truly dying of hunger,’ cried the weary brother. ‘Take courage then, my son, let us go just a little further and we shall get all we want for recruiting our strength.’ But as the brother still held out, avowing he could not drag himself a step farther, the saint, with that kindness and sweet pity for which he was ever remarkable, had recourse to his usual refuge of fervent prayer. For a brief space he communed with God, and then addressed the brother once more: ‘Rise up, son, go straight before you to yonder spot, and bring back what you find there.’ The brother got up with difficulty, and dragging himself to the spot indicated — which was about a stone’s throw off — saw there an exceedingly white loaf wrapt in a snowwhite cloth, which he brought back with him; then after eating until his strength revived he continued his journey. Now when they had gone some way on, the brother began to think the matter over, and in his amazement cried out: ‘My God, who put the bread in that lonely spot? Where can it have come from? Surely I must have parted with my wits not to have made further enquiries about it?’ Then addressing St. Dominic he said: ‘Father, where did yon bread come from? Whoever put it there?’ Upon which this true lover and observer of humility rejoined: ‘My son, have you not had as much as you wanted?’ ‘Yes, father,’ said the other. ‘Very well then, since you have had as much as pleased you, thank God for it, and trouble yourself no more about it.’ The brother acquainted the brethren with all this on his return to Spain. He was afterwards sent in company with those brethren of ours who went by the Pope’s command to Africa to spread the Catholic faith, and after happily finishing his course at Morocco he departed to the Lord.

CHAPTER IX

HOW HIS TUNIC WARDED OFF FIRE

There was a devout woman of Segovia at whose house St. Dominic used occasionally to lodge, and in which he once left behind a tunic of sackcloth which he had worn till a short time before this, when he had changed it for a very painful hair shirt. The good woman finding this tunic put it in a box among her other valuables, and guarded it more carefully than if it had been of imperial purple. One day it chanced that after shutting up her house she went out hurriedly on business, leaving a large fire burning on the hearth, and this falling forward burnt the house down with the exception of the wooden chest in which she kept the tunic; the box was not so much as charred or scorched, though standing in the midst of the flames. The good woman was astonished on her return at beholding such a miracle, and gave hearty thanks to God and her guest St. Dominic, whose tunic had saved from destruction the whole of her property which she kept in that very chest. After detaching the sleeves she gave the remaining portion to our brethren to be kept reverently, and to this day it is laid away among the conventual relics of that place.

CHAPTER X

HIS GIFT OF TONGUES

While travelling from Toulouse to Paris in company with Brother Bertrand de Garrigue, who was the first Provincial of Provence, our holy father spent the night in watching and prayer in the church of our Lady at Roc-Amadour. Next day they came up with a band of pilgrims from Germany, who, hearing them reciting the Psalms and Litanies, joined company with them, and on coming to the next town hospitably entertained them during three days. One morning St. Dominic addressed Brother Bertrand after this fashion: 'Good brother, I am much troubled in conscience seeing that we are reaping the material good things of these pilgrims without sowing spiritual ones in return, so, if it please you, let us kneel down and ask God to enable us to understand their tongue, that we may preach Jesus Christ to them.' This they did, and to the bewilderment of the pilgrims they began to speak fluently in German, and as they trudged along together during the next four days, they continued conversing about our Lord Jesus Christ until they came to Orleans. There the Germans, who were on their way to Chartres, parted company with them on the road which led to Paris, after humbly commending themselves to their prayers. Some time after this our holy father said to Brother Bertrand: 'Brother, we are now going to enter Paris, and if our brethren here only knew of that miracle which God wrought in us they would repute us to be saints, whereas we are but sinners, and if it got rumoured abroad we should be liable to vanity: wherefore, in virtue of holy obedience I forbid you to mention it to a soul until after my death.' Nor was it divulged to our brethren until after his death.

CHAPTER XI

HE COMPELS A RUNAWAY TO RETURN

He took into the Order a young man from Apulia, named Thomas de Smicella, whom he so cherished for his innocence and candour that many styled him St. Dominic's brother, whilst others called him his son. Now, one day some former companions, emissaries of Satan, watching their opportunity, brought him partly by deceit and partly by violence to a vineyard close by, where after stripping him of his religious habit, they put on him a secular dress provided for the purpose. While this was going on some of the brethren ran to St. Dominic crying out 'Alas, even now your brother is being forced back into the world.' At such news he at once put aside all human aid, and without further ado, or even bidding them hurry after him, he quietly went to the choir, and there lying before the altar besought God's pity. Nor did he pray in vain, as the event proved, for directly the youth put on the garments he began to cry out, 'Oh, I am all on fire! I am all on fire!' Nor could he find any relief until he had laid them aside, put on his habit, and returned again to his cloister.

CHAPTER XII

HE RAISES A DEAD CHILD, AND HEALS ITS MOTHER

Coming once to Chatillon on one of his many journeys through France, it chanced that the infant son of his hostess (the sister of the parish priest of the town) had but a little while before fallen from a terrace, and his parents were lamenting his death. Moved with pity at the sight of their grief, St. Dominic prostrated himself for a short space in prayer, shedding many tears; then, feeling his prayer heard, he rose and gave back the boy alive and well to his mother. The sorrow-stricken home was filled with joy; the child's uncle, the parish priest, got ready a great supper and invited many honest folk to rejoice with him. But the child's mother being unable to partake of an eel which was served up, because of an ague with which she was afflicted, the saint after making over it the sign of the cross gave it her to eat, saying: 'Take and eat it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The woman ate some of it and was cured.

CHAPTER XIII

HE PASSES THROUGH CLOSED DOORS

Happening to come to a certain convent door long after the inmates had retired to rest, and not wishing to disturb them, he and his companion prostrated themselves in prayer before the porch, and asked of God that he would provide for their wants without disturbing those within. Wonderful to relate, whereas they had been lying outside the gate, they found themselves in a moment transported within. The same thing befell him when returning from a disputation with the heretics accompanied by a Cistercian lay brother, by whom many memorable records as to his sanctity have been related. Coming at a late hour to the church and finding it locked they began to pray outside, and in a short space of time through the divine help unexpectedly found themselves within, where they spent the night in watching.

CHAPTER XIV

HOW THE DEVIL HURLED A GREAT STONE AT HIM

As the holy father was praying very fervently one night, lying prostrate on the pavement of the church, the devil, who has been envious from the beginning, hurled a great stone at him from the roof, being unable to stand the earnestness and fervour of his prayer. The stone fell with such violence that the building echoed again, and the devil did this in the hope of distracting him. It grazed his forehead and partly touched his habit, but he himself moved no more than if a straw had fallen. Unable to withstand this heroic endurance of the servant of God, the devil went off crestfallen, crying out and howling terribly.

CHAPTER XV

HOW THE DEVIL TRIED TO MAKE HIM BREAK THE SILENCE

It was his custom to keep nightly watch in the church and once while praying

after the brothers had retired to rest, the devil showed himself under the guise of a Friar praying before one of the altars. The blessed Dominic wondered at seeing him remain behind after the signal had been given, so he motioned with his hand for the brother to retire to rest, and the man bowed in return and withdrew. When matins were over he cautioned the brethren not to remain in the church when once the signal had been given for retiring; nevertheless the pretended Friar did the same thing a second and even a third time. On the third night St. Dominic went up to him and rebuked him sharply: 'What is the meaning of this disobedience, and that, too, after I have repeatedly said that no one was to stay behind after the signal? This is the third time I have found you loitering here.' At this the devil cried out with great glee: 'At last I have made you break the Silence.' But the servant of God, seeing how he had been tricked, boldly replied: 'Save your mirth for some better occasion, wretch, when it can perhaps profit you; and learn moreover that I am master of this silence and can speak when I think fit to do so. You cannot hoodwink me on this score.' Then the devil slunk away abashed at this scathing rebuke.

CHAPTER XVI

HOW HE MET THE DEVIL PROWLING ROUND THE CONVENT

Many of our first brethren and others worthy of belief aver that on one occasion while he was making the rounds of the convent like a watchful sentinel, he met the devil prowling like a beast of prey, and bidding him stand still, the holy father accosted him thus: 'Why are you prowling in this fashion?' 'I do so,' said the other, 'on account of the profits I reap hereby.' 'And what do you gain in the dormitory, may I ask?' said St. Dominic. 'I keep the brethren from enjoying their rest, and then tempt them not to rise for matins, and when this does not work, I send them foul dreams and illusions.' Then taking him to the choir, the holy father continued: 'And what do you gain in this holy place?' 'I make them come late and retire soon, and busy them with distractions.' On questioning him about the refectory, he made answer, 'Who is there who does not either eat more or less than he should?' When brought to the parlour he chuckled with glee: 'Ho, ho! this is my spot, this is the place for laughter, and folly, and idle talk.' But when they came to the chapter house the devil tried to make off: 'I loathe this place, for I lose here whatever I may have gained elsewhere, since the brethren are here told of their faults, correct one another, do penance, and are absolved.'

CHAPTER XVII

HE SNATCHES A PAPER FROM THE DEVIL

On another occasion he spied the devil in the church at midnight, holding a slip of paper in his horny and crooked claws, and trying to read it by the light of one of the lamps. Going up to him, he asked Satan what he was peeping at, and got for reply: 'I am reading over your brethren's sins.' Now St. Dominic being minded to

get it, seized hold of one end of the paper, while the devil held tight to the other. Bidding him finally, in God's name, to give it up, he found written down some faults of the brethren, whom he corrected accordingly.

CHAPTER XVIII

HIS MANNER AND FERVOUR IN PRAYER

Brother John of Bologna, a discreet and fervent religious, tells us how he once kept diligent watch for seven succeeding nights, in order to see for himself in what manner our holy father used to spend his night watches. This is how he describes it. 'Standing at one time and groaning heavily, or with his face down upon the church pavement, he prolonged his prayer until sleep overcame him. Then starting up he would visit each altar in turn, and so kept on until midnight, when he would softly visit the sleeping brethren and cover them up when he saw fit.' This same brother tells how when serving his mass he often saw the tears trickle from his eyes down his checks as he turned to take the ablutions after receiving the Body of Christ.

CHAPTER XIX

HIS POWER IN WORD AND WORK

Having often observed Brother Bertrand to grieve bitterly at the remembrance of his sins, he forbade him to weep so much for his own transgressions, but would have him to grieve over the unrepented sins of others. So efficacious were his words, that from that hour the brother wept copiously for others, but could no longer do so for himself even when he wished it. A greedy usurer feigning to be just, begged the holy communion at his hands. On his so doing, the sacred particle seemed to burn the communicant's palate like a hot coal, just as the fire of old cooled the three children, yet burnt the impious Chaldeans. Deeply moved by this prodigy, the man repented, and restored all his ill-gotten gains.

CHAPTER XX

HE MULTIPLIES BREAD

Brother Reginald, a deeply religious man, who was once a papal penitentiary and afterwards became archbishop of Armagh, tells us that he was present on one occasion at Bologna when the procurator went to our holy father complaining that he had only two loaves to set before a large community. Whereupon this faithful imitator of his Lord, taking the two loaves, broke them into fragments, and then full of trust in God, 'who is gracious to all that call upon him, and filleth every living creature with his blessing,' he made over them the sign of our redemption, and told the server to go round and put two or three pieces upon each table. When the brother had gone once round the refectory and there was still some bread to spare, he went round it a second and a third time, and yet out of a small quantity in the beginning there was plenty left. What need for further words! The brother

continued to supply the tables until all the brethren were satisfied, and more bread was supplied from on high than mail was able to consume.

CHAPTER XXI

HE BEHOLDS ANGELS GUARDING HIS BRETHREN

A citizen of Bologna, who was a lawyer by profession, joined the Order, but his friends and kinsfolk in the world were bent on having him out again by force. The terrified brothers wanted to call in men-at-arms to guard the enclosure, but the blessed Dominic eased their minds with these words: 'We require no such protection, for at this very moment I see more than two hundred angels ranked round the church and convent who have been sent to guard us.' At the same moment their assailants fled panic-stricken and in confusion, and the novice plucking up heart persevered in the Order.

CHAPTER XXII

HE DELIVERS A GLUTTON POSSESSED BY THE DEVIL

One of the brothers at Bologna, who had care of the sick, used sometimes, without permission, to eat some of the food which was left. While thus busied one evening, the devil entered into him, and he began to bellow horribly. The holy father came to the spot with the rest of the brethren who were hurrying to the brother's assistance, and pitying his condition bade the devil speak up and say Why he had gone into him. Then the demon answered him: 'I hold possession of him since he richly deserves it, for contrary to the letter of your constitutions, and without leave, he has been in the habit of eating the meat left by the sick.' On hearing this the tender father replied: 'And I, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, do absolve him from his sin, and command you in the name of the same Jesus, that you go out of him and vex him no longer'; and at once the brother was freed from his tormentor.

CHAPTER XXIII

HIS COMPASSION FOR SINNERS

So wonderfully tender-hearted was he touching the sins and miseries of men, that when he came near any city or town from where he could overlook it, he would burst into tears at the thought of the miseries of mankind, of the sins committed therein, and of the numbers who were going down into hell. If it chanced that after the fatigues of a long journey he had to lodge with secular persons, he would first quench his thirst at some handy spring, fearing to draw attention to any excess in drinking from his intense thirst, due to his wearisome travelling on foot. This he was always most careful to avoid, not only in drinking, but in everything else besides.

The Death of Rodrigo Diaz Campeador “El Cid”

From Anonymous, “The Chronicle of the Cid”

Translated by Robert Southey. “The Chronicle of the Cid”. London: Longman, Hurst, Reeves and Orme, 1808. Taken from Project Gutenberg, sourced through Fordham Halsall IHSP

V. On the twenty-ninth day, being the day before he departed, he called for Doña Ximena, and for the Bishop Don Hieronymo, and Don Alvar Fañez Minaya, and Pero Bermudez, and his trusty Gil Diaz; and when they were all five before him, he began to direct them what they should do after his death; and he said to them. Ye know that King Bucar will presently be here to besiege this city, with seven and thirty Kings whom he bringeth with him, and with a mighty power of Moors. Now therefore the first thing which ye do after I have departed, wash my body with rose-water many times and well, as blessed be the name of God it is washed within and made pure of all uncleanness to receive his holy body to-morrow, which will be my last day. And when it has been well washed and made clean, ye shall dry it well, and anoint it with this myrrh and balsam, from these golden caskets, from head to foot, so that every part shall be anointed, till none be left. And you my Sister Doña Ximena, and your women, see that ye utter no cries, neither make any lamentation for me, that the Moors may not know of my death. And when the day shall come in which King Bucar arrives, order all the people of Valencia to go upon the walls, and sound your trumpets and tambours, and make the greatest rejoicings that ye can. And when ye would set out for Castille, let all the people know in secret, that they make themselves ready, and take with them all that they have, so that none of the Moors in the suburb may know thereof; for certes ye cannot keep the city, neither abide therein after my death. And see ye that sumpter beasts be laden with all that there is in Valencia, so that nothing which can profit may be left. And this I leave especially to your charge, Gil Diaz. Then saddle ye my horse Bavioca, and arm him well; and ye shall apparel my body full seemlily, and place me upon the horse, and fasten and tie me thereon so that it cannot fall: and fasten my sword Tizona in my hand. And let the Bishop Don Hieronymo go on one side of me, and my trusty Gil Diaz on the other, and he shall lead my horse. You, Pero Bermudez, shall bear my banner, as you were wont to bear it; and you, Alvar Fañez, my cousin, gather your company together, and put the host in order as you are wont to do. And go ye forth and fight with King Bucar: for be ye certain and doubt not that ye shall win this battle; God hath granted me this. And when ye have won the fight, and the Moors are discomfited, ye may spoil the field at pleasure. Ye will find great riches. What ye are afterwards to do I will tell ye to-morrow, when I make my testament.

VI. Early on the morrow the Bishop Don Hieronymo, and Alvar Fañez, and Pero Bermudez, and Martin Antolinez, came to the Cid. Gil Diaz and Doña Ximena were

always with him; and the Cid began to make his testament. And the first thing which he directed, after commending his soul to God, was, that his body should be buried in the Church of St. Pedro de Cardena, where it now lies; and he bequeathed unto that Monastery many good inheritances, so that that place is at this day the richer and more honourable. Then he left to all his company and household according to the desert of every one. To all the knights who had served him since he went out of his own country, he gave great wealth in abundance. And to the other knights who had not served him so long, to some a thousand marks of silver, to others two, and some there were to whom he bequeathed three, according who they were. Moreover, to the squires who were hidalgos, to some five hundred, and others there were who had a thousand and five hundred. And he bade them, when they arrived at St. Pedro de Cardena, give clothing to four thousand poor, to each a skirt of escanforte and a mantle. And he bequeathed to Doña Ximeña all that he had in the world, that she might live honourably for the remainder of her days in the Monastery of St. Pedro de Cardena; and he commanded Cil Diaz to remain with her and serve her well all the days of her life. And he left it in charge to the Bishop Don Hieronymo, and Doña Ximena his wife, and Don Alvar Fañez, and Pero Bermudez, and Felez Muñoz, his nephews, that they should see all this fulfilled. And he commanded Alvar Fañez and Pero Bermudez, when they had conquered King Bucar, to proceed forthwith into Castille and fulfil all that he had enjoined. This was at the hour of sexts. Then the Cid Ruydiez, the Campeador of Bivar, bade the Bishop Don Hieronymo give him the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and he received it with great devotion, on his knees, and weeping before them all. Then he sate up in his bed and called upon God and St. Peter, and began to pray, saying, Lord Jesus Christ, thine is the power and the kingdom, and thou art above all Kings and all nations, and all Kings are at thy command, I beseech thee therefore pardon me my sins, and let my soul enter into the light which hath no end. And when the Cid Ruydiez had said this, this noble Baron yielded up his soul, which was pure and without spot, to God, on that Sunday which is called Quinquagesima, being the twenty and ninth of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety and nine, and in the seventy and third year of his life. After he had thus made his end they washed his body twice with warm water, and a third time with rose water, and then they anointed and embalmed it as he had commanded. And then all the honourable men, and all the clergy who were in Valencia, assembled and carried it to the Church of St. Mary of the Virtues, which is near the Alcazar, and there they kept their vigil, and said prayer and performed masses, as was meet for so honourable a man.

VII. Three days after the Cid had departed King Bucar came into the port of Valencia, and landed with all his power, which was so great that there is not a man in the world who could give account of the Moors whom he brought. And there came with him thirty and six Kings, and one Moorish Queen, who was a negress,

and she brought with her two hundred horsewomen, all negresses like herself, all having their hair shorn save a tuft on the top, and this was in token that they came as if upon a pilgrimage, and to obtain the remission of their sins; and they were all armed in coats of mail and with Turkish bows. King Bucar ordered his tents to be pitched round about Valencia, and Abenalfarax who wrote this history in Arabic, saith, that there were full fifteen thousand tents; and he bade that Moorish negress with her archers to take their station near the city. And on the morrow they began to attack the city, and they fought against it three days strenuously; and the Moors received great loss, for they came blindly up to the walls and were slain there. And the Christians defended themselves right well, and every time that they went upon the walls, they sounded trumpets and tambours, and made great rejoicings, as the Cid had commanded. This continued for eight days or nine, till the companions of the Cid had made ready every thing for their departure, as he had commanded. And King Bucar and his people thought that the Cid dared not come out against them, and they were the more encouraged, and began to think of making bastilles and engines wherewith to combat the city, for certes they weened that the Cid Ruydiez dared not come out against them, seeing that he tarried so long.

VIII. All this while the company of the Cid were preparing all things to go into Castille, as he had commanded before his death; and his trusty Gil Diaz did nothing else but labour at this. And the body of the Cid was prepared after this manner: first it was embalmed and anointed as the history hath already recounted, and the virtue of the balsam and myrrh was such that the flesh remained firm and fair, having its natural colour, and his countenance as it was wont to be, and the eyes open, and his long beard in order, so that there was not a man who would have thought him dead if he had seen him and not known it. And on the second day after he had departed, Gil Díaz placed the body upon a right noble saddle, and this saddle with the body upon it he put upon a frame; and he dressed the body in a gambax of fine sendal, next the skin. And he took two boards and fitted them to the body, one to the breast and the other to the shoulders; these were so hollowed out and fitted that they met at the sides and under the arms, and the hind one came up to the pole, and the other up to the beard; and these boards were fastened into the saddle, so that the body could not move. All this was done by the morning of the twelfth day; and all that day the people of the Cid were busied in making ready their arms, and in loading beasts with all that they had, so that they left nothing of any price in the whole city of Valencia, save only the empty houses. When it was midnight they took the body of the Cid, fastened to the saddle as it was, and placed it upon his horse Bavioca, and fastened the saddle well: and the body sate so upright and well that it seemed as if he was alive. And it had on painted hose of black and white, so cunningly painted that no man who saw them would have thought but that they were grieves and cuishes, unless he had laid his hand upon them; and they put on it a surcoat of green sendal, having his arms blazoned,

thereon, and a helmet of parchment, which was cunningly painted that every one might have believed it to be iron: and his shield was hung round his neck, and they placed the sword Tizona in his hand; and they raised his arm, and fastened it up so subtilly that it was a marvel to see how upright he held the sword. And the Bishop Don Hieronymo went on one side of him, and the trusty Gil Diaz on the other, and he led the horse Bavieca, as the Cid had commanded him. And when all this had been made ready, they went out from Valencia at midnight, through the gate of Roseros, which is towards Castille. Pero Bermudez went first with the banner of the Cid, and with him five hundred knights who guarded it, all well appointed. And after these came all the baggage. Then came the body of the Cid with an hundred knights, all chosen men, and behind them Doña Ximena with all her company, and six hundred knights in the rear. All these went out so silently, and with such a measured pace, that it seemed as if there were only a score. And by the time that they had all gone out it was broad day.

IX. Now Alvar Fañez Minaya had set the host in order, and while the Bishop Don Hieronymo and Gil Diaz led away the body of the Cid, and Doña Ximena, and the baggage, he fell upon the Moors. First he attacked the tents of that Moorish Queen the Negress, who lay nearest to the city; and this onset was so sudden, that they killed full a hundred and fifty Moors before they had time to take arms or go to horse. But that Moorish Negress was so skilful in drawing the Turkish bow, that it was held for a marvel, and it is said that they called her in Arabic Nugueymat Turya, which is to say, the Star of the Archers. And she was the first that got on horseback, and with some fifty that were with her, did some hurt to the company of the Cid; but in fine they slew her, and her people fled to the camp. And so great was the uproar and confusion, that few there were who took arms, but instead thereof they turned their backs and fled toward the sea. And when King Bucar and his Kings saw this they were astonished. And it seemed to them that there came against them on the part of the Christians full seventy thousand knights, all as white as snow: and before them a knight of great stature upon a white horse with a bloody cross, who bore in one hand a white banner, and in the other a sword which seemed to be of fire, and he made a great mortality among the Moors who were flying. And King Bucar and the other Kings were so greatly dismayed that they never checked the reins till they had ridden into the sea; and the company of the Cid rode after them, smiting and slaying and giving them no respite; and they smote down so many that it was marvellous, for the Moors did not turn their heads to defend themselves. And when they came to the sea, so great was the press among them to get to the ships, that more than ten thousand died in the water. And of the six and thirty Kings, twenty and two were slain. And King Bucar and they who escaped with him hoisted sails and went their way, and never more turned their heads. Then Alvar Fañez and his people, when they had discomfited the Moors, spoiled the field, and the spoil thereof was so great that they could not carry it away. And they loaded camels and

horses with the noblest things which they found, and went after the Bishop Don Hieronymo and Gil Diaz, who, with the body of the Cid, and Doña Ximena, and the baggage, had gone on till they were clear of the host, and then waited for those who were gone against the Moors. And so great was the spoil of that day, that there was no end to it: and they took up gold, and silver, and other precious things as they rode through the camp, so that the poorest man among the Christians, horseman or on foot, became rich with what he won that day. And when they were all met together, they took the road toward Castille; and they halted that night in a village which is called Siete Aguas, that is to say, the Seven Waters, which is nine leagues from Valencia.

X. Abenalfarax, he who wrote this history in Arabic, saith, that the day when the company of the Cid went out from Valencia, and discomfited King Bucar and the six and thirty Kings who were with him, the Moors of Alcudia and of the suburbs thought that he went out alive, because they saw him on horseback, sword in hand; but when they saw that he went towards Castille, and that none of his company returned into the town, they were astonished. And all that day they remained in such amaze, that they neither dared go into the tents which King Bucar's host had left, nor enter into the town, thinking that the Cid did this for some device; and all night they remained in the same doubt, so that they dared not go out from the suburbs. When it was morning they looked towards the town, and heard no noise there; and Abenaltarax then took horse, and taking a man with him, went toward the town, and found all the gates thereof shut, till he came to that through which the company of the Cid had gone forth; and he went into the city and traversed the greater part thereof, and found no man therein, and he was greatly amazed. Then he went out and called aloud to the Moors of the suburbs, and told them that the city was deserted by the Christians; and they were more amazed than before: nevertheless they did not yet dare either to go out to the camp or to enter into the town, and in this doubt they remained till it was mid-day. And when they saw that no person appeared on any side, Abenalfarax returned again into the town, and there went with him a great company of the best Moors; and they went into the Alcazar, and looked through all the halls and chambers, and they found neither man nor living thing; but they saw written upon a wall in Arabic characters by Gil Diaz, how the Cid Ruydiez was dead, and that they had carried him away in that manner to conquer King Bucar, and also to the end that none might oppose their going. And when the Moors saw this they rejoiced and were exceeding glad, and they opened the gates of the town, and sent to tell these tidings to those in the suburbs. And they came with their wives and children into the town, each to the house which had been his before the Cid won it. And from that day Valencia remained in the power of the Moors till it was won by King Don Jayme of Aragon, he who is called the Conqueror, which was an hundred and seventy years. But though King Don Jayme won it, it is alway called Valencia del Cid. On the morrow

they went into the tents of King Bucar, and found there many arms; but the tents were deserted, save only that they found certain women who had hid themselves, and who told them of the defeat of King Bucar. And the dead were so many that they could scarcely make way among them. And they went on through this great mortality to the port, and there they saw no ships, but so many Moors lying dead that tongue of man cannot tell their numbers; and they began to gather up the spoils of the field, which were tents, and horses, and camels, and buffaloes, and flocks, and gold and silver, and garments, and store of provisions, out of all number, so that they had wherewith to suffice the city of Valencia for two years, and to sell to their neighbours also; and they were full rich from that time.

The Murder of St. Thomas Becket (1170)

From Edward Grim, *Vita S. Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*

Translated by Dawn Marie Hayes. ed. in James Robertson, Materials for the Life of Thomas Becket, (London: Rolls Series, 1875-1885) (7 vols.) Vol. II. Taken from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

After the monks took [Thomas] through the doors of the church, the four aforementioned knights followed behind with a rapid pace. A certain subdeacon, Hugh the Evil-clerk, named for his wicked offense and armed with their malice, went with them – showing no reverence for either God or the saints because by following them he condoned their deed. When the holy archbishop entered the cathedral the monks who were glorifying God abandoned vespers – which they had begun to celebrate for God – and ran to their father whom they had heard was dead but they saw alive and unharmed. They hastened to close the doors of the church in order to bar the enemies from slaughtering the bishop, but the wondrous athlete turned toward them and ordered that the doors be opened. "It is not proper," he said, "that a house of prayer, a church of Christ, be made a fortress since although it is not shut up, it serves as a fortification for his people; we will triumph over the enemy through suffering rather than by fighting – and we come to suffer, not to resist." Without delay the sacrilegious men entered the house of peace and reconciliation with swords drawn; indeed the sight alone as well as the rattle of arms inflicted not a small amount of horror on those who watched. And those knights who approached the confused and disordered people who had been observing vespers but, by now, had run toward the lethal spectacle exclaimed in a rage: "Where is Thomas Becket, traitor of the king and kingdom?" No one responded and instantly they cried out more loudly, "Where is the archbishop?" Unshaken he replied to this voice as it is written, "The righteous will be like a bold lion and free from fear," he descended from the steps to which he had been taken by the monks who were fearful of the knights and said in an adequately audible voice, "Here I am, not a traitor of the king but a priest; why do you seek me?" And

[Thomas], who had previously told them that he had no fear of them added, "Here I am ready to suffer in the name of He who redeemed me with His blood; God forbid that I should flee on account of your swords or that I should depart from righteousness." With these words – at the foot of a pillar – he turned to the right. On one side was the altar of the blessed mother of God, on the other the altar of the holy confessor Benedict – through whose example and prayers he had been crucified to the world and his lusts; he endured whatever the murderers did to him with such constancy of the soul that he seemed as if he were not of flesh. The murderers pursued him and asked, "Absolve and restore to communion those you have excommunicated and return to office those who have been suspended." To these words [Thomas] replied, "No penance has been made, so I will not absolve them." "Then you," they said, "will now die and will suffer what you have earned." "And I," he said, "am prepared to die for my Lord, so that in my blood the church will attain liberty and peace; but in the name of Almighty God I forbid that you hurt my men, either cleric or layman, in any way." The glorious martyr acted conscientiously with foresight for his men and prudently on his own behalf, so that no one near him would be hurt as he hastened toward Christ. It was fitting that the soldier of the Lord and the martyr of the Savior adhered to His words when he was sought by the impious, "If it is me you seek, let them leave."

With rapid motion they laid sacrilegious hands on him, handling and dragging him roughly outside of the walls of the church so that there they would slay him or carry him from there as a prisoner, as they later confessed. But when it was not possible to easily move him from the column, he bravely pushed one [of the knights] who was pursuing and drawing near to him; he called him a panderer saying, "Don't touch me, Rainaldus, you who owes me faith and obedience, you who foolishly follow your accomplices." On account of the rebuff the knight was suddenly set on fire with a terrible rage and, wielding a sword against the sacred crown said, "I don't owe faith or obedience to you that is in opposition to the fealty I owe my lord king." The invincible martyr – seeing that the hour which would bring the end to his miserable mortal life was at hand and already promised by God to be the next to receive the crown of immortality – with his neck bent as if he were in prayer and with his joined hands elevated above – commended himself and the cause of the Church to God, St. Mary, and the blessed martyr St. Denis.

He had barely finished speaking when the impious knight, fearing that [Thomas] would be saved by the people and escape alive, suddenly set upon him and, shaving off the summit of his crown which the sacred chrism consecrated to God, he wounded the sacrificial lamb of God in the head; the lower arm of the writer was cut by the same blow. Indeed [the writer] stood firmly with the holy archbishop, holding him in his arms – while all the clerics and monks fled – until the one he had raised in opposition to the blow was severed. Behold the simplicity of the dove,

behold the wisdom of the serpent in this martyr who presented his body to the killers so that he might keep his head, in other words his soul and the church, safe; nor would he devise a trick or a snare against the slayers of the flesh so that he might preserve himself because it was better that he be free from this nature! O worthy shepherd who so boldly set himself against the attacks of wolves so that the sheep might not be torn to pieces! and because he abandoned the world, the world - wanting to overpower him - unknowingly elevated him. Then, with another blow received on the head, he remained firm. But with the third the stricken martyr bent his knees and elbows, offering himself as a living sacrifice, saying in a low voice, "For the name of Jesus and the protection of the church I am ready to embrace death." But the third knight inflicted a grave wound on the fallen one; with this blow he shattered the sword on the stone and his crown, which was large, separated from his head so that the blood turned white from the brain yet no less did the brain turn red from the blood; it purpled the appearance of the church with the colors of the lily and the rose, the colors of the Virgin and Mother and the life and death of the confessor and martyr. The fourth knight drove away those who were gathering so that the others could finish the murder more freely and boldly. The fifth - not a knight but a cleric who entered with the knights - so that a fifth blow might not be spared him who had imitated Christ in other things, placed his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr and (it is horrible to say) scattered the brains with the blood across the floor, exclaiming to the rest, "We can leave this place, knights, he will not get up again."

But during all these incredible things the martyr displayed the virtue of perseverance. Neither his hand nor clothes indicated that he had opposed a murderer - as is often the case in human weakness; nor when stricken did he utter a word, nor did he let out a cry or a sigh, or a sign signaling any kind of pain; instead he held still the head that he had bent toward the unsheathed swords. As his body - which had been mingled with blood and brain - laid on the ground as if in prayer, he placed his soul in Abraham's bosom. Having risen above himself, without doubt, out of love for the Creator and wholly striving for celestial sweetness, he easily received whatever pain, whatever malice, the bloody murderer was able to inflict. And how intrepidly - how devotedly and courageously - he offered himself for the murder when it was made clear that for his salvation and faith this martyr should fight for the protection of others so that the affairs of the church might be managed according to its paternal traditions and decrees.

The Tournament at Lagny-sur-Marne

From John, *The History of William the Marshal*

Translated by Stewart Gregory and David Crouch. Taken from the published three volume edition of "The History of William the Marshal" by the Anglo-Norman Text Society. [The tournament at Lagny-sur-Marne](#), from the [History of William the Marshal](#) » [De Re Militari](#)

Engaging in feats of chivalry in Lagny,
alongside the young King,
were those here named,
eighty chosen knights.
Not merely chosen, but the pick of the chosen.
Why were they called the pick of the chosen?
Because those well capable of picking them out
had chosen them from amongst the best.
That is the right gloss to put on the text.
But eighty is still an under-estimate,
and I shall undertake to prove to you
that there were yet seven times as many such after them:
whoever raised his banner
in the company of the young King,
whoever was under his command, received twenty shillings a
day for each man he had with him
from the moment they left their own lands,
whether they were on the move or in lodgings.

It was a source of wonder where this wealth was to be found,
and one can only say that God shared out to him
the wealth placed at his disposal.
There were fifteen flying their banners,
and so I can swear to you
that there were at least two hundred and more,
as you have already heard,

who lived off the purse of the young King
and were knights of his.

There is no account of all these,
for there were at least nineteen counts
with the King on that occasion,
and the duke of Burgundy besides.

Why should I spin out my tale?

The knights who were there to tourney
were estimated

at more than three thousand or so,
some with the King, some with the count.

I shall not spin out my tale further:

they armed, joined in combat,
and did what they had come to do.

There were to be seen banners unfurled,
so many of them and of such diverse types
that no man could make them out sufficiently
to be able to describe them in detail.

The entire field of combat was swarming with them,
the plain so full of them

that there was not an inch of ground to be seen.

One company spurred to meet the other.

I can tell you that that encounter

was not a stealthy affair,
indeed, there was great noise and tumult
as all strove to deal mighty blows.

There you would have heard such a great clash
of lances, from which the splinters
fell to the ground as the companies met
and impeded the forward charge of the horses.

The throng across that plain was huge,
with each company shouting out its battle cry.

There you might have learned something of armed combat,
there you might have seen knights taken
by the bridles of their horses, and others being rescued.

On all sides you would have seen horses running
and sweating with their exertions.

Every man strove hard and did all within his power
to perform high deeds, for it is in such a situation
that prowess is shown and displayed for all to see.

It was a very fiercely fought contest,
many were the feats of arms performed that day;

the tournament was an exceedingly fine one,
even before the King and the count
had arrived to join in combat.
But when they did, then you would have seen the earth shake, as the King said:
“This has gone on long enough;
spur on, I shall have not a moment’s further delay.”
The King spurred forward, but the count cleverly
held back, and did not move forward
until he saw that the time was exactly right.
But when it was, he did not hesitate for a moment.
Those on the King’s side rode forward
so impetuously
that they did not wait a moment for the King,
and they fought so fiercely
that the other side were sent on their way.

Actually, not so much on their way as off their way.
Once they had driven them back
through the vines and the ditches,
off they rode between the closely planted
vine stocks.
Horses fell down there thick and fast,
and the men who fell with them
were badly trampled and injured,
damaged and disfigured.
Count Geoffrey and his company
rode on with such incredible speed that,
when the King arrived, all those who should have been with
him were in the far distance,
so that on his arrival
he was nowhere able to reach
his opponents, for off they went
with the others in hot pursuit.
Some were intent on performing well in combat,
others were bent on booty,
and the King was greatly disturbed
by the fact that he had been left completely on his own.

He saw a company belonging to the other side
on his right, consisting of some
forty knights at least.
With his lance in hand,
he galloped to engage them in combat,
and the clash was so ferocious

that his lance was shattered as easily
as if it had been made of glass.
And those on the other side, who were very
numerous, soon took him by the bridle and brought him to a halt.
They had come up from all sides,
but the situation with the King was that,
out of his entire company,
all he had with him were
the Marshal, who was following closely
behind him, for it was his wont

to be at his side in a difficult situation
and never be far away from him,
and William de Préaux,
who, that day, had just been taken prisoner
and had left the throng,
and, in great secrecy, had donned
a hauberk under his tunic,
and, apart from this, nothing more
than an iron cap on his head.

The others had the King within their grasp;
each of them strove might and main
to knock off his helmet by force.
The Marshal rode forward,
then launched himself into their midst;
he dealt so many blows in front and behind him,
showed them so much the stuff he was made of,
pushed and pulled to such an extent
that he forced the harness
off the head of the King's horse,
together with the bridle, and pulled it to the ground.
And William de Préaux took
the horse by the neck and put every effort
into escaping the fray,
for those who were intent on capturing him
had hemmed him in.
They tried hard to strike William
as often as they could,
but the King protected him skilfully
with his shield, so that they did not touch him
or do him injury.

However, the force of their assault had been such

that they had torn the King's helmet
from his head,
and that was a source of great annoyance to him.
The tussle lasted for a long time,
but the Marshal hounded them,
fighting them with great ferocity
and meting out powerful blows.
The count of Flanders was filled with joy
when he heard the battle-cry raised by the King,
there in the midst of that fray
where he had been for some time.
There was no question now of holding back:
now he rode hard to cut them off,
and, reaching them, overwhelmed them.
The men who had tourneyed there
and were by now suffering from fatigue,
could not withstand the onslaught.
[They fled] and were given chase,
and every horse was given its head.
Count Geoffrey was greatly grieved by this
and very much dismayed.
Often he turned round to face his opponents,
but nobody in his company turned to do the same,
so there was no possibility of his standing his ground.
But when he was in a position to strike them,
they found the games he played were wicked ones,
and often he left them face up on the ground.

But, before the rout occurred,
there was another incident
which should have been recounted earlier;
as I find it in my written source,
so should I relate it word for word.
It is not possible to resume in a sentence
the whole course of a tournament,
or the blows dealt there.
Anyway, at the point where the King was thus making off,
Sir Herluin de Vancy,
who was the seneschal of Flanders,
had at least thirty knights with him,
outside the press of battle.
One of his knights galloped up
to inform his lord, Herluin.

“My lord,” he said, “in God’s name,
look over there, the King is on the point of being captured.
You take him and get the praise for it;
he’s already lost his helmet
and is much distraught by that.”
When Sir Herluin heard this,
his heart was filled with joy,
and he said: “He’s ours, I think.”
They all spurred on at a fast gallop
in pursuit of the King.

The Marshal was not idle,
instead he rode to meet them with lance in hand.
They clashed so violently
that his lance was completely shattered
as far as his horse’s hocks,
but I can assure you that he was soon upright again.

The fight homed in around him;
they attacked him, and he defended.
Everything he struck was broken and split,
shields were hacked to pieces, helmets staved in.
My lord William the Marshal performed so many feats
that nobody present had the slightest idea
what had become of the King.
Afterwards, the King, those who witnessed the event,
and those who heard speak of it,
said that never before had finer blows been witnessed
from a single knight, or known of,
as those dealt by the Marshal that day.
The bravest amongst them gave him high praise for this.

The First Eight Articles of the Magna Carta

From John “Lackland” , King of England, *Magna Carta*

Translated in Albert Beebe White and Wallace Notestein, eds., Source Problems in English History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1915). Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting. Know that we, out of reverence for God and for the salvation of our soul and those of all our ancestors and heirs,

for the honour of God and the exaltation of holy church, and for the reform of our realm, on the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry and Benedict of Rochester, bishops, of master Pandulf, subdeacon and member of the household of the lord pope, of brother Aymeric, master of the order of Knights Templar in England, and of the noble men William Marshal earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Warenne, William earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway constable of Scotland, Warin fitz Gerold, Peter fitz Herbert, Hubert de Burgh seneschal of Poitou, Hugh de Neville, Matthew fitz Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip de Aubeney, Robert of Ropsley, John Marshal, John fitz Hugh, and others, our faithful subjects:

[1] In the first place have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs for ever that the English church shall be free, and shall have its rights undiminished and its liberties unimpaired; and it is our will that it be thus observed; which is evident from the fact that, before the quarrel between us and our barons began, we willingly and spontaneously granted and by our charter confirmed the freedom of elections which is reckoned most important and very essential to the English church, and obtained confirmation of it from the lord pope Innocent III; the which we will observe and we wish our heirs to observe it in good faith for ever. We have also granted to all free men of our kingdom, for ourselves and our heirs for ever, all the liberties written below, to be had and held by them and their heirs of us and our heirs.

[2] If any of our earls or barons or others holding of us in chief by knight service dies, and at his death his heir be of full age and owe relief he shall have his inheritance on payment of the old relief, namely the heir or heirs of an earl $\text{œ}100$ for a whole earl's barony, the heir or heirs of a baron $\text{œ}100$ for a whole barony, the heir or heirs of a knight 100s, at most, for a whole knight's fee; and he who owes less shall give less according to the ancient usage of fiefs.

[3] If, however, the heir of any such be under age and a ward, he shall have his inheritance when he comes of age without paying relief and without making fine.

[4] The guardian of the land of such an heir who is under age shall take from the land of the heir no more than reasonable revenues, reasonable customary dues and reasonable services and that without destruction and waste of men or

goods; and if we commit the wardship of the land of any such to a sheriff, or to any other who is answerable to us for its revenues, and he destroys or wastes what he has wardship of, we will take compensation from him and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall be answerable for the revenues to us or to him to whom we have assigned them; and if we give or sell to anyone the wardship of any such land and he causes destruction or waste therein, he shall lose that wardship, and it shall be transferred to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall similarly be answerable to us as is aforesaid.

[5] Moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, the guardian shall keep in repair the houses, parks, preserves, ponds, mills and other things pertaining to the land out of the revenues from it; and he shall restore to the heir when he comes of age his land fully stocked with ploughs and the means of husbandry according to what the season of husbandry requires and the revenues of the land can reasonably bear.

[6] Heirs shall be married without disparagement, yet so that before the marriage is contracted those nearest in blood to the heir shall have notice.

[7] A widow shall have her marriage portion and inheritance forthwith and without difficulty after the death of her husband; nor shall she pay anything to have her dower or her marriage portion or the inheritance which she and her husband held on the day of her husband's death; and she may remain in her husband's house for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

[8] No widow shall be forced to marry so long as she wishes to live without a husband, provided that she gives security not to marry without our consent if she holds of us, or without the consent of her lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

The Battle of Bannockburn (1314)

From Anonymous, *Vita Edwardi Secundi*

The Life of Edward the Second, translated by Noel Denholm-Young (London, 1957).

Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

About the beginning of Lent messengers came to the King with news of the destruction of the Scottish cities, the capture of castles, and the breaching of the surrounding walls. The constable of Stirling came, too, and pointed out to the king how he had been compelled by necessity to enter upon the truce. He persuaded the

king to lead an army to Scotland, to defend his castle and the country. When the king heard the news he was very much grieved, and for the capture of his castles could scarcely restrain his tears. He therefore summoned the earls and barons to come to his aid and overcome the traitor who called himself King. The earls replied that it would be better for all to meet in parliament and there unanimously decide what ought to be done in this matter rather than to proceed so inadvisedly; this moreover would be in accord with the Ordinances. But the king said that the present business was very urgent and he could not therefore wait for parliament. The earls said that they would not fight without parliament, lest it should happen that they infringed the Ordinances. Some counselors and household officials therefore advised the king to demand their due service from all, and set out boldly for Scotland. It was certain that so many would come to his aid that neither Robert Bruce nor the Scots would resist. What of the Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Hereford, Robert de Clifford, Hugh Despenser and the King's household and the other barons in England? All these would come with their knights: there was no need to worry about the other earls. The king therefore demanded due service from all, and ordered the necessary stores to be provided. The Earl of Pembroke he sent ahead with a force of knights, to seek out the ambushes of the Scots, and prepare the king's route into Scotland.

When all the necessities had been collected, the king and the other magnates of the land with a great multitude of carts and baggage-wagons set out for Scotland. When the lord king had reached Berwick, he made a short halt there to await the arrival of the army. But the Earl of Lancaster, the Earl Warenne, the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Warwick did not come, but sent knights equipped to do their service for them in the army. On the sixth or seventh day before the feast of St. John the Baptist, our king with all his army left Berwick and took his way towards Stirling. The cavalry numbered more than two thousand, without counting a numerous crowd of infantry. There were in that company quite sufficient to penetrate the whole of Scotland, and some thought if the whole of Scotland had been gathered together, they would not have stayed to face the king's army. Indeed all who were present agreed that never in our time has such an army gone forth from England. The multitude of wagons if they had been placed end to end, would have taken up a space of twenty leagues.

The king therefore took confidence and courage from so great and so distinguished a multitude and hastened to the appointed place, not as if he was leading an army to battle but as if he was going to St. James's. Brief were halts for sleep, briefer still for food; hence horses, horsemen and infantry were worn out with toil and hunger, and if they did not bear themselves well it was hardly their fault.

The Earl of Gloucester and the Earl of Hereford commanded the first line. On Sunday, which was the vigil of St. John's day, as they passed by a certain wood and were approaching Stirling Castle, the Scots were seen straggling under the trees as if in flight, and a certain knight, Henry de Boun pursued them with the Welsh to the entrance of the wood. For he had in mind that if he found Robert Bruce there he would either kill him or carry him off captive. But when he had come thither, Robert himself came suddenly out of his hiding place in the wood, and the said Henry seeing that he could not resist the multitude of Scots, turned his horse with the intention of returning to his companions; but Robert opposed him and struck him on the head with an axe that he carried in his hand. His squire, trying to protect or rescue his lord, was overwhelmed by the Scots.

This was the beginning of their troubles! On the same day a sharp action was fought, in which the Earl of Gloucester was unhorsed, and Robert de Clifford disgracefully routed, and though our men pursued the Scots, many were killed on either side. The day being spent, the whole army met at the place where it was to bivouac that night. But there was no rest; for they spent it sleepless, expecting the Scots rather to attack by night than to await battle by day. When day came it was abundantly clear that the Scots were prepared for the conflict with a great force of armed men. Wherefore our men, the veterans that is, and the more experienced, advised that we should not fight that day, but rather await the morrow, both on account of the importance of the feast and the toil that they had already undergone. This practical and honourable advice was rejected by the younger men as idle and cowardly.

The Earl of Gloucester counseled the king not to go forth to battle that day, but to rest of account of the feast, and let his army recuperate as much as possible. But the king spurned the earl's advice, and, growing very heated with him, charged him with treachery and deceit. "Today," said the earl, "it will be clear that I am neither a traitor nor a liar," and at once prepared himself for battle. Meanwhile Robert Bruce marshalled and equipped his allies, gave them bread and wine, and cheered them as best he could; when he learned that the English line had occupied the field he led his whole army out from the wood. About forty thousand men he brought with him, and split them into three divisions; and not one of them was on horseback, but each was furnished with light armour, not easily penetrable by a sword. They had axes at their sides and carried lances in their hands. They advanced like a thick-set hedge, and such a phalanx could not easily be broken. When the situation was such that two sides must meet, James Douglas, who commanded the first phalanx of the Scots, vigorously attacked the Earl of Gloucester's line. The earl withstood him manfully, once and again penetrated their wedge, and would have been victorious if he had had faithful companions. But look! At a sudden rush of Scots, the earl's horse is killed and the earl rolls to the ground. Lacking defenders, and borne down

by the weight of his body armour he could not easily arise, and of the five hundred cavalry whom he had led to battle at his own expense, he almost alone was killed. For they saw their lord unhorsed, they stood astonished and brought him no aid. Accursed be the chivalry whose courage fails in the hour of greatest need!

Alas! Twenty armed knights could have saved the earl, but among some five hundred, there was not found one. May the Lord confound them! Some said that the Earl of Gloucester had perished suddenly by reason of his rash attack. For there was rivalry between him and the Earl of Hereford, who should take precedence in the line, and the Earl of Hereford said that this was lawfully his, because he was Constable of England. Gloucester replied that his forbears had always led the van, and therefore this pertained to him by custom. While they disputed in this fashion, and the Scottish forces were approaching rapidly, the Earl of Gloucester dashed forward in disorder, seeking the glory of the first encounter; but see! The earl is met by the onrushing Scots and his horse immediately killed; because when thrown from his horse there was no one to defend him, he was pierced by many wounds and shamefully killed. Alas! Twenty armed knights could have saved the earl, but among some five hundred not one was found to help. May the Lord confound them.

Giles de Argentine, a fighting soldier and very expert in the art of war, while in command of the king's rein, watched the fate of the earl, hurried up in eager anxiety to help him, but could not. Yet he did what he could, and fell together with the earl, thinking it more honourable to perish with so great a man than to escape death by flight; for those who fall in battle for their country are known to live in everlasting glory. On the same day Robert de Clifford, Payn Tibetot, William Marshal, famous, powerful, and active knights, were overcome by the Scots and died in the field.

When those who were with our king saw that the earl's line was broken and his men ready to run, they said that it would be dangerous to tarry longer and safer for the king to retreat. At these remarks the king quitted the field, and hastened towards the castle. Moreover when the royal standard was seen to depart, the whole army quickly dispersed. Two hundred knights and more, who had neither drawn their swords nor even struck a blow, were reduced to flight.

O famous race unconquered through the ages, why do you, who used to conquer knights, flee from mere footmen? At Berwick, Dunbar, and Falkirk you carried off the victory, and now you flee from the infantry of the Scots. But whatever others may say, the hand of the Lord was not with you. Thus was Ben-hadad, a most powerful King of Syria, put to flight by the footmen of the princes of Samaria.

Thus while our people fled, following in the king's footsteps, lo! a certain ditch

entrapped many of them, and a great part of our army perished in it. The king coming to the castle and thinking to find refuge there, was repulsed as if he were the enemy; the drawbridge was raised and the gate closed. Wherefore the castellan was thought by many to be not innocent of treason, and yet that very day he was seen in armour arrayed for battle as if to fight for the king. I neither absolve the castellan nor accuse him of treachery, but I think it was God's doing that the King of England did not enter the castle, for if he had then been admitted he would never have escaped capture.

When the king saw that he was thus repulsed and that no other refuge now remained to him, he turned his steps towards Dunbar, and coming there took ship. He landed with his following at the port of Berwick. Others having no ship came by land. The knights shed their armour and fled without it; the Scots continually harassed their rear; the pursuit lasted fifty miles. Many of our men perished and many, too, were taken prisoner. For the inhabitants of the countryside, who had previously feigned peace, now slaughtered our men indiscriminately, wherefore it was proclaimed by Sir Robert Bruce that they should take prisoners and hold them ransom. So the Scots busied themselves with taking prisoner the magnates in order to extort large sums from them. There were captured the Earl of Hereford, John Giffard, John de Wyllyntone, John de Segrave, Maurice de Berkeley, undoubtedly barons of great power, and many others whom it is not necessary to specify, of whom many agreed for their ransoms and paying the money were set free. Cognizances were no advantage there, because ransom was then more difficult. Five hundred and more were thought to be dead who had been taken captive and were later ransomed. Indeed, almost all their misfortunes this at least turned to the advantage of our army, that, while our people sought safety in flight, a great part of the Scottish army was occupied in plunder, because, if all the Scots alike had been attending to the pursuit of our men, few would have escaped. So while Robert Bruce with his men attacked our baggage-train, the greater part of the the English came safe back to Berwick. Indeed I think it is unheard-of in our time for such an army to be scattered so suddenly by infantry, unless when the flower of France fell before the Flemings at Courtrai [1302], where the noble Count Robert of Artois was killed.

O day of vengeance and disaster, day of utter loss and shame, evil and accursed day, not to be reckoned in our calendar; that blemished the reputation of the English, despoiled them and enriched the Scots, in which our costly belongings were ravished to the value of £200 000! So many fine noblemen and valiant youth, so many horses, so much military equipment, costly garments and gold plate – all lost in one unfortunate day, one fleeting hour. Perchance some one will ask why the Lord smote us this day, why we succumbed to the Scots, when for the last twenty years we have always had the better of them; indeed antiquity offers an example,

and acts of the Hebrews clearly provide a parallel. Xerxes, most powerful king of the Medes, when he waged war upon the Greeks with a numerous fleet and stubborn army, 'was scarcely allowed in defeat to escape with a single ship.' Israel fighting Benjamin for the crime committed in Gibeah, trusting in numbers and courage, was twice defeated in battle, twice put to flight before Benjamin [Judges XX. 21, 25] Thus our men, who came in pride and insolence, returned in shame and rout. Assuredly the proud arrogance of our men made the Scots rejoice in victory.

The Declaration of Arbroath (1320)

From Bernard of Kilwinning, Abbot of Arbroath, *Declaratio Arbroathis*

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https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Translation:Declaration_of_Arbroath

To the most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord John, by divine providence Supreme Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, his humble and devout sons Duncan, Earl of Fife, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Man and of Annandale, Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, Malise, Earl of Strathearn, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, William, Earl of Ross, Magnus, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, and William, Earl of Sutherland; Walter, Steward of Scotland, William Soules, Butler of Scotland, James, Lord of Douglas, Roger Mowbray, David, Lord of Brechin, David Graham, Ingram Umfraville, John Menteith, guardian of the earldom of Menteith, Alexander Fraser, Gilbert Hay, Constable of Scotland, Robert Keith, Marischal of Scotland, Henry Sinclair, John Graham, David Lindsay, William Oliphant, Patrick Graham, John Fenton, William Abernethy, David Wemyss, William Mushet, Fergus of Ardrossan, Eustace Maxwell, William Ramsay, William Mowat, Alan Murray, Donald Campbell, John Cameron, Reginald Cheyne, Alexander Seton, Andrew Leslie and Alexander Straiton, and the other barons and freeholders and the whole community of the realm of Scotland send all manner of filial reverence, with devout kisses of his blessed feet.

Most Holy Father, we know and from the chronicles and books of the ancients we find that among other famous nations our own, the Scots, has been graced with widespread renown. It journeyed from Greater Scythia by way of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and dwelt for a long course of time in Spain among the most savage peoples, but nowhere could it be subdued by any people, however barbarous. Thence it came, twelve hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea, to its home in the west where it still lives today. The Britons it first drove out, the Picts it utterly destroyed, and, even though very often assailed by the Norwegians, the Danes and the English, it took possession of that home with many victories and untold efforts; and, as the histories of old time bear witness, they have held it free of all servitude ever since. In their kingdom there have reigned one

hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock, the line unbroken by a single foreigner.

The high qualities and merits of these people, were they not otherwise manifest, shine forth clearly enough from this: that the King of kings and Lord of lords, our Lord Jesus Christ, after His Passion and Resurrection, called them, even though settled in the uttermost parts of the earth, almost the first to His most holy faith. Nor did He wish them to be confirmed in that faith by merely anyone but by the first of His Apostles by calling, though second or third in rank – the most gentle Saint Andrew, the Blessed Peter's brother, and desired him to keep them under his protection as their patron for ever.

The Most Holy Fathers your predecessors gave careful heed to these things and strengthened this same kingdom and people with many favours and numerous privileges, as being the special charge of the Blessed Peter's brother. Thus our people under their protection did indeed live in freedom and peace up to the time when that mighty prince the King of the English, Edward, the father of the one who reigns today, when our kingdom had no head and our people harboured no malice or treachery and were then unused to wars or invasions, came in a guise of a friend and ally to harass them as an enemy. The deeds of cruelty, massacre, violence, pillage, arson, imprisoning prelates, burning down monasteries, robbing and killing monks and nuns and yet other outrages without number which he committed against our people, sparing neither age nor sex, religion nor rank, no-one could describe nor fully imagine unless he had seen them with his own eyes.

But from these countless evils we have been set free, by the help of Him who though He afflicts yet heals and restores, by our most tireless prince, King and lord, the lord Robert. He, that his people and his heritage might be delivered out of the hands of our enemies, bore cheerfully toil and fatigue, hunger and peril, like another Maccabaeus or Joshua. Him, too, divine providence, the succession to his right according to our laws and customs which we shall maintain to the death, and the due consent and assent of us all have made our prince and king. To him, as to the man by whom salvation has been wrought unto our people, we are bound both by his right and by his merits that our freedom may be still maintained, and by him, come what may, we mean to stand. Yet if he should give up what he has begun, seeking to make us or our kingdom subject to the King of England or the English, we should exert ourselves at once to drive him out as our enemy and a subverter of his own right and ours, and make some other man who was well able to defend us our King; *for, as long as a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours that we are fighting, but for freedom alone, which no honest man gives up but*

with life itself.

Therefore it is, Reverend Father and Lord, that we beseech your Holiness with our most earnest prayers and suppliant hearts, inasmuch as you will in your sincerity and goodness consider all this, that, since with Him Whose vice-gerent on earth you are there is neither weighing nor distinction of Jew and Greek, Scotsman or Englishman, you will look with the eyes of a father on the troubles and privations brought by the English upon us and upon the Church of God. May it please you to admonish and exhort the King of the English, who ought to be satisfied with what belongs to him; England used once to be enough for seven kings or more, to leave us Scots in peace, who live in this poor little Scotland, beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all, and covet nothing but our own. We are sincerely willing to do anything for him, having regard to our condition, that we can, to win peace for ourselves. This truly concerns you, Holy Father, since you see the savagery of the heathen raging against the Christians, as the sins of Christians have indeed deserved, and the frontiers of Christendom being pressed inward every day; and how much it will tarnish your Holiness's memory if (which God forbid) the Church suffers eclipse or scandal in any branch of it during your time, you must perceive.

Then rouse the Christian princes who for false reasons pretend that they cannot go to the help of the Holy Land because of wars they have on hand with their neighbours. The real reason that prevents them is that in making war on their smaller neighbours they find a readier advantage and weaker resistance. But how cheerfully our lord the King and we too would go there if the King of the English would leave us in peace, He from Whom nothing is hidden well knows; and we profess and declare it to you as the Vicar of Christ and to all Christendom. But if your Holiness puts too much faith in the tales the English tell and will not give sincere belief to all this, nor refrain from favouring them to our undoing, then the slaughter of bodies, the perdition of souls, and all the other misfortunes that will follow, inflicted by them on us and by us on them, will, we believe, be surely laid by the Most High to your charge.

To conclude, we are and shall ever be, as far as duty calls us, ready to do your will in all things, as obedient sons to you as His Vicar, and to Him as the Supreme King and Judge we commit the maintenance of our cause, casting our cares upon Him and firmly trusting that He will inspire us with courage and bring our enemies to nothing. May the Most High preserve you to His Holy Church in holiness and health for many days to come. Given at the monastery of Arbroath in Scotland on the sixth day of the month of April in the year of grace thirteen hundred and twenty and the fifteenth year of the reign of our King aforesaid.

The Concordat of Worms

Calixtus II and Henry V, *The Concordat of Worms*

Taken from Ernest F. Henderson, Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1910), 408–409. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

Privilege of Pope Calixtus II

I, bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do grant to thee beloved son, Henry—by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans—that the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German kingdom, who belong to the kingdom, shall take place in thy presence, without simony and without any violence; so that if any discord shall arise between the parties concerned, thou, by the counsel or judgment of the metropolitan and the co-provincials, may'st give consent and aid to the party which has the more right. The one elected, moreover, without any exaction may receive the regalia from thee through the lance, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. Be he who is consecrated in the other parts of the empire (i.e. Burgundy and Italy) shall, within six months, and without any exaction, receive the regalia from thee through the lance, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. Excepting all things which are known to belong to the Roman church. Concerning matters, however, in which thou dost make complaint to me, and dost demand aid—1, according to the duty of my office, will furnish aid to thee. I give unto thee true peace, and to all who are or have been on thy side in the time of this discord.

Edict of the Emperor Henry V

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans, for the love of God and of the holy Roman church and of our master pope Calixtus, and for the healing of my soul, do remit to God, and to the holy apostles of God, Peter and Paul, and to the holy catholic church, all investiture through ring and staff; and do grant that in all the churches that are in my kingdom or empire there may be canonical election and free consecration. All the possessions and regalia of St. Peter which, from the beginning of this discord unto this day, whether in the time of my father or also in mine, have been abstracted, and which I hold: I restore to that same holy Roman church. As to those things, moreover, which I do not hold, I will faithfully aid in their restoration. As to the possessions also of all other churches and princes, and of all other lay and clerical persons which have been lost in that war: according to the counsel of the

princes, or according to justice, I will restore the things that I hold; and of those things which I do not hold I will faithfully aid in the restoration. And I grant true peace to our master pope Calixtus, and to the holy Roman church, and to all those who are or have been on its side. And in matters where the holy Roman church shall demand aid I will grant it; and in matters concerning which it shall make complaint to me I will duly grant to it justice.

Frederick Barbarossa and the Papacy

Epistola Minor of the Council of Pavia, Feb. 5–11, 1160 A.D. (Encyclic.)

Taken from Ernest F. Henderson, Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1910), 420–434. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

Inasmuch as the turmoil in which the apostolic see has been involved has exceedingly wounded the hearts of Christians, we, who have congregated at Pavia to heal the schisms and to restore the peace of the church, have thought best fully to intimate to all of you the nature of the case and the manner of procedure and the ruling of the holy council. We do this in order that the facts shown forth simply and truly in the present writing may forcibly expel any false impressions which the hearers may have conceived, and that henceforth they may not be deceived by schismatic writings.

When, therefore, all of the Orthodox congregated at Pavia in the name of the Lord had taken their seats, the case was lawfully and canonically tried and diligently, investigated during 7 successive days. And it was sufficiently and canonically proved in the eyes of the council through capable witnesses, that, in the church of St Peter, our lord pope Victor and iao other had been elected and solemnly enmantled by the sounder part of the cardinals – at the request of the people and with the consent and at the desire of the clergy; and that, Roland the former chancellor being present and not objecting, he was placed in the chair of St Peter; and that there, by the clergy, of Rome and the cardinals, a grand Te Deum was sung to him; and that thence, wearing the stoles and other papal insignia, he was led to the palace.

And the clergy and people being asked according to custom by the notary if they agreed, replied thrice with a loud voice: " We agree."

It was proved also that Roland, on the twelfth day after the promotion of pope Victor, going forth from Rome was first enmantled at Cisterna where once the emperor Nero, an exile from the city, remained in hiding. It was proved that Roland, being interrogated by the rectors of the Roman clergy and the clergy of his cardinalate as to whether they were to obey pope Victor, – expressly confessed that

he himself had never been enmantled, and expressly said: Go and obey him whom you -shall see to be enmantled.....

Then the venerable bishops Hermann of Verden, Daniel of Prague and Otto count Palatine, and master Herbert., provost, whom the lord emperor, by the advice of 22 bishops and the Cistercian and Clairvaux abbots and other monks there present, had sent to Rome to summon the parties before the council at Pavia, gave testimony in the sight of the council that they had summoned before the presence of the church congregated at Pavia, through three edicts at intervals, peremptorily And solemnly, all secular influence being removed, Roland the chancellor and his party; and that Roland the chancellor and his party with loud voice and with their own lips manifestly declared that they were unwilling to accept any judgment or investigation from the church.....

Being sufficiently instructed, therefore, from all these things, and the truth being fully declared on both sides, it pleased the reverend council that the election of pope Victor, who, like a gentle and innocent. lamb had come to humbly receive the judgment of the church, should be approved and confirmed, and the election of Roland should be altogether cancelled. And this was done.

The election of pope Victor, then, after all secular influence had been removed and the grace of the Holy Spirit invoked, being confirmed and accepted,-the most Christian emperor, last, after all the bishops and after all the clergy, by the advice and petition of the council, accepted and approved the election of pope Victor. And, after him, all the princes and an innumerable multitude of men who were present, being asked three times if they agreed, replied, rejoicing with loud voice: "We agree."

On the following day - that is, on the first Saturday in Lent - pope Victor was lead with honour in procession from the church of St. Salvatore without the city, where he had been harboured, to the universal church. There the most holy emperor received him before the gates of the church, and, as he descended from his horse, humbly held his stirrup, and, taking, his hand, led him to the altar and kissed his feet. And all of us-the patriarch, the archbishops, bishops and abbots and all the princes as well as the whole multitude that was present-kissed the feet of the pope. And on the next day-the Sabbath, namely-a general council being held, the lord pope and we with him, with blazing candles anathematized Roland the chancellor as schismatic, and likewise his chief supporters; and we handed him over to Satan unto the death of the flesh, that his spirit might be safe at the day of the Lord.

We wish, moreover, that it be not bidden from your prudent discernment that

Roland the chancellor and certain cardinals of his following had formed a conspiracy while pope Adrian was still alive. The tenor of this conspiracy was, moreover, that if pope Adrian should happen to die while they were still living, they should elect one cardinal from those who were banded together in that conspiracy.

For the rest, on the part of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the saints, and of the orthodox men who have come together by the divine will to heal the schism, we humbly implore and admonish all of you in Christ, that, all doubt and ambiguity being removed, you will irrefragably confirm and hold fast those things which the church of God congregated at Pavia has faithfully ordained for the honour of the Creator and for the tranquillity of your mother the holy Roman church and for the salvation of all Christians. And we pray that our Redeemer Christ Jesus may long preserve the universal pontiff, our pope Victor, in whose sanctity and religion we altogether trust; and that He will grant to him all tranquillity and peace, so that, through him, Almighty God shall be honoured and the Roman church and the whole Christian religion may receive an increase pleasing to God. In order, moreover, that our action may have more weight with those who read this we have thought best to subscribe the consent and the names of all of us, I, Peregrin, patriarch of Aquileia, etc, etc,

The Mongol Dynasty

From Marco Polo, *Travels*. Chapter 45-46

Taken from Fordham Halsall IHSP. No attested translator.

Internet History Sourcebooks: Medieval Sourcebook

Concerning Chingis-khan, first emperor of the Tartars, and his warfare with Un-khan, whom he overthrew, and of whose kingdom he possessed himself.

Some time after the migration of the Tartars to this place, and about the year of our Lord 1162, they proceeded to elect for their king a man named Chingis-khan, one of approved integrity, great wisdom, commanding eloquence, and eminent for his valor. He began his reign with so much justice and moderation, that he was beloved and revered as their deity rather than their sovereign; and as the fame of his great and good qualities spread over that part of the world, all the Tartars, however dispersed, placed themselves under his command. Finding himself thus at the head of so many brave men, he became ambitious of emerging from the deserts and wildernesses by which he was surrounded, and gave them orders to equip themselves with bows, and other weapons they were expert at using from the habits of their pastoral life. He then made himself master of cities and provinces, and such was the effect produced by his character for justice and other virtues, that wherever he went, he found the people disposed to submit to him, and to esteem

themselves happy when admitted to his protection and favor. In this manner he acquired the possession of about nine provinces. Nor is his success surprising, when we consider that at this period each town and district was either governed by the people themselves or had its petty king or lord; and as there was no general confederacy, it was impossible for them to resist, separately, so formidable a power. Upon the subjugation of these places, he appointed governors to them, who were so exemplary in their conduct that the inhabitants did not suffer either in their persons or their properties. He likewise adopted the policy of taking along with him, into other provinces, the principal people, on whom he bestowed allowances and gratuities. Seeing how prosperously his enterprises succeeded, he resolved on attempting still greater things. With this view he sent ambassadors to Prester John, charged with a specious message, which he knew at the same time would not be listened to by that prince, demanding his daughter in marriage. Upon receiving the application, the monarch indignantly exclaimed: "Whence arises this presumption in Chingis-khan, who, knowing himself to be my servant, dares to ask for the hand of my child? Depart instantly," he said, "and let him know from me, that upon the repetition of such a demand, I shall put him to an ignominious death." Enraged at this reply, Chingis-khan collected a very large army, at the head of which he entered the territory of Prester John, and encamping on a great plain called Tenduk, sent a message desiring him to defend himself. The latter advanced likewise to the plain with a vast army, and took his position at the distance of about ten miles from the other. In this conjuncture Chingis-khan commanded his astrologers and magicians to declare to him which of the two armies in the approaching conflict should obtain the victory. Upon this they took a green reed, and dividing it lengthways into two parts, they wrote upon one the name of their master, and upon the other the name of Un-khan. They then placed them on the ground, at some distance from each other, and gave notice to the king that during the time of their pronouncing their incantations, the two pieces of reed, through the power of their idols, would advance towards each other, and that the victory would fall to the lot of that monarch whose piece should be seen to mount upon the other. The whole army was assembled to be spectators of this ceremony, and whilst the astrologers were employed in reading their books of necromancy, they perceived the two pieces begin to move and to approach, and after a short time, the one inscribed with the name of Chingis-khan placed itself on top of its adversary. Upon witnessing this, the king and his band of Tartars marched with exultation to the attack of the army of Un-khan, broke through its ranks and entirely routed it. Un-khan himself was killed, his kingdom fell to the conqueror, and Chingis-khan espoused his daughter. After this battle he continued during six years to render himself master of additional kingdoms and cities; until at length, in the siege of a castle named Thaigin, he was struck by an arrow in the knee, died of the wound, and was buried in the mountain of Altai.

Chapter 46

Of six successive emperors of the Tartars, and of the ceremonies that take place when they are carried for interment to the mountain of Altai.

To Chingis-khan succeeded Cyhn-khan; the third was Bathyn-khan, the fourth Esu-khan, the fifth Mongu-khan, the sixth Kublai-khan, who became greater and more powerful than all the others, inasmuch as he inherited what his predecessors possessed, and afterwards, during a reign of nearly sixty years, acquired, it may be said, the remainder of the world. The title of khan, or kaan, is equivalent to emperor in our language. It has been an invariable custom that all the grand khans and chiefs of the race of Chingis-khan should be carried for interment to a certain lofty mountain named Altai, and in whatever place they may happen to die, even if it should be at the distance of a hundred days' journey, they are nevertheless conveyed there. It is likewise the custom, during the progress of removing the bodies of these princes, for those who form the escort to sacrifice such persons as they chance to meet on the road, saying to them, "Depart for the next world, and there attend upon your deceased master," believing that all they kill do actually become his servants in the next life. They do the same also with respect to horses, killing the best of the stud, in order that he may have the use of them. When the corpse of Mongu was transported to this mountain, the horsemen who accompanied it, having this blind and horrible persuasion, slew upwards of twenty thousand persons who fell in their way.

The Mongol Conquests

From Ibn al-Athir, *On The Tatars*

Taken from Edward G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), Vol. II, pp. 427-431. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1220al-Athir-mongols.asp>

For some years I continued averse from mentioning this event, deeming it so horrible that I shrank from recording it and ever withdrawing one foot as I advanced the other. To whom, indeed, can it be easy to write the announcement of the death-blow of Islam and the Muslims, or who is he on whom the remembrance thereof can weigh lightly? O would that my mother had not born me or that I had died and become a forgotten thing ere this befell! Yet, withal a number of my friends urged me to set it down in writing, and I hesitated long, but at last came to the conclusion that to omit this matter could serve no useful purpose.

I say, therefore, that this thing involves the description of the greatest catastrophe and the most dire calamity (of the like of which days and nights are innocent) which befell all men generally, and the Muslims in particular; so that, should one say that the world, since God Almighty created Adam until now, has not

been afflicted with the like thereof, he would but speak the truth. For indeed history does not contain anything which approaches or comes near unto it. For of the most grievous calamities recorded was what Nebuchadnezzar inflicted on the children of Israel by his slaughter of them and his destruction of Jerusalem; and what was Jerusalem in comparison to the countries which these accursed miscreants destroyed, each city of which was double the size of Jerusalem? Or what were the children of Israel compared to those whom these slew? For verily those whom they massacred in a single city exceeded all the children of Israel. Nay, it is unlikely that mankind will see the like of this calamity, until the world comes to an end and perishes, except the final outbreak of Gog and Magog.

For even Antichrist will spare such as follow him, though he destroy those who oppose him, but these Tatars spared none, slaying women and men and children, ripping open pregnant women and killing unborn babes. Verily to God do we belong, and unto Him do we return, and there is no strength and no power save in God, the High, the Almighty, in face of this catastrophe, whereof the sparks flew far and wide, and the hurt was universal; and which passed over the lands like clouds driven by the wind. For these were a people who emerged from the confines of China, and attacked the cities of Turkestan, like Kashghar and Balasaghun, and thence advanced on the cities of Transoxiana, such as Samargand, Bukhara and the like, taking possession of them, and treating their inhabitants in such wise as we shall mention; and of them one division then passed on into Khurasan, until they had made an end of taking possession, and destroying, and slaying, and plundering, and thence passing on to Ray, Hamadan and the Highlands, and the cities contained therein, even to the limits of Iraq, whence they marched on the towns of Adharbayjan and Arraniyya, destroying them and slaying most of their inhabitants, of whom none escaped save a small remnant; and all this in less than a year; this is a thing whereof the like has not been heard. And when they had finished with Adharbayjan and Arraniyya, they passed on to Darband-i-Shirwan, and occupied its cities, none of which escaped save the fortress wherein was their King; wherefore they passed by it to the countries of the Lan and the Lakiz and the various nationalities which dwell in that region, and plundered, slew, and destroyed them to the full. And thence they made their way to the lands of Qipchaq, who are the most numerous of the Turks, and slew all such as withstood them, while the survivors fled to the fords and mountain-tops, and abandoned their country, which these Tatars overran. All this they did in the briefest space of time, remaining only for so long as their march required and no more.

Another division, distinct from that mentioned above, marched on Ghazna and its dependencies, and those parts of India, Sistan and Kirman which border thereon, and wrought therein deeds like unto the other, nay, yet more grievous. Now this is a thing the like of which ear has not heard; for Alexander, concerning

whom historians agree that he conquered the world, did not do so with such swiftness, but only in the space of about ten years; neither did he slay, but was satisfied that men should be subject to him. But these Tatars conquered most of the habitable globe, and the best, the most flourishing and most populous part thereof, and that whereof the inhabitants were the most advanced in character and conduct, in about a year; nor did any country escape their devastations which did not fearfully expect them and dread their arrival.

Moreover they need no commissariat, nor the conveyance of supplies, for they have with them sheep, cows, horses, and the like quadrupeds, the flesh of which they eat, naught else. As for their beasts which they ride, these dig into the earth with their hoofs and eat the roots of plants, knowing naught of barley. And so, when they alight anywhere, they have need of nothing from without. As for their religion, they worship the sun when it rises, and regard nothing as unlawful, for they eat all beasts, even dogs, pigs, and the like; nor do they recognise the marriage-tie, for several men are in marital relations with one woman, and if a child is born, it knows not who is its father.

Therefore Islam and the Muslims have been afflicted during this period with calamities wherewith no people hath been visited. These Tatars (may God confound them!) came from the East, and wrought deeds which horrify all who hear of them, and which you shall, please God, see set forth in full detail in their proper connection. And of these was the invasion of Syria by the Franks (may God curse them!) out of the West, and their attack on Egypt, and occupation of the port of Damietta therein, so that Egypt and Syria were like to be conquered by them, but for the grace of God and the help which He vouchsafed us against them, as we have mentioned under the year 614 (A.D. 1217-18). Of these, moreover, was that the sword was drawn between those who escaped from these two foes, and strife was rampant, as we have also mentioned: and verily unto God do we belong and unto Him do we return! We ask God to vouchsafe victory to Islam and the Muslims, for there is none other to aid, help, or defend the True Faith. But if God intends evil to any people, naught can avert it, nor have they any ruler save Him. As for these Tatars, their achievements were only rendered possible by the absence of any effective obstacle; and the cause of this absence was that Muhammad Khwarazmshah had overrun the lands, slaying and destroying their Kings, so that he remained alone ruling over all these countries; wherefore, when he was defeated by the Tatars, none was left in the lands to check those or protect these, that so God might accomplish a thing which was to be done.

It is now time for us to describe how they first burst forth into the lands. Stories have been related to me, which the hearer can scarcely credit, as to the terror of the Tatars, which God Almighty cast into men's hearts; so that it is said that a single

one of them would enter a village or a quarter wherein were many people, and would continue to slay them one after another, none daring to stretch forth his hand against this horseman. And I have heard that one of them took a man captive, but had not with him any weapon wherewith to kill him; and he said to his prisoner, "Lay your head on the ground and do not move," and he did so, and the Tatar went and fetched his sword and slew him therewith. Another man related to me as follows: "I was going," said he, "with seventeen others along a road, and there met us a Tatar horseman, and bade us bind one another's arms. My companions began to do as he bade them, but I said to them, 'He is but one man; wherefore, then, should we not kill him and flee?' They replied, 'We are afraid.' I said, 'This man intends to kill you immediately; let us therefore rather kill him, that perhaps God may deliver us.' But I swear by God that not one of them dared to do this, so I took a knife and slew him, and we fled and escaped." And such occurrences were many.

The Avignon Papacy

From Francesco Petrarca, *Letter to a Friend*

Taken from J. H. Robinson, Readings in European History (Boston: 1904), p. 502.

Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP. [Internet History Sourcebooks: Medieval Sourcebook](#)

...Now I am living in France, in the Babylon of the West. The sun in its travels sees nothing more hideous than this place on the shores of the wild Rhone, which suggests the hellish streams of Cocytus and Acheron. Here reign the successors of the poor fishermen of Galilee; they have strangely forgotten their origin. I am astounded, as I recall their predecessors, to see these men loaded with gold and clad in purple, boasting of the spoils of princes and nations; to see luxurious palaces and heights crowned with fortifications, instead of a boat turned downward for shelter.

We no longer find the simple nets which were once used to gain a frugal sustenance from the lake of Galilee, and with which, having labored all night and caught nothing, they took, at daybreak, a multitude of fishes, in the name of Jesus. One is stupefied nowadays to hear the lying tongues, and to see worthless parchments turned by a leaden seal into nets which are used, in Christ's name, but by the arts of Belial, to catch hordes of unwary Christians. These fish, too, are dressed and laid on the burning coals of anxiety before they fill the insatiable maw of their captors.

Instead of holy solitude we find a criminal host and crowds of the most infamous satellites; instead of soberness, licentious banquets; instead of pious pilgrimages, preternatural and foul sloth; instead of the bare feet of the apostles,

the snowy coursers of brigands fly past us, the horses decked in gold and fed on gold, soon to be shod with gold, if the Lord does not check this slavish luxury. In short, we seem to be among the kings of the Persians or Parthians, before whom we must fall down and worship, and who cannot be approached except presents be offered. O ye unkempt and emaciated old men, is it for this you labored? Is it for this that you have sown the field of the Lord and watered it with your holy blood? But let us leave the subject.

I have been so depressed and overcome that the heaviness of my soul has passed into bodily affliction, so that I am really ill and can only give voice to sighs and groans.

The Great Schism of 1378

From Jean de Froissart, Chronicle

Taken from Froissart's "Chronicles" translated by John Bouchier (Harvard Classics 1910), PDF. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

<https://archive.org/details/chroniclesoffroioofroiouft/page/216/mode/2up?q=schism>

I have not spoken for a long while on the affairs of the church, yet I should like to return to them since the matter calls for it. You have already heard it told and recounted how on the initiative of the Romans, the cardinals in office at the time, to placate the people of Rome who were greatly infuriated with them, chose a pope, appointing the archbishop of Bari whose name beforehand was Bartolomeo Prignano. After receiving the papacy he took the name Urban VI and made grants of indulgences as was customary. The intention of many cardinals was to renounce their choice collectively as soon as an occasion presented itself, because this pope was beneficial neither to them nor the church, being as he was too choleric and melancholic. When he saw himself endowed with prosperity and with the powers of the papacy, for which many Christian kings had written and declared their obedience to him, he became presumptuous and arrogant, wishing to use both force and caprice to curtail many of the rights and customary privileges of the cardinals. This displeased them intensely and they held talks together during which they said and speculated that he would never do them any good, and that he was neither deserving nor worthy of governing the world. Consequently, many proposed to elect another who would be wise and influential and by whom the church would be well administered. All of the cardinals went to great pains for this decision, particularly he who was subsequently elected pope. For the duration of an entire summer they hesitated, because those whose aim it was to appoint a new pope did not dare publicly to disclose or reveal their secret plans, such was their fear of the Romans that at the time of the papal court vacations many cardinals left

Rome and went to entertain themselves at their leisure at various locations surrounding Rome. Urban went to another city called Tivoli and remained there for a long time. During the period of these vacations, which could not last for long since there were so many clergy from different parts of the world in Rome awaiting indulgences which they had already been promised and which had already been collated, the cardinals, who were of one mind and one will, gathered to elect a pope and their choice fell on Sir Robert of Geneva, son of the count of Geneva, who had been promoted, first, bishop of Thérouanne, then archbishop of Cambrai, and who was presently called cardinal of Geneva. The majority of the cardinals were present at this election, and he took the name Clement. At that time in the country around Rome there was a highly courageous knight from Brittany called Sylvestre Budes. This man commanded more than two thousand Bretons and in past years had enjoyed many a victory over the Florentines, whom pope Gregory had made war upon and excommunicated for their rebellion, and Sylvester Budes had brought them into submission. Pope Clement and the cardinals of his faction summoned him in secret along with his men-at-arms and he marched straight into the fortified precincts around Saint Peter's and the Castel Sant'Angelo outside Rome, the better to constrain the Romans. Urban still did not dare to leave Tivoli and neither did the cardinals attached to him, not that there were many of these, for fear of the Bretons, for they were numerous and fearsome soldiers who destroyed everything they found in their way.

When the Romans found themselves in this situation and plight, they summoned German and Lombard soldiers who skirmished every day with the Bretons. Clement offered indulgences to all of the clergy who wished for them, and made his name known throughout the world. When the king of France who reigned at that time was notified of this, it came as a great surprise to him at first and he summoned his brothers and the barons of his realm, all of the high-ranking churchmen, and the rector, masters and doctors of the University of Paris, to find out which of the elections of these two popes he should endorse, the first or the more recent. No immediate decision was reached since many of the clergy were divided in their opinions. Finally however, all the high-ranking churchmen of France tended towards Clement, as did the king's brothers and the majority of the University of Paris. During these few days king Charles of France received so much guidance and information from the most learned clergy in his kingdom, that he swore obedience to pope Clement and considered him the true and rightful pope. He then issued an edict throughout his kingdom that every person should consider Clement as pope and obey him as God on earth. The king of Spain took this stance, as did the count of Savoy, the lord of Milan and the queen of Naples. The fact that the king of France supported Clement made his claim all the more valid because the realm of France is the fountain of Christianity, of excellence and of faith, in consequence of the grand churches and noble prelacies established there. Charles of Bohemia, king of Germany and emperor of Rome, was still living and resided in

Prague in Bohemia where he was informed of all of these events which came as a great shock to him. Although his German empire, with the exception of the archbishopric of Trier, believed faithfully and wholeheartedly in Urban and would not hear of any other, the emperor avoided and sidestepped the matter as long as he lived, and whenever it was spoken of in his presence he responded with such courtesy that the high-ranking churchmen and barons of his empire were satisfied. In spite of this, the churches of the empire obeyed Urban, as did the entire kingdom of England, while the kingdom of Scotland followed Clement. Count Louis of Flanders condemned Clement in parts of Brabant, Hainault, Flanders and Liège, for he desired always to remain an Urbanist and said that this pope had been mistreated. The count was so trusted and renowned in the regions he frequented that the churches and lords of the land supported his opinion. But those of Hainault (the churches and the lord, who was called Aubert, united with them) remained neutral and did not obey one or the other, for which the bishop of Cambrai, named Jan who was in office at that time, lost Hainault and the revenues from his benefice. At that time pope Clement sent the cardinal of Poitiers, a prudent, wise and courageous man, to regions of France, Hainault, Flanders and Brabant to instruct and preach to the people, for he had been present at the first election and could explain how they had been forced to make the archbishop of Bari pope.

The king of France, his brothers and the high-ranking churchmen of France welcomed him with kindness and listened attentively to his words, which seemed to them to be entirely credible and consequently increased their devotion. When he had been in France for as long as he pleased, he moved on to Hainault where he was graciously received by duke Aubert, and in Brabant by the duke and duchess, but achieved nothing more there. He thought to call at Liège but he was so strongly advised against it that he did not go. And so he returned to Tournai and stayed there with the intention of visiting Flanders to speak with the count, but he did not go because he was informed on behalf of the count that it would be a pointless exercise, for he considered Urban as pope and would always stand by this belief in life and death. So the cardinal of Poitiers left Tournai and travelled to Valenciennes and from there to Cambrai where he remained for a long time in the hope of hearing good news. Thus were the kingdoms of Christendom divided because the churches held opposing views regarding the two popes. Urban retained the majority but the most profitable in terms of revenues and complete obedience fell to Clement. And so with the consent of the cardinals Clement sent to have the palace prepared for him at Avignon, as it was his intention to proceed there as soon as he possibly could.

The Black Death

From Giovanni Boccaccio, *Introduction to the Decameron*

Taken from M. Rigg, trans. (London: David Campbell, 1921), Vol. 1, pp. 5-11. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/boccacio2.asp>

I say, then, that the years of the beatific incarnation of the Son of God had reached the tale of one thousand three hundred and forty eight, when in the illustrious city of Florence, the fairest of all the cities of Italy, there made its appearance that deadly pestilence, which, whether disseminated by the influence of the celestial bodies, or sent upon us mortals by God in His just wrath by way of retribution for our iniquities, had had its origin some years before in the East, whence, after destroying an innumerable multitude of living beings, it had propagated itself without respite from place to place, and so calamitously, had spread into the West.

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

Not such were they as in the East, where an issue of blood from the nose was a manifest sign of inevitable death; but in men a women alike it first betrayed itself by the emergence of certain tumors in the groin or the armpits, some of which grew as large as a common apple, others as an egg, some more, some less, which the common folk called gavoccioli. From the two said parts of the body this deadly gavocciolo soon began to propagate and spread itself in all directions indifferently; after which the form of the malady began to change, black spots or livid making their appearance in many cases on the arm or the thigh or elsewhere, now few and large, then minute and numerous. And as the gavocciolo had been and still were an infallible token of approaching death, such also were these spots on whomsoever they shewed themselves. Which maladies seemed set entirely at naught both the art of the physician and the virtue of physic; indeed, whether it was that the disorder

was of a nature to defy such treatment, or that the physicians were at fault – besides the qualified there was now a multitude both of men and of women who practiced without having received the slightest tincture of medical science – and, being in ignorance of its source, failed to apply the proper remedies; in either case, not merely were those that covered few, but almost all within three days from the appearance of the said symptoms, sooner or later, died, and in most cases without any fever or other attendant malady.

Moreover, the virulence of the pest was the greater by reason the intercourse was apt to convey it from the sick to the whole, just as fire devours things dry or greasy when they are brought close to it, the evil went yet further, for not merely by speech or association with the sick was the malady communicated to the healthy with consequent peril of common death; but any that touched the clothes the sick or aught else that had been touched, or used by these seemed thereby to contract the disease.

So marvelous sounds that which I have now to relate, that, had not many, and I among them, observed it with their own eyes, I had hardly dared to credit it, much less to set it down in writing, though I had had it from the lips of a credible witness.

I say, then, that such was the energy of the contagion of the said pestilence, that it was not merely propagated from man to man, but, what is much more startling, it was frequently observed, that things which had belonged to one sick or dead of the disease, if touched by some other living creature, not of the human species, were the occasion, not merely of sickening, but of an almost instantaneous death. Whereof my own eyes (as I said a little before) had cognisance, one day among others, by the following experience. The rags of a poor man who had died of the disease being strewn about the open street, two hogs came thither, and after, as is their wont, no little trifling with their snouts, took the rags between their teeth and tossed them to and fro about their chaps; whereupon, almost immediately, they gave a few turns, and fell down dead, as if by poison, upon the rags which in an evil hour they had disturbed.

In which circumstances, not to speak of many others of a similar or even graver complexion, divers apprehensions and imaginations were engendered in the minds of such as were left alive, inclining almost all of them to the same harsh resolution, to wit, to shun and abhor all contact with the sick and all that belonged to them, thinking thereby to make each his own health secure. Among whom there were those who thought that to live temperately and avoid all excess would count for much as a preservative against seizures of this kind. Wherefore they banded together, and dissociating themselves from all others, formed communities in houses where there were no sick, and lived a separate and secluded life, which they

regulated with the utmost care, avoiding every kind of luxury, but eating and drinking moderately of the most delicate viands and the finest wines, holding converse with none but one another, lest tidings of sickness or death should reach them, and diverting their minds with music and such other delights as they could devise. Others, the bias of whose minds was in the opposite direction, maintained, that to drink freely, frequent places of public resort, and take their pleasure with song and revel, sparing to satisfy no appetite, and to laugh and mock at no event, was the sovereign remedy for so great an evil: and that which they affirmed they also put in practice, so far as they were able, resorting day and night, now to this tavern, now to that, drinking with an entire disregard of rule or measure, and by preference making the houses of others, as it were, their inns, if they but saw in them aught that was particularly to their taste or liking; which they, were readily able to do, because the owners, seeing death imminent, had become as reckless of their property as of their lives; so that most of the houses were open to all comers, and no distinction was observed between the stranger who presented himself and the rightful lord. Thus, adhering ever to their inhuman determination to shun the sick, as far as possible, they ordered their life. In this extremity of our city's suffering and tribulation the venerable authority of laws, human and divine, was abased and all but totally dissolved for lack of those who should have administered and enforced them, most of whom, like the rest of the citizens, were either dead or sick or so hard bested for servants that they were unable to execute any office; whereby every man was free to do what was right in his own eyes.

Not a few there were who belonged to neither of the two said parties, but kept a middle course between them, neither laying the same restraint upon their diet as the former, nor allowing themselves the same license in drinking and other dissipations as the latter, but living with a degree of freedom sufficient to satisfy their appetite and not as recluses. They therefore walked abroad, carrying in the hands flowers or fragrant herbs or divers sorts of spices, which they frequently raised to their noses, deeming it an excellent thing thus to comfort the brain with such perfumes, because the air seemed to be everywhere laden and reeking with the stench emitted by the dead and the dying, and the odours of drugs.

Some again, the most sound, perhaps, in judgment, as they were also the most harsh in temper, of all, affirmed that there was no medicine for the disease superior or equal in efficacy to flight; following which prescription a multitude of men and women, negligent of all but themselves, deserted their city, their houses, their estates, their kinsfolk, their goods, and went into voluntary exile, or migrated to the country parts, as if God in visiting men with this pestilence in requital of their iniquities would not pursue them with His wrath wherever they might be, but intended the destruction of such alone as remained within the circuit of the walls of the city; or deeming perchance, that it was now time for all to flee from it, and

that its last hour was come.

Of the adherents of these divers opinions not all died, neither did all escape; but rather there were, of each sort and in every place many that sickened, and by those who retained their health were treated after the example which they themselves, while whole, had set, being everywhere left to languish in almost total neglect. Tedious were it to recount, how citizen avoided citizen, how among neighbors was scarce found any that shewed fellow-feeling for another, how kinsfolk held aloof, and never met, or but rarely; enough that this sore affliction entered so deep into the minds of men a women, that in the horror thereof brother was forsaken by brother nephew by uncle, brother by sister, and oftentimes husband by wife: nay, what is more, and scarcely to be believed, fathers and mothers were found to abandon their own children, untended, unvisited, to their fate, as if they had been strangers. Wherefore the sick of both sexes, whose number could not be estimated, were left without resource but in the charity of friends (and few such there were), or the interest of servants, who were hardly to be had at high rates and on unseemly terms, and being, moreover, one and all, men and women of gross understanding, and for the most part unused to such offices, concerned themselves no further than to supply the immediate and expressed wants of the sick, and to watch them die; in which service they themselves not seldom perished with their gains. In consequence of which dearth of servants and dereliction of the sick by neighbors, kinsfolk and friends, it came to pass-a thing, perhaps, never before heard of-that no woman, however dainty, fair or well-born she might be, shrank, when stricken with the disease, from the ministrations of a man, no matter whether he were young or no, or scrupled to expose to him every part of her body, with no more shame than if he had been a woman, submitting of necessity to that which her malady required; wherefrom, perchance, there resulted in after time some loss of modesty in such as recovered. Besides which many succumbed, who with proper attendance, would, perhaps, have escaped death; so that, what with the virulence of the plague and the lack of due attendance of the sick, the multitude of the deaths, that daily and nightly took place in the city, was such that those who heard the tale-not to say witnessed the fact-were struck dumb with amazement. Whereby, practices contrary to the former habits of the citizens could hardly fail to grow up among the survivors.

It had been, as to-day it still is, the custom for the women that were neighbors and of kin to the deceased to gather in his house with the women that were most closely connected with him, to wail with them in common, while on the other hand his male kinsfolk and neighbors, with not a few of the other citizens, and a due proportion of the clergy according to his quality, assembled without, in front of the house, to receive the corpse; and so the dead man was borne on the shoulders of his peers, with funeral pomp of taper and dirge, to the church selected by him

before his death. Which rites, as the pestilence waxed in fury, were either in whole or in great part disused, and gave way to others of a novel order. For not only did no crowd of women surround the bed of the dying, but many passed from this life unregarded, and few indeed were they to whom were accorded the lamentations and bitter tears of sorrowing relations; nay, for the most part, their place was taken by the laugh, the jest, the festal gathering; observances which the women, domestic piety in large measure set aside, had adopted with very great advantage to their health. Few also there were whose bodies were attended to the church by more than ten or twelve of their neighbors, and those not the honorable and respected citizens; but a sort of corpse-carriers drawn from the baser ranks, who called themselves becchini and performed such offices for hire, would shoulder the bier, and with hurried steps carry it, not to the church of the dead man's choice, but to that which was nearest at hand, with four or six priests in front and a candle or two, or, perhaps, none; nor did the priests distress themselves with too long and solemn an office, but with the aid of the becchini hastily consigned the corpse to the first tomb which they found untenanted. The condition of the lower, and, perhaps, in great measure of the middle ranks, of the people shewed even worse and more deplorable; for, deluded by hope or constrained by poverty, they stayed in their quarters, in their houses where they sickened by thousands a day, and, being without service or help of any kind, were, so to speak, irredeemably devoted to the death which overtook them. Many died daily or nightly in the public streets; of many others, who died at home, the departure was hardly observed by their neighbors, until the stench of their putrefying bodies carried the tidings; and what with their corpses and the corpses of others who died on every hand the whole place was a sepulchre.

It was the common practice of most of the neighbors, moved no less by fear of contamination by the putrefying bodies than by charity towards the deceased, to drag the corpses out of the houses with their own hands, aided, perhaps, by a porter, if a porter was to be had, and to lay them in front of the doors, where any one who made the round might have seen, especially in the morning, more of them than he could count; afterwards they would have biers brought up or in default, planks, whereon they laid them. Nor was it once twice only that one and the same bier carried two or three corpses at once; but quite a considerable number of such cases occurred, one bier sufficing for husband and wife, two or three brothers, father and son, and so forth. And times without number it happened, that as two priests, bearing the cross, were on their way to perform the last office for some one, three or four biers were brought up by the porters in rear of them, so that, whereas the priests supposed that they had but one corpse to bury, they discovered that there were six or eight, or sometimes more. Nor, for all their number, were their obsequies honored by either tears or lights or crowds of mourners rather, it was come to this, that a dead man was then of no more account than a dead goat would be to-day.

The Crecy Campaign (1346)

From Jean de Froissart, *Chronicle*

From G. C. Macaulay, ed., *The Chronicles of Froissart, Lord Berners, trans.* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), pp. 104–105. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

The Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. The first, which was the prince's battle, the archers there stood in manner of a herse and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and [he] said to his marshals: "Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis." There were of the Genoways crossbows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their crossbows, that they said to their constables: "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest." These words came to the earl of Alencon, who said: "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also the same season there fell a great rain and aclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyes and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great [shout] and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoways again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly, again they lept and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly [together] and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads arms and breasts, many of them cast down their crossbows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men at arms dash in among them and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest

press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, an many fell, horse and men, among the Genoways, and when they were down, they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that on overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Bohemia called Charles of Luxembourg, son to the noble emperor Henry of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to the about him: "Where is the lord Charles my son?" His men said: "Sir we cannot tell; we think he be fighting." Then he said: "Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey: I require you bring me so far forward, that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who wrote himself king of Almaine and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle; but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king his father was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly and so did his company; and they adventured themselves so forward, that they were there all slain; and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other. *** [The contingent led by the king's son, the Black Prince, was hard pressed in the fighting.] Then the second battle of the Englishment came to succour the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king: "Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, sir Raynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado." Then the king said: "Is my son dead or hurt or on the earth felled?" "No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive: and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him."

The Epitaph of Edward, “Black Prince” of Wales

From Translation by John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631

Taken from [Archive.org](https://www.archive.org/details/ancientfuneralmonuments/1631), [J. Weever, Funerall Monuments](https://www.archive.org/details/ancientfuneralmonuments/1631)

Who so thou be that passeth by,
Where these corps entombed lie:
Understand what I shall say
As at this time speak I may.

Such as thou art, some time was I,
Such as I am , such shalt thou be.
I little thought on the hour of death
So long as I enjoyed breath.

Great riches here I did possess
Whereof I made great nobleness.
I had gold, silver, wardrobes and
Great treasure, horses, houses, land.

But now a caitiff poor am I
Deep in the ground, lo here I lie
My beauty great is all quite gone,
My flesh is wasted to the bone.

My house is narrow now and throng,
Nothing but Truth comes from my tongue:
And if ye should see me this day
I do not think but ye would say
That I had never been a man;
So much altered now I am.
For God's sake pray to the heavenly King
That he my soul to heaven would bring,
All they that pray and make accord
For me until my God and Lord:
God place him in his Paradise,
Wherein no wretched caitiff lies.

Here Edward, Prince of Wales, wretched caitiff, lies for all time, as a supplicant for human prayers and divine mercy.

The Last Duel

From Jean de Froissart, *Chronicle* (c. 1390)

Taken from "Chronicles of Froissart" translated by John Bourchier, Lord Berners. Edited by: G.C. Macaulay. Harvard Classics: P. F. Collier & Son Company. New York, 1910. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

[Froissart: The Life-and-Death Duel Between James le Gris and John de Carogne](#)

About this period, there was much conversation in France respecting a duel which was to be fought, for life or death, at Paris. It had been thus ordered by the parliament of Paris, where the cause, which had lasted a year, had been tried, between a squire called James le Gris and John de Carogne, both of them of the household of Peter, count d'Alençon, and esteemed by him; but more particularly James le Gris, whom he loved above all others, and placed his whole confidence in him. As this duel made so great a noise, many from distant parts, on hearing of it, came to Paris to be spectators. I will relate the cause, as I was then informed.

It chanced that Sir John de Carogne took it into his head that he should gain glory if he undertook a voyage to the Holy Land, having long had an inclination to go thither. He took leave of his lord, the count d'Alençon, and of his wife, who was then a young and handsome lady, and left her in his castle, called Argenteil, on the borders of Perche, and began his journey towards the sea-side. The lady remained, with her household, in this castle, living in the most decent manner. Now it happened (this is the matter of quarrel) that the devil, by divers and perverse temptations, entered the body of James le Gris, and induced him to commit a crime, for which he afterwards paid. He cast his thoughts on the lady of sir John de Carogne, whom he knew to be residing with her attendants, at the castle of Argenteil. One day, therefore, he set out, mounted on the finest horse of the count, and arrived, full gallop, at Argenteil, where he dismounted. The servants made a handsome entertainment for him, because they knew he was a particular friend, and attached to the same lord as their master; and the lady, thinking him no ill, received him with pleasure, led him to her apartment, and shewed him many of her works. James, fully intent to accomplish his wickedness, begged of her to conduct him to the dungeon, for that his visit was partly to examine it. The lady instantly complied, and led him thither; for, as she had the utmost confidence in his honour, she was not accompanied by valet or chambermaid. As soon as they had entered the dungeon, James le Gris fastened the door unnoticed by the lady, who was before him, thinking it might have been the work of the wind, as he gave her to

understand.

When they were thus alone, James embraced her, and discovered what his intentions were: the lady was much astonished, and would willingly have escaped had she been able, but the door was fastened; and James, who was a strong man, held her tight in his arms, and flung her down on the floor, and had his will of her. Immediately afterward, he opened the door of the dungeon, and made himself ready to depart. The lady, exasperated with rage at what had passed, remained silent, in tears; but, on his departure, she said to him, -- "James, James, you have not done well in thus deflowering me: the blame, however, shall not be mine, but the whole be laid on you, if it please God my husband ever return." James mounted his horse, and, quitting the castle, hastened back to his lord, the count d'Alençon, in time to attend his rising at nine o'clock: he had been seen in the hôtel of the count at four o'clock that morning. I am thus particular, because all these circumstances were inquired into, and examined by the commissioners of the parliament, when the cause was before them.

The lady de Carogne, on the day this unfortunate event befell her, remained in her castle, and passed it off as well as she could, without mentioning one word of it to either chambermaid or valet, for she thought by making it public she would have more shame than honour; but she retained in her memory the day and hour James le Gris had come to the castle. The lord de Carogne returned from his voyage, and was joyfully received by his lady and household, who feasted him well.

When night came, sir John went to bed, but his lady excused herself; and, on his kindly pressing her to come to him, she walked very pensively up and down the chamber. At last, when the household were in bed, she flung herself on her knees at his bedside, and bitterly bewailed the insult she had suffered. The night would not believe it could have happened; but at length, she urged it so strongly, he did believe her, and said, "Certainly, lady, if the matter has passed as you say, I forgive you, but the squire shall die; and I shall consult your and my relations on the subject: should you have told me a falsehood, never more shall you live with me." The lady again and again assured him, that what she had said was the pure truth.

On the morrow, the knight sent special messengers with letters to his friends and nearest relations of his wife, desiring them to come instantly to Argenteil, so that in a few days they were all at his castle. When they were assembled, he led them into an apartment, and told them the reasons of his sending for them, and made his lady relate most minutely everything that had passed during his absence. When they had recovered their astonishment, he asked their advice how to act: they said, he should wait on his lord, the count d'Alençon, and tell him the fact. This lie did; but the count, who much loved James le Gris, disbelieved it, and appointed a

day for the parties to come before him, and desired the lady might attend to give her evidence against the man whom she thus accused. She attended as desired, accompanied by a great number of her relations; and the examinations and pleadings were carried on before the count to a great length.

James le Gris boldly denied the charge, declared it was false, and wondered much how he could have incurred such mortal hatred from the lady. He proved by the household of the count, that he had been seen in the castle at four o'clock in the morning: the count said, that he was in his bedchamber at nine o'clock, and that it was quite impossible for any one to have ridden three-and-twenty leagues and back again, and do what he was charged with, in four hours and a half. The count told the lady he would support his squire, and that she must have dreamed it. He commanded, that henceforward all should be buried in oblivion, and, under pain of incurring his displeasure, nothing farther done in the business.

The knight, being a man of courage, and believing what his wife had told him, would not submit to this, but went to Paris and appealed to the parliament. The parliament summoned James le Gris, who replied, and gave pledges to obey whatever judgment the parliament should give. The cause lasted upwards of a year, and they could not any way compromise it, for the knight was positive, from his wife's information, of the fact, and declared, that since it was now so public, he would pursue it until death. The count d'Alençon, for this, conceived a great hatred against the knight, and would have had him put to death, had he not placed himself under the safeguard of the parliament. It was long pleaded, and the parliament at last, because they could not produce other evidence than herself against James le Gris, judged it should be decided in the tilt-yard, by a duel for life or death. The knight, the squire, and the lady, were instantly put under arrest until the day of this mortal combat, which, by order of parliament, was fixed for the ensuing Monday, in the year 1387; at which time the king of France and his barons were at Sluys, intending to invade England.

The king, on hearing of this duel, declared he would be present at it. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and the constable of France, being also desirous of seeing it, agreed it was proper he should be there. The king, in consequence, sent orders to Paris to prolong the day of the duel, for that he would be present. This order was punctually obeyed, and the king and his lords departed for France. The king kept the feast of the Calends at Arms, and the duke of Burgundy at Lille. In the mean time, the men at arms made for their different homes, as had been ordered by the marshals; but the principal chiefs went to Paris, to witness the combat. When the king of France was returned to Paris, lists were made for the champions in the place of St. Catherine, behind the Temple; and the lords had erected on one side scaffolds, the better to see the sight. The crowd of people was wonderful. The two champions entered the lists armed at all points, and each was seated in a chair

opposite the other; the count de St. Pol directed sir John de Carogne, and the retainers of the count d'Alençon James le Gris.

On the knight entering the field, he went to his lady, who was covered with black and seated on a chair, and said, "Lady, from your accusation, and in your quarrel, am I thus adventuring my life to combat James le Gris: you knew whether my cause be loyal and true." "My lord," she replied "it is so; and you may fight securely, for your cause is good."

The lady remained seated, making fervent prayers to God and the Virgin, entreating humbly, that through her grace and intercession, she might gain the victory according to her right. Her affliction was great, for her life depended on the event; and, should her husband lose the victory, she would have been burnt, and he would have been hanged. I am ignorant, for I never had any conversation with her or the knight, whether she had not frequently repented of having pushed matters so far as to place herself and husband in such peril; but it was now too late, and she must abide the event.

The two champions were then advanced, and placed opposite to each other; when they mounted their horses, and made a handsome appearance, for they were both expert men at arms. They ran their first course without hurt to either. After the tilting, they dismounted, and made ready to continue the fight. They behaved with courage; but sir John de Carogne was, at the first onset, wounded in the thigh, which alarmed all his friends: notwithstanding this, he fought so desperately that he struck down his adversary, and, thrusting his sword through the body, caused instant death; when he demanded of the spectators if he had done his duty: they replied that he had.

The body of James le Gris was delivered to the hangman, who dragged it to Montfaucon, and there hanged it. Sir John de Carogne approached the king and fell on his knees: the king made him rise, and ordered one thousand francs to be paid him that very day: he also retained him of his household, with a pension of two hundred livres a-year, which he received as long as he lived. Sir John, after thanking the king and his lords, went to his lady and kissed her: they went together to make their offering in the church of Nôtre Dame, and then returned to their home.

The Hollow Crown

From William Shakespeare, *Richard II*

Taken from Poetry Foundation website,

[Speech: "No matter where; of comfort no man..."](#)

(from Richard II, spoken by King Richard)
No matter where; of comfort no man speak:
Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;
Make dust our paper and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth,
Let's choose executors and talk of wills:
And yet not so, for what can we bequeath
Save our deposed bodies to the ground?
Our lands, our lives and all are Bolingbroke's,
And nothing can we call our own but death
And that small model of the barren earth
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.
For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings;
How some have been deposed; some slain in war,
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed;
Some poison'd by their wives: some sleeping kill'd;
All murder'd: for within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps Death his court and there the antic sits,
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,
To monarchize, be fear'd and kill with looks,
Infusing him with self and vain conceit,
As if this flesh which walls about our life,
Were brass impregnable, and humor'd thus
Comes at the last and with a little pin
Bores through his castle wall, and farewell king!
Cover your heads and mock not flesh and blood
With solemn reverence: throw away respect,
Tradition, form and ceremonious duty,
For you have but mistook me all this while:
I live with bread like you, feel want,
Taste grief, need friends: subjected thus,
How can you say to me, I am a king?

The Battle of Agincourt

From Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *The Chronicles*

Taken from "The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet", translated by Thomas Johnes (London, 1840), vol. 1. Sourced through Fordham Halsall IHSP and De Re Militari

[Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Battle of Agincourt, 1415 » De Re Militari](#)

On the ensuing day, which was Friday the 25th of October, in the year 1415, the constable and all the other officers of the king of France, the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Bar, and Alencon; the counts de Nevers, d'Eu, de Richemonte, de Vendome, de Marle, de Vaudemont, de Blaumonte, de Salines, de Grand Pre, de Roussy, de Dampmartin, and in general all the other nobles and men-at-arms, put on their armour and sallied out of their quarters. Then, by the advice of the constable and others of the king of France's council, the army was formed into three divisions, the vanguard, the main body, and the rearguard. The van consisted of about eight thousand helmets, knights, esquires, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred crossbows. This was commanded by the constable, having with him the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu and de Richemonte, the marshal Boucicaut, the master of the crossbows, the lord de Dampierre admiral of France, Sir Guichart Dauphin, and some others. The count de Vendome, and others of the king's officers, were to form a wing of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, to fall on the right flank of the English; and another wing, under the command of sir Clugnet de Brabant, admiral of France, sir Louis Bourdon, and eight hundred picked men-at-arms, was to attack the left flank: with this last were included, to break in on the English archers, sir William de Savenses, with his brothers sir Hector and sir Philippe, Ferry de Mailly, Aliaume de Gaspamines, Allain de Vendome, Lamont de Launoy, and many more. The main battalion was composed of an equal number of knights, esquires, and archers, as the van, and commanded by the dukes of Bar and Alencon, the counts de Nevers, de Vaudemont, de Blallmont, de Salines, de Grand-pre, and de Roussy. The rearguard consisted of the surplus of men-at-arms, under the orders of the counts de Marle, de Dampmartin, de Fauquembergh, and the lord de Louvroy, governor of Ardres, who had led thither the garrisons on the frontiers of the Boulonois.

When these battalions were all drawn up, it was a grand sight to view; and they were, on a hasty survey, estimated to be more than six times the number of the English. After they had been thus arranged, they seated themselves by companies as near to their own banners as they could, to wait the coming of the enemy; and

while they refreshed themselves with food, they made up all differences that might before have existed between any of them. In this state they remained until between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, no way doubting, from their numbers, but the English must fall an easy prey to them. Some, however, of the wisest of them had their fears, and dreaded the event of an open battle.

The English on that morning, perceiving that the French made no advances to attack them, refreshed themselves with meat and drink. After calling on the Divine aid against the French, who seemed to despise them, they dislodged from Maisoncelles, and sent some of their light troops in the rear of the town of Agincourt, where, not finding any men-at-arms, in order to alarm the French they set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George at Hesdin. On the other hand, the king of England dispatched about two hundred archers to the rear of his army, with orders to enter the village of Tramecourt secretly, and to post themselves in a field near the van of the French, there to remain quiet until it should be proper time for them to use their bows. The rest of the English remained with king Henry, and were shortly after drawn up in battle array by sir Thomas Erpingham, a knight grown grey with age and honour, who placed the archers in front, and the men-at-arms behind them. He then formed two wings of men-at-arms and archers, and posted the horses with the baggage in the rear. Each archer planted before himself a stake sharpened at both ends.

Sir Thomas, in the name of the king, exhorted them all most earnestly to defend their lives, and thus saying he rode along their ranks attended by two persons. When all was done to his satisfaction, he flung into the air a truncheon which he held in his hand, crying out, "Nestrocque!" and then dismounted, as the King and the others had done. When the English saw sir Thomas throw up his truncheon, they set up a loud shout, to the very great astonishment of the French. The English seeing the enemy not inclined to advance, marched toward them in handsome array, and with repeated huzzas, occasionally stopping to recover their breath. The archers, who were hidden in the field, echoed these shouts, at the same time discharging their bows, while the English army kept advancing upon the French.

Their archers, amounting to at least thirteen thousand, let off a shower of arrows with all their might, and as high as possible, so as not to lose their effect: they were, for the most part, without any armour, and in jackets, with their hose loose, and hatchets or swords hanging to their girdles; some indeed were barefooted and without hats. The princes with the king of England were the duke of York, his uncle, the earls of Dorset, Oxford, Suffolk, the earl marshal, the earl of Kent, the lords Cambré, Beaumont, Willoughby, sir John de Cornwall, and many other powerful barons of England.

When the French observed the English thus advance, they drew up each under his banner, with his helmet on his head: they were, at the same time, admonished by the constable, and others of the princes, to confess their sins with sincere contrition and to fight boldly against the enemy. The English loudly sounded their trumpets as they approached, and the French stooped to prevent the arrows hitting them on the visors of their helmets; thus the distance was now but small between the two armies, although the French had retired some paces. Before, however, the general attack commenced, numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English bowmen. At length the English gained on them so much, and were so close, that excepting the front line, and such as had shortened their lances, the enemy could not raise their hands against them. The division under sir Clugnet de Brabant, of eight hundred men-at-arms, who were intended to break through the English archers, were reduced to seven score, who vainly attempted it. True it is, that sir William de Saveuses, who had been also ordered on this service, quitted his troop, thinking they would follow him, to attack the English, but he was shot dead from off his horse. The others had their horses so severely handled by the archers, that, smarting from pain, they galloped on the van division and threw it into the utmost confusion, breaking the line in many places. The horses were become unmanageable, so that horses and riders were tumbling on the ground, and the whole army was thrown into disorder, and forced back on some lands that had been just sown with corn. Others, from fear of death, fled; and this caused so universal a panic in the army that great part followed the example.

The English took instant advantage of the disorder in the van division, and, throwing down their bows, fought lustily with swords, hatchets, mallets, and bill-hooks, slaying all before them. Thus they came to the second battalion that had been posted in the rear of the first; and the archers followed close king Henry and his men-at-arms. Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in obedience to the summons of the king of France, threw himself with a small company (for, to make greater haste, he had pushed forward, leaving the main body of his men behind), between the wreck of the van and the second division; but he was instantly killed by the English, who kept advancing and slaying, without mercy, all that opposed them, and thus destroyed the main battalion as they had done the first. They were, from time to time, relieved by their varlets, who carried off the prisoners; for the English were so intent on victory, that they never attended to making prisoners, nor pursuing such as fled. The whole rear division being on horseback, witnessing the defeat of the two others, began to fly, excepting some of its principal chiefs.

During the heat of the combat, when the English had gained the upper hand and made several prisoners, news was brought to king Henry that the French were attacking his rear, and had already captured the greater part of his baggage and

sumpter-horses. This was indeed true, for Robinet de Bournouville, Rifart de Clamasse, Ysambart d'Agincourt, and some other men-at-arms, with about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon and taken great part of the king's baggage and a number of horses, while the guard was occupied in the battle. This distressed the king very much, for he saw that though the French army had been routed they were collecting on different parts of the plain in large bodies, and he was afraid they would renew the battle. He therefore caused instant proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that every one should put his prisoners to death, to prevent them from aiding the enemy, should the combat be renewed. This caused an instantaneous and general massacre of the French prisoners, occasioned by the disgraceful conduct of Robinet de Bournouville, Ysambart d'Agincourt, and the others, who were afterward punished for it, and imprisoned a very long time by duke John of Burgundy, notwithstanding they had made a present to the count de Charolois of a most precious sword, ornamented with diamonds, that had belonged to the king of England. They had taken this sword, with other rich jewels, from king Henry's baggage, and had made this present, that, in case they should at any time be called to an account for what they had done, the count might stand their friend.

The count de Marle, the count de Fauquemberg, the lords de Louvroy and du Chin, had with some difficulty retained about six hundred men-at-arms, with whom they made a gallant charge on the English; but it availed nothing, for they were all killed or made prisoners. There were other small bodies of French on different parts of the plain; but they were soon routed, slain, or taken. The conclusion was a complete victory on the part of the king of England, who only lost about sixteen hundred men of all ranks; among the slain was the duke of York, uncle to the king. On the eve of this battle, and the following morning, before it began, there were upwards of five hundred knights made by the French.

When the king of England found himself master of the field of battle, and that the French, excepting such as had been killed or taken, were flying in all directions, he made the circuit of the plain, attended by his princes; and while his men were employed in stripping the dead, he called to him the French herald, Montjoye, king-at-arms, and with him many other French and English heralds, and said to them, "It is not we who have made this great slaughter, but the omnipotent God, and, as we believe, for a punishment of the sins of the French." He then asked Montjoye, to whom the victory belonged; to him, or to the king of France? Montjoye replied, that the victory was his, and could not be claimed by the king of France. The king then asked the name of the castle he saw near him: he was told it was called Agincourt. "Well then," added he, "since all battles should bare the names of the fortress nearest to the spot where they were fought, this battle shall, from henceforth, bare the ever durable name of Agincourt."

The English remained a considerable time on the field, and seeing they were delivered from their enemies, and that night was approaching, they retreated in a body to Maisoncelles, where they had lodged the preceding night: they again fixed their quarters there, carrying with them many of their wounded. After they had quitted the field of battle, several of the French, half dead and wounded, crawled away into an adjoining wood, or to some villages, as well as they could, where many expired. On the morrow, very early, king Henry dislodged with his army from Maisoncelles, and returned to the field of battle: all the French they found there alive were put to death or made prisoners. Then, pursuing their road toward the seacoast, they marched away: three parts of the army were on foot, sorely fatigued with their efforts in the late battle, and greatly distressed by famine and other wants. In this manner did the king of England return, without any hindrance, to Calais, rejoicing at his great victory, and leaving the French in the utmost distress and consternation at the enormous loss they had suffered.

Account of St. Joan of Arc

From Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *The Chronicles*

Taken from The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, translated by Thomas Johnes (London, 1840) volume 1. Sourced through Fordham Halsall IHSP and De Re Militari

The English captains had continued their siege of Orleans about seven months, and had much straitened it by their batteries and towers, of which they had erected not less than sixty. The besieged, sensible of the peril they were in of being conquered, resolved to defend themselves to the last, and sent to king Charles for reinforcements of men, and a supply of stores and provision. From four to five hundred combatants were first sent; but they were followed by seven thousand more, who escorted a convoy of provision up the river Loire. With these last came Joan, the Maid, who had already done some acts that had increased her reputation. The English attempted to cut off this convoy; but it was well defended by the Maid and those with her, and brought with safety to Orleans, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who made good cheer, and were rejoiced at its safe arrival and the coming of the Maid.

On the morrow, which was a Thursday, Joan rose early, and addressing herself to some of the principal captains, prevailed on them to arm, and follow her, for she wished, as she said, to attack the enemy, being fully assured they would be vanquished. These captains and other warriors, surprised at her words, were induced to arm and make an assault on the tower of St. Loup, which was very strong, and garrisoned with from three to four hundred English. They were, notwithstanding the strength of the blockhouse, soon defeated, and all killed or made prisoners, and the fortification was set on fire and demolished. The Maid,

having accomplished her purpose, returned with the nobles and knights who had followed her to the town of Orleans, where she was greatly feasted and honoured by all ranks. The ensuing day she again made a sally, with a certain number of combatants, to attack another of the English forts, which was as well garrisoned as the former one, but which was in like manner destroyed by fire, and those within put to the sword. On her return to the town after this second exploit, she was more honoured and respected than ever.

On the next day, Saturday, she ordered the tower at the end of the bridge to be attacked. This was strongly fortified, and had within it the flower of the English chivalry and men-at-arms, who defended themselves for a long time with the utmost courage; but it availed them nothing, for by dint of prowess they were overcome, and the greater part put to the sword. On this occasion were slain, a valiant English captain named Classendach, the lord Molins, the bailiff of Evreux, and many more warriors of great and noble estate.

The Maid, after this victory, returned to Orleans with the nobles who had accompanied her, and with but little loss of men. Notwithstanding that at these three attacks Joan was, according to common fame, supposed to have been the leader, she had with her all the most expert and gallant captains who for the most part had daily served at this siege of Orleans, mention of whom has been before made. Each of these three captains exerted himself manfully at these attacks, so that from six to eight thousand combatants were killed or taken, while the French did not lose more than one hundred men of all ranks.

The ensuing Sunday, the English captains, namely, the earl of Suffolk, lord Talbot, lord Scales and others, seeing the destruction of their forts, and the defeat of their men, resolved, after some deliberation, to form the remains of their army into one body, march out of their camp, and wait prepared for any engagement, should the enemy be willing to offer them battle, otherwise they would march away in good order for such towns as were under their obedience. This resolution they instantly executed on Sunday morning, when they abandoned their forts, setting fire to several, and drew up in battle-array, expecting the French would come to fight with them; but they had no such intentions, having been exhorted to the contrary by Joan the Maid. The English, having waited a considerable time for them, in vain, marched away, lest their forces might be further diminished, without prospect of success.

The townsmen of Orleans were greatly rejoiced on seeing themselves, by their dishonourable retreat, delivered from such false and traitorous enemies, who had for so long a time kept them in the utmost danger. Many men at arms were dispatched to examine the remaining forts, in which they found some provision,

and great quantities of other things, all of which were carried safely to the town, and made good cheer of, for they had cost them nothing. The whole of these castles were soon burnt, and razed to the ground, so that no men at arms, from whatever country they might come, should ever lodge in them again.

The Turks and the Fall of Constantinople

From Nicolo Barbaro, *Journal of the Fall of Constantinople*

Taken from John Melville-Jones, translator (New York, 1969). Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP and De Re Militari.

The Siege of Constantinople in 1453, according to Nicolo Barbaro » De Re Militari

On the first of May, and on the second, there was no activity by sea or on land, except for the continual bombardment and skirmishing and much shouting according to the custom of the Turks. The city was in great distress because of a growing lack of provisions, particularly of bread, wine and other things necessary to sustain life.

On the third of May a plan was made to plant two fairly large cannon by one of the water gates near the cannon of the fleet in the basin, the same ones that sank the fusta, and so our cannon bombarded the Turkish fuste and gave them some discomfort by their fire. When the Turks saw that our cannon were sinking their fuste, and also that many of their men were being killed by our shots, they decided to prevent our cannon from being able to harm them; they placed three large cannon near their fleet of fuste, which were near ours, and kept up a continuous bombardment day and night, and caused much damage here because the cannon were so close to each other. This cannon fire on both sides lasted about ten days both day and night continuously, but neither side could be put out of action, because our cannon were within the walls, and theirs were well protected with breastworks, and the distance the cannon had to carry was half a mile. During this violent fighting, the Most Serene Emperor Constantine said to our captains: "Captains and nobles of Venice, you see clearly that your Signoria of Venice is not sending a fleet to help me and my unfortunate city and so it will be a good thing to make ready to send a gripo in the direction of Negropont, to meet your Venetian fleet." And at once on the third of May a bregantino was equipped with twelve men, to go out through the Dardanelles as far as the archipelago, and there see if they could see any sign of our fleet; and if they found it, they were to tell its captain Jacomo Loredan to come quickly to Constantinople, because the city was still being held strongly by the Christians, and to come cheerfully without any fear of the Turkish fleet. The bregantino left on the third of the month in the middle of the night, and when it went outside the harbour boom, all the men on board were

dressed as Turks, and they raised as ensign the flag of the Turkish Sultan, and in the name of God they went sailing on freely without any difficulty, and went as far as the archipelago, and could see nothing of our fleet or any place where they might have been. When the sailors on the gripo saw that there was no sign of our fleet, they discussed what they should do, and took different sides, and one of them said to the rest, "My brothers, you see clearly, that when we left Constantinople a general attack by the Turks was expected at any moment, and you see that the city will be completely overrun by the faithless Turks, because we left it poorly supplied with men of action; and so, my brothers, I say that we should go as quickly as possible to some Christian land, because I know very well that by this time the Turks will have captured Constantinople." His companions on the bregantino answered and said to him, "But see, brother, the Emperor has sent us to do this thing, which we have done, and so we wish to return to Constantinople; whether it is in the hands of the Turks or of the Christians, and whether we go to death or to life, let us go on our way." And so they did, and returned to Constantinople safe and sound and found the city still being held by the Emperor. When they reached the city, they made their report to the Emperor, saying that they had not found the Venetian fleet. At this point the Most Serene Emperor began to weep bitterly for grief, because the Venetians had not sent help; and when the Emperor saw this he decided to put himself in the hands of our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, and of His Mother Madonna Saint Mary, and of Saint Constantine, Defender of his City, for them to guard it, "Since the whole of Christendom has been unwilling to help me against this faithless Turk, the enemy of Christendom."

On the fifth of May, the wicked and evil Turks went and placed great cannon on the top of the hill above Pera, and with these cannon they began to fire over Pera at our fleet, which lay by the boom. They continued this bombardment for several days, firing stones of two hundred pounds weight each, and the third shot which was fired sent to the bottom a Genoese ship of three hundred butte, which was loaded with silk, wax and other goods to the value of twelve thousand ducats, and it went straight to the bottom, so that neither the masthead nor the hull of the ship appeared, and a number of men on board were drowned. When the Turks saw this ship sink as a result of their cannon fire, because they had sunk it at only the third shot, they began to feel very confident, and thought that in a few days they would have sunk the whole of the Christian fleet with their cannon. But when the damage which the cannon were doing became clear in our fleet, we decided to unfasten the harbour boom, with the intention of moving only the ships, and these moved close to the walls of Pera so that cannon fire could not harm them, being ten ships, and our galleys did the same. While these ships and galleys were hugging the walls of Pera the Turks kept up their bombardment. Great damage was done and the men there were in fear of their lives, because every shot caused some casualties on our galleys, some shots killing as many as four men, others two, and hardly a single one

failing to find a victim as they smashed into the galleys and the ships. This bombardment lasted for several days, and altogether did great harm. Afterwards the Turks moved them away, and put them on a point opposite a part of Constantinople called the Chinigo, and here they kept up a heavy cannon fire, but thanks be to God, this did no harm. After this the Sultan had them taken away from there and brought them up with the others to bombard the city walls.

...On the seventh of May, at the fourth hour of the night, there came under the walls of the city about thirty thousand Turks in very good order bringing a number of rams with the intention of treacherously entering the city, because we did not expect an attack to take place. But the Eternal Lord gave help and strength to our men, and they bravely drove them back, with great cursing and heavy losses on their part, and many of them were killed, a great number in fact.

The same night we heard on the ships the wild shouting which these cursed pagans made around the walls of the poor city, shouting which truly was heard as far as the coast of Anatolia, twelve miles from the Turkish camp, and when we heard it, we were quite sure that now they were trying to make a general attack, and with the sound of their castanets and their tambourines, it was a thing not to be believed, except by those who heard it; and as I have said previously, since we in the ships believed that they were going to make an attack that night, at once we stood to our arms and all bravely went to our posts, in the ships and on the galleys. The land battle lasted until the seventh hour of the night, no more than three hours. But the Turkish fleet showed no inclination to move, because they were afraid of our fleet which lay at the boom ready to meet them; so nothing else happened at sea that day, and on land there was no further movement for the rest of the night. But as soon as the Turks had gone away from the place where the fighting had been, and because they realized that they had not been able to do anything, they made another plan, and went with great shouts and threw fire at the gate of the palace, and quickly set it alight, and as soon as it caught fire, our men ran there, and beat them back, and blocked up that gate in the wall. Also on this day the ships went back to be by the boom, having previously left this place for fear of the cannon fire, and gone near the walls of Pera, and they guarded the boom as they had done previously.

On the eighth of May, we held a Council of the Twelve, and a vote was taken to land all the goods in Constantinople that were on the galleys from Tana and to sink these three galleys in the Emperor's arsenal, and when this vote was taken to unload these galleys and the unloading was about to begin, suddenly the crews leaped with their swords to the ports of the galleys, saying, "Let us see the man who will take the cargoes from these galleys! We know, that where our property is, there our homes are also, and we also know that as soon as we have unloaded these

galleys and sunk them in the arsenal, at once the Greeks will keep us in their city by force as their slaves, whereas now we are at liberty either to go or to stay. So it would be better to give up unloading the galleys and place ourselves under the mercy of our Lord God, for Him to settle this matter, and for everything to happen as He wills, and for Him to do with us as He pleases; because we know, and see clearly, that no Christian who finds himself at present in this miserable city, will be able to escape the fury of this cursed pagan, and we shall all meet in the end at the point of a Turkish sword. So we of the galleys have decided to die here on the galleys, which are our home, and we will not die on land.” This protest of the crews was so effective that they stayed on the galleys, and so the captain of the galleys felt very confident and stayed in his galleys by the palisade of Pera with all the crews. But all through this day, the Turks never stopped bombarding the walls of the city by San Romano with their big cannon and with all the other ones.

On the ninth of May we held a Council of the Twelve, and a vote was taken in this Council that Cabriel Trivixan, captain of the two galleys, should go on land by the city walls with forty men from his own galley, and disarm his two long galleys and leave them in charge of Aluvixe Diedo, captain of the galleys of Tana, and Cabriel Trivixan obeyed the orders given him by the Council and disarmed his galleys, and went on land to the walls with four hundred men from the galleys, and these stayed, as I have said previously, in the charge of Aluvixe Diedo.

On the tenth of May we held a Council of the Twelve, using the Church of Santa Maria of Constantinople for the purpose:

“Considering that in the present danger it is a praiseworthy thing to make provision for action by sea, and since everyone sees clearly that the fleet of these faithless Turks is very strong and powerful in opposition to our own, and since in this harbour of Constantinople and Pera there are ships, galleys and other vessels of various nations and from various places; in order that matters may proceed in an orderly fashion in the battles which will have to be fought at sea, and in order that we Christians may have victory and honour in this world against the Turks, a vote will be taken by authority of this Council, that the noble Aluvixe Diedo, captain of the galleys of Tana, should be made captain general at sea of the fleet which is at present in the harbour, and that the said captain shall have complete power to give orders concerning all the vessels in the harbour.”

...On the twelfth of May at midnight there came to the walls of the palace fifty thousand Turks well ordered, and these Turkish dogs surrounded the whole palace with fierce cries according to their custom, and with sounds of castanets and tambourines; and on this night they made a strong attack against the walls of the palace, so that the majority of those in the city thought that night that the city was

lost. But our merciful Lord Jesus Christ did not wish that the city should be lost so cheaply that night, and also God wished the prophecy to be fulfilled. This prophecy was made by Saint Constantine, the first Emperor to hold Constantinople, and he prophesied that Constantinople should never be lost, until the moon rose darkened when it was at the full, that is, lacking the half of it; so the present time was not that at which the city was to be lost, although it is true that its destruction and the loss of the empire which belonged to it was drawing near.

...On the fourteenth (the events described above took place on the thirteenth) of May at the third hour, the Turkish Sultan had the cannon moved, which had been placed on the hill of Pera, and up to that time had been bombarding our fleet; the stones which these cannon fired at our fleet were counted, and were two hundred and twelve in number, all of a weight of at least two hundred pounds each. And after taking these cannon from the hill of Pera, he placed them at a point where they could fire at a gate called the Chinigo, a place near the palace of the Most Serene Emperor. The Turks fired their cannon a great deal, but were not able to do any harm, and so they took these cannon away from that point, and put them by the city walls close to the others to bombard the city by San Romano, where the weakest part of the city was; and day and night these cannon did not cease from firing at the unfortunate walls, breaking down large portions of them, while we in the city were engaged day and night in making good repairs where the walls were broken, with barrels and brushwood and earth and whatever else was needed for this, so that they were as strong as they had been originally, and we had no fear that the Turks would break them down. At this gate, which was more damaged than the others, we had placed for the greater security of the place three hundred fully armed men in good order, all foreigners with not a Greek among them, because the Greeks were cowards, and these three hundred men had with them some good cannon and good guns and a large number of crossbows and other equipment.

...On the sixteenth of May at about the twenty-second hour, several Turkish bregantini separated themselves from their fleet which was at the Columns. These bregantini came at full speed towards the harbour boom, and we Christians who were at the boom awaited them with great pleasure, thinking that they were Christians who had escaped from the Turkish fleet and wanted to come to us for greater safety; but when they came near the boom, they let loose several shots at the ships which were there, and those of us who were on board, when we saw this happen so deliberately, decided to counter-attack with our bregantini; and when the Turks saw that we were counter-attacking, they began to make their escape, with our men pursuing them and nearly catching up with them. They were almost upon the Turks, when they hurriedly took to their oars and escaped to their fleet, and our vessels returned inside the harbour boom, and nothing else happened by sea on this day.

On this day, the sixteenth of May, there took place on land the following events. The Turks had dug a mine, to get into the city under the walls, and the mine was discovered on this day. The Turks had begun to dig it half a mile from the city walls, and it passed under the foundations; but our men in the city heard them working at night, with the digging of this mine, which had already passed under the foundations of the walls. As soon as this noise was heard, the Megaduke at once informed the Most Serene Emperor of it, and he was told of the stage which the mine had reached. The Emperor wondered greatly at this, and quickly arranged for action to be taken about the mine. At once a search was made throughout the city for all the men experienced in mining, and when they were found, they were sent for by the Megaduke, who had them dig a mine inside the city, to find the Turkish one, and one tunnel met the other in such a way that ours found theirs, and our men were prepared for this, and quickly threw fire into theirs and burned all the props supporting it, so that the earth collapsed on top of the Turks and suffocated those who were in the mine or they were burned in the fire. This mine was at a place called Calegaria, and the Turks put it there because there were no barbicans. It caused great fear in the city, because it was thought that the Turks might make an attack any night by way of their mines, although on this occasion they were discomfited. Nothing else happened on this day, except for a great deal of cannon fire in the usual way, and such shouting that the very air seemed to be splitting apart.

On the seventeenth of May, an hour before sunset, five fuste approached the harbour boom, to see in what condition our fleet was, and how they were ordered, and to see if we were afraid of them; and when our men saw these five fuste approaching the boom, at once those on the ships began to fire their cannon at them. Altogether those in Constantinople and those on the ships and on the galleys fired more than seventy shots, but unfortunately none of them scored a direct hit, and the Turkish fuste, seeing this cannon fire, decided to retreat to their own fleet, which was anchored at the Columns, and there they reported to their captain what they had seen of our fleet, and from that time onwards the Turks were in great fear of us at sea. On this day nothing else happened by sea, although there was much cannon fire on land and a little skirmishing, but nothing worthy of note, except that everyone on land was in a state of great fear, expecting a general attack from day to day, as a result of which everyone expected to be enslaved by the Turks, as in fact did happen.

On the eighteenth of May at night the Turks built a very fine tower in the following way. All through the night a great number of them were working away, and in the one night they made a tower built on the lip of the ditch and reaching higher than the walls of the barbicans, near a place called Cresca. This tower was

made in such a way that no one would have believed that it could be done, and no work of this kind had ever been done by pagans before, nor so well constructed. In fact, I tell you, that if all the Christians in Constantinople had wished to build anything on such a scale, they could not have done it in a month, but these did it in a single night. This notable tower was ten paces distant from the main walls of the city, and on the walls there gathered a great number of armed men, all amazed at this tower, and although I said that it was built in a single night, in fact it was built in less than four hours. They built it so quickly that those on the walls who were guarding the place did not realise that it was being built, except that in the morning they saw it finished, and were very frightened when they saw what had been done. When they had inspected this remarkable piece of work, they went instantly to tell the Most Serene Emperor that it had been built. At once the Emperor came with his nobles to see this wonderful thing, and when they saw it they were like men struck dead for fear, and as a result they were continually afraid that this tower might cause the city to be lost, because it overtopped the barbicans.

The tower was built in the following way. First of all there was a framework of strong beams, protected all around with camel skins which covered it, and inside it was half full of earth, and with earth around it outside half way up, so that cannon or gunfire could not harm it, or crossbow bolts, and they had put hurdles outside and over everything else, with camel skins covering them; and they had also made a road to their camp, a good half mile in length, beginning from the tower, and on both sides of it, and over the top there was a double layer of hurdles and over them camel skins, so that they could go from the tower to the camp under cover without being in any danger from guns or crossbow bolts or fire from the smaller cannon; and the Turks inside the tower were excavating earth and casting it into the ditch, and kept on heaping up earth in this way. They heaped up so much earth that they overtopped the walls of the barbicans, and this tower was of great assistance to them in gaining the city. When the Turks in the camp had made this remarkable tower, and filled all the ditch with earth where it was necessary, they thought that they had made a great advance, and on this day nothing else happened at sea or on land, by day or by night. But, it is true, on this day the Turks shot a great number of arrows into the city from the place where the tower was, firing them, it seemed, from sheer high spirits, while our men were all very sad and fearful.

On the nineteenth of May these cursed Turks, full of every wickedness, set about making and finishing a bridge across the harbour from the neighbourhood of Pera to Constantinople, by the palisade, made of large barrels tied together, with long beams laid across and fastened tightly to make a fine strong bridge. They kept it ready in this form to stretch across the harbour when a general attack was made, to make their attack more effective, and also to make, our men spread themselves around the city, to give themselves a great chance of success on the landward side

where the walls had been damaged by cannon fire. If the bridge had been stretched across the harbour before the general attack, a single cannon shot would have broken it and made it useless, but as I have said, the principal purpose of it was to make our men spread themselves around the walls. It would have stretched to the Chinigo gate, but it never was stretched across, because the Turks never needed to do so. This was all that happened on this day by sea and on land, except that on land the cannon fire continued by day and by night, with sections of wall being continually knocked to the ground, while our men all the while made good repairs with barrels and earth to make them as strong as they had been before. Also the Turks fired innumerable arrows and shots, and day after day we suffered the fire of these and their bombardment and their usual shouting.

On the twentieth of May there were hardly any attacks or skirmishings by sea or on land, except for the usual cannon fire which continually brought stretches of the walls down to the ground, while we Christians quickly repaired the damage with barrels and withes and earth to make them as strong as they had been before. Men and women, the old and the young and the priests, all worked together at these repairs because of the urgency of the matter, since they had to be strong: the cannon would have stripped the whole of the city of its defences, except that when the shots struck, they landed in the repaired sections which were of earth. The cannon were very large, but one was of exceptional size, throwing a ball twelve hundred pounds in weight, and when it fired the explosion made all the walls of the city shake, and all the ground inside, and even the ships in the harbour felt the vibrations of it. Because of the great noise, many women fainted with the shock which the firing of it gave them. No greater cannon than this one was ever seen in the whole pagan world, and it was this that broke down such a great deal of the city walls. Nothing further happened on this day.

On the twenty-first of May, two hours before daybreak, the whole of the Turkish fleet which was anchored at the Columns got under way, and came rowing vigorously as far as the harbour boom, sounding their castanets and tambourines with great energy to frighten us. And when they were near the boom they came to a stop close to the harbour, and we sailors waited bravely for them to make an attack on our fleet. We were all well armed and well equipped, particularly the ten ships which were at the boom, which were very well equipped and well ordered in preparation for a Turkish attack. It seemed as if they would attack, in spite of the large number of armed men on board our ships; but just as their vessels were coming near the boom, the whole city began to sound an alarm, thinking that this day they intended to make a general attack. The tocsin was sounded and the whole city rushed to arms, and everyone went to stand at his post where he had been placed by the Most Serene Emperor. When the Turkish fleet saw that ours was so well ordered, and heard the alarm signal sounded throughout the whole city, they

had second thoughts and suddenly turned around and returned to the Columns where they had been anchored previously. So two hours after sunrise there was complete calm on both sides, as if no attack by sea had taken place. At noon on this day in the city we found a mine by the Calegaria which the Turks had dug under the foundations of the walls and into the city, with the intention of breaking in and surprising us one night; but it was not very dangerous. When our men discovered this tunnel, they went and threw fire into it, and the Turks outside realised that we were intending to set fire to it, and lit a fire on their side, so that it was being burned out from both directions. The result was that we won the tunnel with honour for ourselves, and there was no further danger there. Also on this day the Turks bombarded the poor walls terribly and knocked down great stretches of them, and one section of tower, and we made good repairs quickly with barrels and other things, so that we had a great deal to do by sea and on land, and in the evening we were completely exhausted with all our troubles.

On the twenty-second of May, at the hour of Compline, we found a tunnel at the Calegaria which the Turks had dug under the foundations of the walls and into the city, near the one which had been discovered on the previous day and dug in the same way, and our men threw fire into it and burned it bravely with much honour for us. Several Turks were burned inside it, who were caught inside and could not get out quickly enough. Also on this same day there was discovered another tunnel in the same place, at the Calegaria, where there are no barbicans. This tunnel was difficult to find, but by the grace of God it was granted that it should collapse of its own accord, killing all the Turks inside. To make clear the way in which they worked, these tunnels were dug into the earth, and the men made their way with the earth being supported above with stout props of good wood until they reached the foundations of the city, and then they were dug under the foundations and came up again inside the city, and this was the way in which they dug their tunnels.

On this same day, the twenty-second of May, at the first hour of the night, there appeared a wonderful sign in the sky, which was to tell Constantine the worthy Emperor of Constantinople that his proud empire was about to come to an end, as it did. The sign was of this form and condition: at the first hour after sunset the moon rose, being at this time at the full, so that it should have risen in the form of a complete circle; but it rose as if it were no more than a three-day moon, with only a little of it showing, although the air was clear and unclouded, pure as crystal. The moon stayed in this form for about four hours, and gradually increased to a full circle, so that at the sixth hour of the night it was fully formed. When we Christians and the pagans had seen this marvelous sign, the Emperor of Constantinople was greatly afraid of it, and so were all his nobles, because the Greeks had a prophecy which said that Constantinople would never fall until the full moon should give a sign, and this was the reason for the fear which the Greeks felt. But the Turks made

great festivity in their camp for joy at the sign, because they believed that now victory was in their hands, as in truth it was.

On the twenty-third day of May at daybreak a tunnel was discovered at the Calegaria, near the place where the others had been found, and for your information, this Calegaria is near the Emperor's palace. When we found this tunnel, we threw fire into it straight away, and it all caught fire quickly, and as it burned it collapsed at once, suffocating a number of Turks who were in it. Two of them were brought out from the tunnel alive, who were the men in charge of it. These two men were tortured by the Greeks and made known the whereabouts of the other tunnels, and after they had given this information, their heads were cut off, and their bodies thrown over the walls on the side of the city where the Turkish camp was; and when they saw these Turks thrown down from the walls, they were very angry, and felt great hatred for the Greeks and for us Italians. Also on this same day, an hour before daybreak, a bregantino which was to all appearances Turkish, came sailing up the Dardanelles, and it was the one which had been sent to the archipelago to meet our fleet and tell it to come with all speed, since Constantinople was still being strongly defended. The Turkish fleet, which was anchored at the Columns, saw this brig come rowing strongly, and thought that it was the vanguard of our fleet, because they knew perfectly well that it was not a Turkish vessel, and so they left the Columns and rowed towards it. But when they saw the brig reach the boom, which was opened for it, and it entered the harbour safely, they all turned back again and anchored in their usual position. Meanwhile, the men in our fleet were all at their posts, armed in the usual way, in case the Turkish fleet attacked the boom, and we stayed in this way until an hour and a half after daybreak, when we finally put down our weapons. Little else happened on this day, except that in the city there was a general alarm, to call people together at the harbour for fear of the Turkish fleet, as I have said. There was also a great bombardment of the city walls, and some sections of wall were knocked down, and we quickly repaired them, so this day was one of great labour and troubles, both by sea and on the side of the city which faced the enemy.

On the twenty-fourth of May at midday a tunnel was discovered at the Calegaria, near the others, and these wicked Turks had put half a tower on props and about ten paces of wall, to throw fire inside, and get into the city. But our Lord God did not wish us to suffer such an evil at this time, and did not wish the city to be taken in this way. When the Greeks had found this latest tunnel, they began to dig at once, and walled it up straight away, and make everything as strong as before, so that there was nothing more to be feared there. This day the Turks made frenzied attacks on the city walls with cannon fire and gunfire and countless arrows, so that we had a very bad day indeed. By sea we had no trouble, but

nevertheless we stood to our arms for fear of their fleet, in case it should make an attack on us without warning.

On the twenty-fifth of May at the hour of Vespers, another tunnel was discovered in the same area of the Calegaria near the first tunnels. It was a strong one and might have been very dangerous indeed, because they had put props underneath a piece of the wall, and when they set fire to their tunnel it would have collapsed, and after this the Turks would quite certainly have been able to get into the city and take it without difficulty. This was the last tunnel which they dug, and the last to be discovered, and it was the most dangerous of any of the tunnels which were found. On this same day the Turks bombarded the walls of the city heavily and knocked down a great deal of them, and we quickly made them good with repairs of barrels and earth; also they fired innumerable arrows. By sea, the Turkish fleet made no movement, and neither did ours, except that on the ships and on the galleys we stood to our arms day and night.

On the twenty-sixth of May, an hour after sunset, the Turks set fires blazing brightly through the whole of their camp. Every tent in their camp lit two fires of great size, and the light from them was so strong that it seemed as if it were day. These fires burned until midnight, and the Sultan had them lit in the camp to encourage his men, because the time was coming for the destruction of the city, and for making a general attack. As the pagans made their fires, they shouted in their Turkish fashion, so that it seemed as if the very skies would split apart. The whole city was in a state of panic, and everyone was in tears and praying to God and to the Virgin Mary that we should escape the fury of the pagans. I cannot describe the damage done on this day by the cannon to the walls at San Romano, particularly by the big cannon, so that at this time our suffering were great, and we were very fearful. By sea nothing happened worthy of note, except that we saw the fleet assembling.

...On the twenty-eighth of May the Turkish Sultan had instructions given to the sound of the trumpet throughout his camp, that under pain of death, all his pashas and their lieutenants, and all the rest of his captains and men of any other condition who had the Turks as their rulers, should be ready at their posts all day, because tomorrow he intended to make a general attack on the wretched city. When these orders had been passed through the camp, they all went quickly to their posts with as much speed as possible, but all the rest of the day from dawn until nightfall the Turks did nothing except bring very long ladders to the walls, in order to make use of them on the next day, which was to be the climax of the attack. There were about two thousand of these ladders, and after these they brought up a

great number of hurdles to protect the men who were to raise the ladders up to the walls. When this had been done, the Turks went sounding trumpets through their camp, and castanets and tambourines, to encourage the people there, saying: "Children of Mahomet, be of good cheer. Tomorrow we shall have so many Christians in our hands, that we shall sell them into slavery at two for a ducat, and we shall have such riches that we shall be all of gold, and from the beards of the Greeks we shall make leashes to tie up our dogs, and their wives and their sons shall be slaves; so be of good cheer, children of Mahomet, and be ready to die with a stout heart for love of our Mahomet." And in this way the pagans went about their camp giving encouragement. After this, they had an order cried throughout their camp, that every Turk under pain of death should stand, and move, and do everything as ordered by his officers. As evening came on all the Turks went in good order to their posts with their weapons, and great mountains of arrows; and by the time the evening had come, they had all reached their positions, all of a good heart and eager to join battle, and all praying to their Mahomet to help them to victory. This day they bombarded the poor walls so heavily that it was a thing not of this world, and this they did because it was the day for ending the bombardment. On this day we Christians made seven cartloads of mantelets to put on the battlements on the landward side. When these mantelets had been made, they were brought to the piazza, and the Bailo ordered the Greeks to carry them at once to the walls. But the Greeks refused to do so unless they were paid, and there was an argument that evening, because we Venetians were willing to pay cash to those who carried them, and the Greeks did not want to pay. When at last the mantelets were taken to the walls, it was dark, and they could not be put on the battlements for the attack, and we did not have the use of them, because of the greed of the Greeks. At midday the Bailo ordered that everyone who called himself a Venetian should go to the walls on the landward side, for the love of God and for the sake of the city and for the honour of the Christian faith, and that everyone should be of good heart and ready to die at his post. And everyone with a good heart obeyed the orders of the Bailo, and we put ourselves in order as best we could, and in the same way we put the fleet in order, particularly the harbour boom and all the ships and galleys.

The Turkish Sultan also rode with ten thousand horsemen to his fleet at the Columns, to see what condition they were in, and to put them in order for the general attack on the next day, and he made arrangements with his admiral for the way in which they should attack. When this had been done, the Sultan proceeded to make merry with his admiral and all his officers, and they all got drunk together according to their custom. Then the Sultan returned to his camp, and continued to make merry at his post. All this day the tocsin was sounded in the city, to make everyone take up their posts, and women, and children too, carried stones to the walls, to put them on the battlements so that they could be hurled down upon the Turks; and everyone went weeping through the city from the great fear of them

which they had. One hour after dark, the Turks in their camp began to light a terrifying number of fires, much greater than they had lit on the two previous nights, but worse than this, it was their shouting which was more than we Christians could bear; and together with their shouting, they fired a great number of cannon and guns, and hurled stones without number, so that to us it seemed to be a very inferno. Their celebrations and festivities lasted until midnight, and then the fires died out, and all this day and night the pagans were praying to their Mahomet that he should give them victory and the capture of this city of Constantinople, and we Christians all through the day and night prayed to God and to His Mother, the Madonna Saint Mary, and to all the Saints in the heavens, praying tearfully to them that they should give us the victory, and that we should escape the fury of these wicked pagans. And when each side had prayed for victory, they to their god and we to ours, our God in Heaven determined with His Mother which of us should be successful in this battle which was to be so fierce, and was to be concluded on the following day.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the last day of the siege, our Lord God decided, to the sorrow of the Greeks, that He was willing for the city to fall on this day into the hands of Mahomet Bey the Turk son of Murat, after the fashion and in the manner described below; and also our eternal God was willing to make this decision in order to fulfill all the ancient prophecies, particularly the first prophecy made by Saint Constantine, who is on horseback on a column by the Church of Saint Sophia of this city, prophesying with his hand and saying, "From this direction will come the one who will undo me," pointing to Anatolia, that is Turkey. Another prophecy which he made was that when there should be an Emperor called Constantine son of Helen, under his rule Constantinople would be lost, and there was another prophecy that when the moon should give a sign in the sky, within a few days the Turks would have Constantinople. All these three prophecies had come to pass, seeing that the Turks had passed into Greece, there was an Emperor called Constantine son of Helen, and the moon had given a sign in the sky, so that God had determined to come to this decision against the Christians and particularly against the Empire of Constantinople, as you shall hear.

On the twenty-ninth of May, 1453, three hours before daybreak, Mahomet Bey son of Murat the Turk came himself to the walls of Constantinople to begin the general assault which gained him the city. The Sultan divided his troops into three groups of fifty thousand men each: one group was of Christians who were kept in his camp against his will, the second group was of men of a low condition, peasants and the like, and the third group was of janissaries in their white turbans, these being all soldiers of the Sultan and paid every day, all well-armed men strong in battle, and behind these janissaries were all the officers, and behind these the Turkish Sultan. The first group, which was the Christians, had the task of carrying

the ladders to the walls, and they tried to raise the ladders up, and at once we threw them to the ground with the men who were raising them, and they were all killed at once, and we threw big stones down on them from the battlements, so that few escaped alive; in fact, anyone who approached beneath the walls was killed. When those who were raising up the ladders saw so many dead, they tried to retreat towards their camp, so as not to be killed by the stones, and when the rest of the Turks who were behind saw that they were running away, at once they cut them to pieces with their scimitars and made them turn back towards the walls, so that they had the choice of dying on one side or the other; and when this first group was killed and cut to pieces, the second group began to attack vigorously. The first group was sent forward for two reasons, firstly because they preferred that Christians should die rather than Turks, and secondly to wear us out in the city; and as I have said, when the first group was dead or wounded, the second group came on like lions unchained against the walls on the side of San Romano; and when we saw this fearful thing, at once the tocsin was sounded through the whole city and at every post on the walls, and every man ran crying out to help; and the Eternal God showed us His mercy against these Turkish dogs, so that every man ran-to ward off the attack of the pagans, and they began to fall back outside the barbicans. But this second group was made up of brave men, who came to the walls and wearied those in the city greatly by their attack. They also made a great attempt to raise ladders up to the walls, but the men on the walls bravely threw them down to the ground again, and many Turks were killed. Also, our crossbows and cannon kept on firing into their camp at this time and killed an incredible number of Turks.

When the second group had come forward and attempted unsuccessfully to get into the city, there then approached the third group, their paid soldiers the janissaries, and their officers and their other principal commanders, all very brave men, and the Turkish Sultan behind them all. This third group attacked the walls of the poor city, not like Turks but like lions, with such shouting and sounding of castanets that it seemed a thing not of this world, and the shouting was heard as far away as Anatolia, twelve miles away from their camp. This third group of Turks, all fine fighters, found those on the walls very weary after having fought with the first and second groups, while the pagans were eager and fresh for the battle; and with the loud cries which they uttered on the field, they spread fear through the city and took away our courage with their shouting and noise. The wretched people in the city felt themselves to have been taken already, and decided to sound the tocsin through the whole city, and sounded it at all the posts on the walls, all crying at the top of their voices, "Mercy! Mercy! God send help from Heaven to this Empire of Constantine, so that a pagan people may not rule over the Empire!" All through the city all the women were on their knees, and all the men too, praying most earnestly and devotedly to our omnipotent God and His Mother Madonna Saint Mary, with all the sainted men and women of the celestial hierarchy, to grant us victory over this

pagan race, these wicked Turks, enemies of the Christian faith. While these supplications were being made, the Turks were attacking fiercely on the landward side by San Romano, by the headquarters of the Most Serene Emperor and all his nobles, and his principal knights and his bravest men, who all stayed by him fighting bravely. The Turks were attacking, as I have said, like men determined to enter the city, by San Romano on the landward side, firing their cannon again and again, with so many other guns and arrows without number and shouting from these pagans, that the very air seemed to be split apart; and they kept on firing their great cannon which fired a ball weighing twelve hundred pounds, and their arrows, all along the length of the walls on the side where their camp was, a distance of six miles, so that inside the barbicans at least eighty camel-loads of them were picked up, and as many as twenty camel-loads of those which were in the ditch. This fierce battle lasted until daybreak.

Our men of Venice did marvels of defence in the part where the bastion was, where the Turks were concentrating their attack, but it was useless, since our eternal God had already made up His mind that the city should fall into the hands of the Turks; and since God had so determined, nothing further could be done, except that all we Christians who found ourselves at this time in the wretched city should place ourselves in the hands of our merciful Lord Jesus Christ and of His Mother, Madonna Saint Mary, for them to have mercy on the souls of those who had to die in the battle on this day. One hour before daybreak the Sultan had his great cannon fired, and the shot landed in the repairs which we had made and knocked them down to the ground. Nothing could be seen for the smoke made by the cannon, and the Turks came on under cover of the smoke, and about three hundred of them got inside the, barbicans. The Greeks and Venetians fought hard and drove them out of the barbicans, and a great number died, including almost all of those who were able to get inside. After the Greeks had fought this fight, they thought that they had indeed won the victory against the pagans, and we Christians were greatly relieved. But after being driven back from the barbicans the Turks again fired their great cannon, and the pagans like hounds came on behind the smoke of the cannon, raging and pressing on each other like wild beasts, so that in the space of a quarter of an hour there were more than thirty thousand Turks inside the barbicans, with such cries that it seemed a very inferno, and the shouting was heard as far away as Anatolia. When the Turks got inside the barbicans, they quickly captured the first row of them, but before they managed this, a great number of them died at the hands of those who were above them on the walls, who killed them with stones at their pleasure. After having captured the first row, the Turks together with the axapi made themselves strong there, and then there came inside the barbicans a good seventy thousand Turks with such force that it seemed a very inferno, and soon the barbicans from one end to the other, a full six miles, were full of Turks. As I have said before, those on the walls killed great numbers of Turks

with stones, casting them down from above without stopping, and so many were killed that forty carts could not have carried away the dead Turks who had died before getting into the city. We Christians now were very frightened, and the Emperor had the tocsin sounded through the whole city, and at the posts on the walls, with every man crying, "Mercy, Eternal God!" Men cried out, and women too, and the nuns and the young women most loudly of all, and there was such lamentation that even the most cruel Jew would have felt pity. Seeing this, Zuan Zustignan, that Genoese of Genoa, decided to abandon his post, and fled to his ship, which was lying at the boom. The Emperor had made this Zuan Zustignan captain of his forces, and as he fled, he went through the city crying, "The Turks have got into the city!" But he lied in his teeth, because the Turks were not yet inside. When the people heard their captain's words, that the Turks had got into the city, they all began to take flight, and all abandoned their posts at once and went rushing towards the harbour in the hope of escaping in the ships and the galleys. At this moment of confusion, which happened at sunrise, our omnipotent God came to His most bitter decision and decided to fulfill all the prophecies, as I have said, and at sunrise the Turks entered the city near San Romano, where the walls had been razed to the ground by their cannon. But before they entered, there was such a fierce struggle between the Turks and the Christians in the city who opposed them, and so many of them died, that a good twenty carts could have been filled with the corpses of the first Turks. Then the second wave followed the first and went rushing about the city, and anyone they found they put to the scimitar, women and men, old and young, of any condition. This butchery lasted from sunrise, when the Turks entered the city, until midday, and anyone whom they found was put to the scimitar in their rage. Those of our merchants who escaped hid themselves in underground places, and when the first mad slaughter was over, they were found by the Turks and were all taken and sold as slaves.

The Turks made eagerly for the piazza, five miles from the point where they made their entrance at San Romano, and when they reached it, at once some of them climbed up a tower where the flags of Saint Mark and the Most Serene Emperor were flying, and they cut down the flag of Saint Mark and took away the flag of the Most Serene Emperor, and then on the same tower they raised the flag of the Sultan. When they had taken away these two flags, those of Saint Mark and of the Emperor, and raised the flag of the Turkish dog, then all we Christians who were in the city were full of sorrow because it had been captured by the Turks. When their flag was raised and ours cut down, we saw that the whole city was taken, and that there was no further hope of recovering from this.

...When the men in these ships saw that the Christians had lost Constantinople, and that the standard of Mahomet Bey the Turk was raised over the principal tower of the city, and that the standards of Saint Mark and of the Emperor had been cut

down and lowered, then they all disembarked. And at the same time all those in the fleet on the Dardanelles side disembarked and left their ships by the shore without anyone in them, because they were all running furiously like dogs into the city to seek out gold, jewels and other treasure, and to take merchants prisoner. They sought out the monasteries, and all the nuns were led to the fleet and ravished and abused by the Turks, and then sold at auction for slaves throughout Turkey, and all the young women also were ravished and then sold for whatever they would fetch, although some of them preferred to cast themselves into the wells and drown rather than fall into the hands of the Turks, as did a number of married women also. The Turks loaded all their ships with prisoners and with an enormous quantity of booty. Their practice was, that when they went into a house, at once they raised up a flag with their emblem on it, and when other Turks saw this flag flying, they left this house alone, and went in search of another house without a flag, and so they put their flags everywhere, even on the monasteries and churches. As far as I can estimate, there would have been two hundred thousand of these flags flying on the houses all over Constantinople: some houses had as many as ten, because of the excitement which the Turks felt at having won such a great victory. For the rest of the day these flags were kept flying on the houses, and all through the day the Turks made a great slaughter of Christians through the city. The blood flowed in the city like rainwater in the gutters after a sudden storm, and the corpses of Turks and Christians were thrown into the Dardanelles, where they floated out to sea like melons along a canal. No one could hear any news of the Emperor, what he had been doing, or whether he was dead or alive, but some said that his body had been seen among the corpses, and it was said that he had hanged himself at the moment when the Turks broke in at the San Romano gate.

Now that Constantinople had fallen, and since there was nothing further to be hoped for, our own people prepared to save themselves and our fleet, all the galleys and ships, and get them out of the harbour, breaking the boom across the entrance. So Aluvixe Diedo, officer in command of the harbour and captain of the galleys from Tana, seeing that the whole of Constantinople had been captured, at once disembarked at Pera, and went to the Podesta of Pera, and discussed with him what should be done with our fleet, whether it should make its escape, or prepare itself to do battle with all its ships and galleys. And when Aluvixe Diedo asked the advice of the Podesta of Pera, the Podesta said, "Master captain, wait here in Pera, and I shall send an ambassador to the Sultan, and we shall see whether we Genoese and Venetians shall have war or peace with him." But while this discussion was taking place, the Podesta had the gates of his town shut, and shut the captain inside, with Bartolo Fiurian the armourer of the galleys of Tana, and Nicold Barbaro the surgeon of the galleys. We who were shut up there realised that we were in a serious position: the Genoese had done this, in order to put our galleys and our property into the hands of the Turks, and no ambassador was sent.

Now that we were shut up in their town, the galleys at once began to set up their sails and spread them out, and bring their oars inboard, with the intention of going away without their captain. But the captain, who realised that he was in danger of being imprisoned, was able by dint of fair words to persuade the Podesta to release them, and they got out of the town and boarded their galleys quickly; and as soon as they had done this, they began to kedge themselves up to the boom which was across the harbour. When we reached the boom, we could not get past it, because it stretched all the way between the two cities of Constantinople and Pera. But two brave men leaped down on to one of the wooden sections of the boom, and with a couple of axes cut through it and we quickly hauled ourselves outside it, and sailed to a place called the Columns behind Pera, where the Turkish fleet had been anchored. Here in this place we waited until midday, to see if any of our merchants could reach the galleys, but none of them were able to do so, because they had all been captured. So at midday with the help of our Lord God, Aluvixe Diedo, the captain of the galleys from Tana, made sail on his galley, and then the galley of Jeruolemo Morexini and the galley of Trebizond with its vice-master Dolfin Dolfin did the same. This galley of Trebizond had great difficulty in getting its sails up because a hundred and sixty-four of its crew were missing, some of them drowned, some dead in the bombardment or killed in other ways during the fighting, so that they could only just manage to raise their sails. Then the light galley of Cabriel Trivixan set sail, although he himself was still in the city in the hands of the Turks. The galley of Candia with Zacaria Grioni, the knight, as master, was captured. Then behind these galleys there sailed three ships of Candia, under Zuan Venier and Antonio Filamati, "The Hen," and we all sailed safely together, ships and galleys, out through the straits, with a north wind blowing at more than twelve miles an hour. Had there been a calm or a very light breeze, we would all have been captured. When we set sail for Constantinople, the whole of the Turkish fleet was unarmed and all the captains and crews had gone into the city to sack it. You can be sure that if their fleet had been in action, no a single vessel could have escaped, but the Turks would have had them as prizes of war, because we were shut up inside the boom, but they abandoned their fleet. Fifteen ships stayed inside the harbour, belonging to the Genoese, to the Emperor and to the people of Ancona; also all the Emperor's galleys, numbering five, which had been disarmed, and also there stayed all the other vessels which were in the harbour, and the ships and galleys which could not escape were all captured by the Turks. But apart from these fifteen ships, seven belonging to the Genoese which were by the boom escaped, and one which was off Pera, belonging to Zorzi Doria of Genoa, of about two thousand four hundred botte, escaped with the other seven towards evening.

The fighting lasted from dawn until noon, and while the massacre went on in the city, everyone was killed; but after that time they were all taken prisoner. Our

Bailo, Jeruolemo Minoto, had his head cut off by order of the Sultan; and this was the end of the capture of Constantinople, which took place in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-three, on the twenty-ninth of May, which was a Tuesday.

A Letter to Tsar Ivan IV "the Terrible"

Prince Andrew Kurbskii, *First Epistle Written to the Tsar and Grand Prince of Moscow in Consequence of His Fierce Persecution* **and** *Response of Ivan IV: Epistle of the Tsar and Sovereign to All His Russian Tsardom Against Those Who Have Broken the Pledge of Allegiance, Against Prince Andrei Kurbskii and His Comrades, Concerning Their Treacheries*. Taken from unattested translation sourced through Fordham Halsall IHSP web.archive.org/web/20030622203317/http://www.dur.ac.uk/~dmlowww/ivankurb.html

To the tsar, exalted above all by God, who appeared (formerly) most illustrious, particularly in the Orthodox faith, but who has now, in consequence of our sins, been found to be the contrary of this. If you have understanding, may you understand this with your leprous conscience – such a conscience as cannot be found even amongst the godless peoples. And I have not let my tongue say more than this on all these matters in turn; but because of the bitterest persecution from your power, with much sorrow in my heart will I hasten to inform you of a little.

Wherefore, O tsar, have you destroyed the strong in Israel and subjected to various forms of death the voevodas given you by God? And wherefore have you spilled their victorious holy blood in the churches of God during sacerdotal ceremonies, and stained the thresholds of the churches with their blood of martyrs? And why have you conceived against your well-wishers and against those who lay down their lives for you unheard-of torments and persecutions and death, falsely accusing the Orthodox of treachery and magic and other abuses, and endeavouring with zeal to turn light into darkness and to call sweet bitter? What guilt did they commit before you, O tsar and in what way did they, the champions of Christianity, anger you? Have they not destroyed proud kingdoms and by their heroic bravery made subject to you in all things those in whose servitude our forefathers formerly were? Was it not through the keenness of their understanding that the strong German towns were given to you by God? Thus have you remunerated [your] poor [servants], destroying us by whole families? Think you yourself immortal, O tsar? Or have you been enticed into unheard-of heresy, as one no longer wishing to stand before the impartial judge, Jesus, begotten of God, who will judge according to justice the universe and especially the vainglorious tormentors, and who unhesitatingly will question them "right to the hairs of their sins," as the saying goes? He is my Christ who sitteth on the throne of the

Cherubims at the right hand of the power of the Almighty in the highest – the judge between you and me.

What evil and persecution have I not suffered from you! What ills and misfortunes have you not brought upon me! And what iniquitous tissues of lies have you not woven against me! But I cannot now recount the various misfortunes at your hands which have beset me owing to their multitude and since I am still filled with the grief of my soul. But, to conclude, I can summarize them all thus: of everything have I been deprived; I have been driven from the land of God without guilt, hounded by you. I did not ask with words, nor did I beseech you with tearful plaint; nor yet did I win from you any mercy through the intercession of the hierarchy. You have recompensed me with evil for good and for my love with implacable hatred. My blood, spilled like water for you, cries out against you to my Lord. God sees into hearts – in my mind have I ardently reflected and my conscience have I placed as a witness, and I have sought and pried within my thoughts, and, examining myself, I know not now – nor have I ever found – my guilt in aught before you. In front of your army have I marched – and marched again; and no dishonour have I brought upon you; but only brilliant victories, with the help of the angel of the Lord, have I won for your glory, and never have I turned the back of your regiments to the foe. But far more, I achieved most glorious conquests to increase your renown and this, not in one year, nor yet in two – but throughout many years have I toiled with much sweat and patience; and always have I been separated from my fatherland, and little have I seen my parents, and my wife have I not known; but always in far distant towns have I stood in arms against your foes and I suffered many wants and natural illnesses, of which my Lord Jesus Christ is witness. Still more, I was visited with wounds inflicted by barbarian hands in various battles and all my body is already afflicted with sores. But to you, O tsar, was all this as nought; rather do you show us your intolerable wrath and bitterest hatred, and, furthermore, burning stoves.

And I wanted to relate all my military deeds in turn which I have accomplished for your glory by the strength of my Christ, but I have not recounted them for this reason, that God knows better than man. For he is the recompenser for all these things, and not only for them, but also for a cup of cold water; and I know that you yourself are not unaware of them. And furthermore may this be known to you, O tsar; you will, I think, no longer see my face in this world until the glorious coming of my Christ. Think not that concerning these things I will remain silent before you; to my end will I incessantly cry out with tears against you to the everlasting Trinity, in which I believe; and I call to my aid the Mother of the Lord of the Cherubims, my hope and protectress, Our Lady, the Mother of God, and all the Saints, the elect of God, and my master and forefather, Prince Fedor Rostislavich, whose corpse remains imperishable, preserved throughout the ages, and emits from the grave

sweet odours, sweeter than aromatics, and, by the grave of the Holy Ghost, pours forth miraculous healing streams, as you, O tsar, know well..

Deem not, O tsar, and think not upon us with your sophistic thoughts, as though we had already perished, massacred by you in our innocence and banished and driven out by you without justice; rejoice not in this, glorying, as it were, in a vain victory; those massacred by you, standing at the throne of our Lord, ask vengeance against you; while we who have been banished and driven out by you without justice from the land cry out day and night to God, however much in your pride you may boast in this temporal, fleeting life, devising vessels of torture against the Christian race, yea, and abusing and trampling on the Angelic Form, O with the approbation of your flatterers and comrades of the table, your quarrelsome boyars, the destroyers of your soul and body, who urge you on to erotic deeds and, together with their children, act more [viciously] than the priests of Cronus. So much for this. And this epistle, soaked in my tears, will I order to be put into my grave with me, when I come with you before the judgment of my God, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Written in Wolmar, the town of my master, King Augustus Sigismund, from whom I hope to receive much reward and comfort for all my sorrow, by his sovereign grace, and still more with God's help. I have heard from sacred writings that a destroyer will be sent by the devil against the human race, a destroyer conceived in fornication, the Antichrist, hostile to God; and now I have seen a counsellor, known to all, who was born in adultery and who today whispers falsehoods in the ears of the tsar and sheds Christian blood like water and has already destroyed the strong and noble in Israel, as one in agreement with the Antichrist in deed. It is not fitting, O tsar, to show indulgence to such men! In the first law of the Lord it is written. "A Moabite and an Ammonite and a bastard to the tenth generation shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord."

Response of Ivan IV: Epistle of the Tsar and Sovereign to All His Russian Tsardom Against Those Who Have Broken the Pledge of Allegiance, Against Prince Andrei Kurbskii and His Comrades, Concerning Their Treacheries.

Our God, the Trinity, who has existed since eternity but now as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, has neither beginning nor end; through him we live and move about, through him kings rule and the mighty write laws. By our Lord Jesus Christ the victorious standard of God's only Word and the blessed Cross, which has never been vanquished, have been given to Emperor Constantine, first in piety, and to all the orthodox tsars and protectors of orthodoxy and, insofar as the Word of God has been fulfilled, they, in eagle's flight, have reached all the godly servants of God's Word, until a spark of piety has fallen upon the Russian realm. The autocracy, by

God's will, had its origin in Grand Prince Vladimir, who had enlightened all Russia through the holy baptism, and the great Tsar Vladiinir Monomakh, who had received memorable honours from the Greeks, and the valiant great Tsar Alexander Nevskii, who had obtained a great victory over the godless Germans, and the praiseworthy great Tsar Dmitrii, who had obtained a great victory over the sons of Hagar beyond the Don, then it passed to the avenger of wrongs, our ancestor, the great Tsar Ivan, the gatherer of the Russian lands from among the ancestral possessions, and to our father of blessed memory, the great Tsar Vasilii until it reached us, the humble sceptre-bearer of the Russian empire.

But we praise God for the great favour he has shown me in not permitting my right hand to become stained by the blood of my race: for we have not snatched the realm from anyone, but by the will of God and the blessing of our ancestors and parents, were we born in the realm, were brought up there and enthroned, taking, by the will of God and the blessing of our ancestors and parents, what belonged to us, and not seizing that which was not ours. Here follows the command of the orthodox, truly Christian autocrat, the possessor of many kingdoms – our humble Christian answer to him who was an orthodox, true Christian and a boyar of our realm, a councillor and a general, but now is a criminal before the blessed, vivifying cross of the Lord, a destroyer of Christians, a servant of the enemies of Christianity, who has departed from the divine worship of the images and has trodden underfoot all sacred commands, destroyed the holy edifices, vilified and trampled the holy vessels and images, who unites in one person Leo the Isaurian, Constantine Kopronymos and Leo of Armenia – to Prince Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbskii, who through treachery wanted to become a ruler of Iaroslavl.

Wherefore, O Prince, if you regard yourself to have piety, have you lost your soul? What will you give in its place on the day of the terrible judgment? Even if you should acquire the whole world, death will reach you in the end! Why have you sold your soul for your body's sake? Is it because you were afraid of death at the false instigation of your demons and influential friends and advisers? . . .

Are you not ashamed before your slave Vaska Shibanov, who preserved his piety and, having attached himself to you with a kiss of the cross, did not reject you before the tsar and the whole people, though standing at the gate of death, but praised you and was all too ready to die for you? But you did not emulate his devotion: on account of a single angry word of mine, have you lost not only your own soul, but the souls of all your ancestors: for, by God's will, had they been given as servants to our grandfather, the great tsar, and they gave their souls to him and served him up to their death, and ordered you, their children, to serve the children and grandchildren of our grandfather. But you have forgotten everything and traitorously, like a dog, have you transgressed the oath and have gone over to the

enemies of Christianity, and, not considering your wrath, you utter stupid words, hurling, as it were, stones at the sky....

We have never spilled blood in the churches. As for the victorious, saintly blood – there has none appeared in our land, as far as we know. The thresholds of the churches: as far as our means and intelligence permit and our subjects are eager to serve us, the churches of the Lord are resplendent with all kinds of adornments, and through the gifts which we have offered since your satanic domination, not only the thresholds and pavements, but even the antechambers shine with ornaments, so that all strangers may see them. We do not stain the thresholds of the churches with any blood, and there are no martyrs of faith with us nowadays. . . . Tortures and persecutions and deaths in many forms we have devised against no one. As to treasons and magic, it is true, such dogs everywhere suffer capital punishment. . . .

It had pleased God to take away our mother, the pious Tsarina Elena, from the earthly kingdom to the kingdom of heaven. My brother Iurii, who now rests in heaven, and I were left orphans and, as we received no care from anyone, we laid our trust in the Holy Virgin, and in the prayers of all the saints, and in the blessing of our parents. When I was in my eighth year, our subjects acted according to their will, for they found the empire without a ruler, and did not deign to bestow their voluntary attention upon us, their master, but were bent on acquiring wealth and glory, and were quarrelling with each other. And what have they not done! How many boyars, how many friends of our father and generals they have killed! And they seized the farms and villages and possessions of our uncles, and established themselves therein. The treasure of our mother they trod underfoot and pierced with sharp sticks, and transferred it to the great treasure, but some of it they grabbed themselves; and that was done by your grandfather Mikhaylo Tuchkov. The Princes Vasilii and Ivan Shuiskii took it upon themselves to have me in their keeping, and those who had been the chief traitors of our father and mother they let out of prison, and they made friends with them. In the court belonging to our uncle Prince Vasilii Shuiskii, with a Judas crowd, fell upon our father confessor Fedor Mishurin, and insulted him, and killed him; and they imprisoned Prince Ivan Fedorovich Belskii and many others in various places, and armed themselves against the realm; they ousted metropolitan Daniil from the metropolitan see and banished him: and thus they improved their opportunity, and began to rule themselves.

My brother Iurii, of blessed memory, and me they brought up like vagrants and children of the poorest. What have I suffered for want of garments and food! And all that against my will and as did not become my extreme youth. I shall mention just

one thing: once in my childhood we were playing, Prince Ivan Vasilievich Shuiskii was sitting on a bench, leaning with his elbow against our father's bed, and even putting his foot upon it; he treated us not as a parent, but as a master ... who could bear such presumption? How can I recount all miseries which I have suffered in my youth? Often did I dine late, against my will. What had become of the treasure left me by my father? They had carried everything away, under the cunning pretext that they had to pay the boyar children from it, but, in reality, they had kept it back from them, to their own advantage, and had not paid them off according to their deserts; and they had also held back an immense treasure of my grand-father and father, and made it into gold and silver vessels scribing thereupon the names of their parents, as if they been their inheritance. . . . It is hardly necessary to mention what became of the treasure of our uncles: they appropriated it all to themselves! Then they attacked towns and villages, tortured the people most cruelly, brought much misery upon them and mercilessly pillaged the possessions of the inhabitants.

When we reached the age of fifteen, we, inspired by God, undertook to rule our own realm and, with the aid of almighty God, we ruled our realm in peace and undisturbed, according to our will. But it happened then that, on account of our sins, a fire having spread, by God's will, the royal city of Moscow was consumed. Our boyars, the traitors whom you call martyrs, whose names I shall purposely pass over in silence, made use of the favourable opportunity for their mean treachery, whispered into the ears of a stupid crowd that the mother of my mother, Princess Anna Glinskaia, with all her children and household, was in the habit of extracting men's hearts, and that by a similar sorcery she had put Moscow on fire, and that we knew of her doings. By the instigation of these our traitors, a mass of insensate people, crying in the manner of the Jews, came to the apostolic cathedral of the holy martyr Dmitrii of Saloniki, dragged out of it our boyar Iurii Vasil'evich Glinskii, pulled him inhumanly into the Cathedral of the Assumption, and killed this innocent man in the church. Opposite the metropolitan's palace they stained the floor of the church with his blood, dragged his body through the front door, and exposed him on the market-place as a criminal - everybody knows about this murder in the church. We were then living in the village of Vorobievo; the same traitors instigated the populace to kill us under this pretext and you, dog, repeat the lie that we were keeping from them Prince Iurii's mother, Princess Anna, and his brother Prince Mikhail. How is one not to laugh at such stupidity? Why should we be incendiaries in our own empire? ...

You say that your blood has been spilled in wars with foreigners, and you add, in your foolishness, that it cries to God against us. That is ridiculous. It has been spilled by one and it cries out against another. If it is true that your blood has been spilled by the enemy, then you have done your duty to your country; if you had not done so, you would not have been a Christian but a barbarian - but that is not our

affair. How much more ours, that has been spilled by you, cries out to the Lord against you! Not with wounds, nor drops of blood, , but with much sweating and toiling have I been burdened by you unnecessarily and above my strength! Your many meannesses and persecutions have caused me, instead of blood, to shed many tears, and to utter sobs and have anguish of my soul...

You say you want to put your letter in your grave: that shows that you have completely renounced your Christianity! For God has ordered not to resist evil, but you renounce the final pardon which is granted to the ignorant; therefore it is not even proper that any Mass shall be sung after you. In our patrimony, in the country of Lifland, you name the city of Wolmar as belonging to our enemy, King Sigismund: by this you only complete the treachery of a vicious dog ...

Advice to a Cardinal

From Lorenzo D'Medici, *Paternal Advice to a Cardinal*
trans. by Merrick Whitcomb, Source-Book of the Italian Renaissance, revised ed.
(Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1903), 82-86. Sourced from Fordham
Halsall IHSP

You, and all of us who are interested in your welfare, ought to esteem ourselves highly favored by Providence, not only for the many honors and benefits bestowed upon our house, but more particularly for having conferred upon us, in your person, the greatest dignity we have ever enjoyed. This favor, in itself so important, is rendered still more so by the circumstances with which it is accompanied, and especially by the consideration of your youth and of our situation in the world. The first that I would therefore suggest to you is that you ought to be grateful to God, and continually to recollect that it is not through your merits, your prudence, or your solicitude, that this event has taken place, but through his favor, which you can only repay by a pious, chaste and exemplary life; and that your obligations to the performance of these duties are so much the greater, as in your early years you have given some reasonable expectations that your ripper age may produce such fruits. It would indeed be highly disgraceful, and as contrary to your duty as to my hopes, if, at a time when others display a greater share of reason and adopt a better mode of life, you should forget the precepts of your youth, and forsake the path in which you have hitherto trodden. Endeavor, therefore, to alleviate the burden of your early dignity by the regularity of your life and by your perseverance in those studies which are suitable to your profession. It gave me great satisfaction to learn, that, in the course of the past year, you had frequently, of your own accord, gone to communion and confession; nor do I conceive that there is any better way of obtaining the favor of heaven than by habituating yourself to a performance of

these and similar duties. This appears to me to be the most suitable and useful advice which, in the first instance, I can possibly give you.

I well know, that as you are now to reside in Rome, that sink of all iniquity, the difficulty of conducting yourself by these admonitions will be increased. The influence of example is itself prevalent; but you will probably meet with those who will particularly endeavor to corrupt and incite you to vice; because, as you may yourself perceive, your early attainment to so great a dignity is not observed without envy, and those who could not prevent your receiving that honor will secretly endeavor to diminish it, by inducing you to forfeit the good estimation of the public; thereby precipitating you into that gulf into which they had themselves fallen; in which attempt, the consideration of your youth will give them a confidence of success. To these difficulties you ought to oppose yourself with the greater firmness, as there is at present less virtue amongst your brethren of the college. I acknowledge indeed that several of them are good and learned men, whose lives are exemplary, and whom I would recommend to you as patterns of your conduct. By emulating them you will be so much the more known and esteemed, in proportion as your age and the peculiarity of your situation will distinguish you from your colleagues. Avoid, however, as you would Scylla or Charybdis, the imputation of hypocrisy; guard against all ostentation, either in your conduct or your discourse; affect not austerity, nor ever appear too serious. This advice you will, I hope, in time understand and practice better than I can express it.

Yet you are not unacquainted with the great importance of the character which you have to sustain, for you well know that all the Christian world would prosper if the cardinals were what they ought to be; because in such a case there would always be a good pope, upon which the tranquility of Christendom so materially depends. Endeavor then to render yourself such, that if all the rest resembled you, we might expect this universal blessing. To give you particular directions as to your behavior and conversation would be a matter of no small difficulty. I shall, therefore, only recommend, that in your intercourse with the cardinals and other men of rank, your language be unassuming and respectful, guiding yourself, however, by your own reason, and not submitting to be impelled by the passions of others, who, actuated by improper motives, may pervert the use of their reasons. Let it satisfy your conscience that your conversation is without intentional offense; and if, through impetuosity of temper, any one should be offended, as his enmity is without just cause, so it will not be very lasting. On this your first visit to Rome, it will, however, be more advisable for you to listen to others than to speak much yourself.

You are now devoted to God and the church: on which account you ought to aim at being a good ecclesiastic, and to shew that you prefer the honor and state of the

church and of the apostolic see to every other consideration. Nor, while you keep this in view, will it be difficult for you to favor your family and your native place. On the contrary, you should be the link to bind this city closer to the church, and our family with the city; and although it be impossible to foresee what accidents may happen, yet I doubt not but this may be done with equal advantage to all: observing, however, that you are always to prefer the interests of the church.

You are not only the youngest cardinal in the college, but the youngest person that ever was raised to that rank; and you ought, therefore, to be the most vigilant and unassuming, not giving others occasion to wait for you, either in the chapel, the consistory or upon deputations. You will soon get a sufficient insight into the manners of your brethren. With those of less respectable character converse not with too much intimacy; not merely on account of the circumstance in itself, but for the sake of public opinion. Converse on general topics with all. On public occasions, let your equipage and address be rather below than above mediocrity. A handsome house and a well-ordered family will be preferable to a great retinue and a splendid residence. Endeavor to live with regularity, and gradually to bring your expenses within those bounds which in a new establishment cannot perhaps be expected. Silk and jewels are not suitable for persons in your station. Your taste will be better shown in the acquisition of a few elegant remains of antiquity, or in the collecting of handsome books, and by your attendants being learned and well-bred rather than numerous. Invite others to your house oftener than you receive invitations. Practise neither too frequently. Let your own food be plain, and take sufficient exercise, for those who wear your habit are soon liable, without great caution, to contract infirmities. The station of a cardinal is not less secure than elevated; on which account those who arrive at it too frequently become negligent; conceiving their object is attained and that they can preserve it with little trouble. This idea is often injurious to the life and character of those who entertain it. Be attentive, therefore, to your conduct, and confide in others too little rather than too much. There is one rule which I would recommend to your attention in preference to all others. Rise early in the morning. This will not only contribute to your health, but will enable you to arrange and expedite the business of the day; and as there are various duties incident to your station, such as the performance of divine service, studying, giving audience, and so forth, you will find the observance of this admonition productive of the greatest utility. Another very necessary precaution, particularly on your entrance into public life, is to deliberate every evening on what you may have to perform the following day, that you may not be unprepared for whatever may happen. With respect to your speaking in the consistory, it will be most becoming for you at present to refer the matters in debate to the judgment of his holiness² alleging as a reason your own youth and inexperience. You will probably be desired to intercede for the favors of the pope on particular occasions. Be cautious, however, that you trouble him not too often; for his temper leads him

to be most liberal to those who weary him least with their solicitations. This you must observe, lest you should give him offense, remembering also at times to converse with him on more agreeable topics; and if you should be obliged to request some kindness from him, let it be done with that modesty and humility which are so pleasing to his disposition. Farewell.

An Account of Lorenzo D' Medici

From Niccolo Machiavelli, *A History of Florence*

Taken from The Historical, Political and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli, trans. C. E. Detmold, 4 vols, Boston 1882. Extract from 'The History of Florence', Vol. 1, Book 8, 36. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

After the successful termination of the war of Serezana, the Florentines lived in prosperous tranquillity until the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492; for after having established peace by his good judgment and authority, Lorenzo devoted his attention to the aggrandisement of the city and of his own family. He married his eldest son Piero to Alfonsina, daughter of the Cavaliere Orsini, and had his second son promoted to the dignity of cardinal, which was the more remarkable as it was unprecedented, the youth having hardly completed his thirteenth year. This was in fact a ladder by means of which his house was enabled to mount to heaven itself, as indeed it happened in the course of time. He could not provide equally good fortune for his third son, as he was still too young when Lorenzo died. Of his daughters, one was married to Jacopo Salviati, another to Francesco Cibo, and a third to Piero Ridolfi; but the fourth, who, by way of keeping the family united, had been married to Giovanni de' Medici, her cousin, died. In his commercial affairs, however, Lorenzo was very unfortunate; for through the irregularity of his agents, who managed his affairs, not like those of a private individual, but of a prince, the greater part of his private fortune was consumed; so that he was obliged to call upon his country to aid him with large sums of money. In consequence of this he gave up all commercial operations, and turned his attention to landed property, as being a more safe and solid wealth. He acquired large possessions in the districts of Prato and Pisa, and in the Val di Pesa, and erected upon them useful and elegant buildings, not like a private citizen, but with truly royal magnificence. After that he directed his attention to extending and embellishing the city of Florence, in which there was still much vacant land. Here he had new streets laid out and built up with houses, whereby the city was greatly enlarged and beautified. And to secure greater quiet and security within the state, and to be able to resist and combat its enemies at a greater distance from the city, he fortified the castle of Firenzuola, in the mountains towards Bologna; in the direction of Siena he began the restoration of the Poggio Imperiale, which he fortified in the most complete manner. Towards Genoa he closed the road to the enemy by the acquisition of Pietrasanta and

Serezana. Besides this, he maintained his friends the Baglioni in Perugia with subsidies and pensions, and the same with the Vitelli in Citta di Castello; and in Faenza he kept a special governor; all of which measures served as strong bulwarks to the city of Florence.

In peaceful times he often entertained the people with various festivities, such as jousts, feats of arms, and representations of triumphs of olden times. He aimed to maintain abundance in the city, to keep the people united and the nobility honoured. He had the greatest love and admiration for all who excelled in any art, and was a great patron of learning and of literary men, of which his conduct towards Cristofano Landini and Messer Demetrius the Greek furnishes the strongest proof. For this reason the Count Giovanni della Mirandola, a man of almost supernatural genius, was attracted by the magnificence of Lorenzo, and preferred to establish his home in Florence rather than in any other part of Europe, all of which he had visited in his travels. Lorenzo took the greatest delight in architecture, music and poetry; and many of his own poetic compositions, enriched with commentaries, appeared in print. And for the purpose of enabling the Florentine youths to devote themselves to the study of letters, he established a university in the city of Pisa, where he employed the most eminent men of all Italy as professors. He built a monastery for Fra Mariano da Chianozzona, of the order of St Augustine, who was a most admirable pulpit orator. And thus, beloved of God and fortune, all his enterprises were crowned with success, whilst those of his enemies had the opposite fate. For besides the conspiracy of the Pazzi, Battista Frescobaldi also attempted his assassination in the church of the Carmine; and Baldinatto of Pistoia tried the same at his villa. Each of these, together with their accomplices, suffered the most just punishment for their nefarious attempts.

Thus Lorenzo's mode of life, his ability and good fortune, were recognised with admiration, and highly esteemed, not only by all the princes of Italy, but also by those at a great distance. Matthias, King of Hungary, gave him many proofs of his affection; the Sultan of Egypt sent ambassadors to him with precious gifts; and the Grand Turk gave up to him Bernardo Bandini, the murderer of his brother. These proofs of regard from foreign sovereigns caused Lorenzo to be looked upon with the greatest admiration by all Italy; and his reputation was daily increased by his rare ability, for he was eloquent and subtle in speech, wise in his resolves, and bold and prompt in their execution. Nor can he be charged with any vices that would stain his many virtues, though very fond of women, and delighting in the society of witty and sarcastic men, and even taking pleasure in puerile amusements – more so than would seem becoming to so great a man, so that he was often seen taking part in the childish sports of his sons and daughters. Considering, then, his fondness for pleasure, and at the same time his grave character, there seemed as it were united in him two almost incompatible natures. During his latter years he was greatly

afflicted with sufferings from his malady, the gout, and oppressed with intolerable pains in his stomach, which increased to that degree that he died in the month of April, 1492, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Neither Florence nor all Italy ever lost a man of higher reputation for prudence and ability, or whose loss was more deplored by his country, than Lorenzo de' Medici. And as his death was to be followed by the most ruinous consequences, Heaven gave many manifest indications of it. Amongst these was that the highest pinnacle of the church of the Santa Reparata was struck by lightning, so that a large part of the pinnacle fell to the earth, filling every one with terror and amazement. All Florence, then, as well as all the princes of Italy, lamented the death of Lorenzo; in proof of which there was not one who did not send ambassadors to Florence to express his grief at so great a loss. And events very soon after proved that they had just cause for their regrets; for Italy being deprived of Lorenzo's counsels, no means could be found to satisfy or check the ambition of Lodovico Sforza, governor of the Duke of Milan. From this, soon after Lorenzo's death, there began to spring up those evil seeds of trouble, which ruined and continue to cause the ruin of Italy, as there was no one capable of destroying them.

The Life of Leonardo da Vinci (Selections)

From Giorgio Vasari, *Lives*

Taken from "Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects", translated by Gaston DeC. De Vere, (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-1914), pp. 89-92, 95-101, 104-105. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

The greatest gifts are often seen, in the course of nature, rained by celestial influences on human creatures; and sometimes, in supernatural fashion, beauty, grace, and talent are united beyond measure in one single person, in a manner that to whatever such an one turns his attention, his every action is so divine, that, surpassing all other men, it makes itself clearly known as a thing bestowed by God (as it is), and not acquired by human art. This was seen by all mankind in Leonardo da Vinci, in whom, besides a beauty of body never sufficiently extolled, there was an infinite grace in all his actions; and so great was his genius, and such its growth, that to whatever difficulties he turned his mind, he solved them with ease. In him was great bodily strength, joined to dexterity, with a spirit and courage ever royal and magnanimous; and the fame of his name so increased, that not only in his lifetime was he held in esteem, but his reputation became even greater among posterity after his death.

Truly marvellous and celestial was Leonardo, the son of Ser Piero da Vinci; and in learning and in the rudiments of letters he would have made great proficiency, if he had not been so variable and unstable, for he set himself to learn many things,

and then, after having begun them, abandoned them. Thus, in arithmetic, during the few months that he studied it, he made so much progress, that, by continually suggesting doubts and difficulties to the master who was teaching him, he would very often bewilder him. He gave some little attention to music, and quickly resolved to learn to play the lyre, as one who had by nature a spirit most lofty and full of refinement: wherefore he sang divinely to that instrument, improvising upon it. Nevertheless, although he occupied himself with such a variety of things, he never ceased drawing and working in relief, pursuits which suited his fancy more than any other. Ser Piero, having observed this, and having considered the loftiness of his intellect, one day took some of his drawings and carried them to Andrea del Verrocchio, who was much his friend, and besought him straitly [sic] to tell him whether Leonardo, by devoting himself to drawing, would make any proficiency. Andrea was astonished to see the extraordinary beginnings of Leonardo, and urged Ser Piero that he should make him study it; wherefore he arranged with Leonardo that he should enter the workshop of Andrea, which Leonardo did with the greatest willingness in the world. And he practised not one branch of art only, but all those in which drawing played a part; and having an intellect so divine and marvellous that he was also an excellent geometrician, he not only worked in sculpture, making in his youth, in clay, some heads of women that are smiling, of which plaster casts are still taken, and likewise some heads of boys which appeared to have issued from the hand of a master; but in architecture, also, he made many drawings both of ground-plans and of other designs of buildings; and he was the first, although but a youth, who suggested the plan of reducing the river Arno to a navigable canal from Pisa to Florence. He made designs of flour-mills, fullingmills, and engines, which might be driven by the force of water; and since he wished that his profession should be painting, he studied much in drawing after nature, and sometimes in making models of figures in clay, over which he would lay soft pieces of cloth dipped in clay, and then set himself patiently to draw them on a certain kind of very fine Rheims cloth, or prepared linen; and he executed them in black and white with the point of his brush, so that it was a marvel, as some of them by his hand, which I have in our book of drawings, still bear witness; besides which, he drew on paper with such diligence and so well, that there is no one who has ever equalled him in perfection of finish; and I have one, a head drawn with the style in chiaroscuro, which is divine.

And there was infused in that brain such grace from God, and a power of expression in such sublime accord with the intellect and memory that served it, and he knew so well how to express his conceptions by draughtmanship, that he vanquished with his discourse, and confuted with his reasoning, every valiant wit. And he was continually making models and designs to show men how to remove mountains with ease, and how to bore them in order to pass from one level to another; and by means of levers, windlasses, and screws, he showed the way to

raise and draw great weights, together with methods for emptying harbours, and pumps for removing water from low places, things which his brain never ceased from devising.

It is clear that Leonardo, through his comprehension of art, began many things and never finished one of them, since it seemed to him that the hand was not able to attain to the perfection of art in carrying out the things which he imagined; for the reason that he conceived in idea difficulties so subtle and so marvellous, that they could never be expressed by the hands, be they ever so excellent. And so many were his caprices, that, philosophizing of natural things, he set himself to seek out the properties of herbs, going on even to observe the motions of the heavens, the path of the moon, and the courses of the sun.

...He also painted in Milan, for the Friars of S. Dominic, at S. Maria dell Grazie, a Last Supper, a most beautiful and marvellous thing; and to the heads of the Apostles he gave such majesty and beauty, that he left the head of Christ unfinished, not believing that he was able to give it that divine air which is essential to the image of Christ. This work, remaining thus all but finished, has ever been held by the Milanese in the greatest veneration, and also by strangers as well; for Leonardo imagined and succeeded in expressing that anxiety which had seized the Apostles in wishing to know who should betray their Master. For which reason in all their faces are seen love, fear, and wrath, or rather, sorrow, at not being able to understand the meaning of Christ; which thing excites no less marvel than the sight, in contrast to it, of obstinacy, hatred, and treachery in Judas; not to mention that every least part of the work displays an incredible diligence, seeing that even in the tablecloth the texture of the stuff is counterfeited in such a manner that linen itself could not seem more real.

It is said that the Prior of that place kept pressing Leonardo, in a most importunate manner, to finish the work; for it seemed strange to him to see Leonardo sometimes stand half a day at a time, lost in contemplation, and he would have like him to go on like the labourers hoeing in his garden, without ever stopping his brush. And not content with this, he complained of it to the Duke, and that so warmly, that he was constrained to send for Leonardo and delicately urged him to work, contriving nevertheless to show him that he was doing all this because of the importunity of the Prior. Leonardo, knowing that the intellect of that Prince was acute and discerning, was pleased to discourse at large with the Duke on the subject, a thing which he had never done with the Prior: and he reasoned much with him about art, and made him understand that men of lofty genius sometimes accomplish the most when they work the least, seeking out inventions with the mind, and forming those perfect ideas which the hands afterwards express and reproduce from the images already conceived in the brain. And he added that two

heads were still wanting for him to paint; that of Christ, which he did not wish to seek on earth; and he could not think that it was possible to conceive in the imagination that beauty and heavenly grace which should be the mark of God incarnate. Next, there was wanting that of Judas, which was also troubling him, not thinking himself capable of imagining features that should represent the countenance of him who, after so many benefits received, had a mind so cruel as to resolve to betray his Lord, the Creator of the world. However, he would seek out a model for the latter; but if in the end he could not find a better, he should not want that of the importunate and tactless Prior. This thing moved the Duke wondrously to laughter, and he said that Leonardo had a thousand reasons on his side. And so the poor Prior, in confusion, confined himself to urging on the work in the garden, and left Leonardo in peace, who finished only the head of Judas, which seems the very embodiment of treachery and inhumanity; but that of Christ, as has been said, remained unfinished.

Leonardo undertook to execute, for Francesco del Giocondo, the portrait of Mona Lisa, his wife; and after toiling over it for four years, he left it unfinished; and the work is now in the collection of King Frances of France, at Fontainebleau. In this head, whoever wished to see how closely art could imitate nature, was able to comprehend it with ease; for in it were counterfeited all the minutenesses that with subtlety are able to be painted, seeing that the eyes had that lustre and watery sheen which are always seen in life, and around them were all those rosy and pearly tints, as well as the lashes, which cannot be represented without the greatest subtlety. The eyebrows, through his having shown the manner in which the hairs spring from the flesh, here more close and here more scanty, and curve according to the pores of the skin, could not be more natural. The nose, with its beautiful nostrils, rosy and tender, appeared to be alive. The mouth, with its opening, and with its ends united by the red of the lips to the flesh-tints of the face, seemed, in truth, to be not colours but flesh. In the pit of the throat, if one gazed upon it intently, could be seen the beating of the pulse. And, indeed, it may be said that it was painted in such a manner as to make every valiant craftsman, be he who he may, tremble and lose heart. He made use, also, of this device: Mona Lisa being very beautiful, he always employed, while he was painting her portrait, persons to play or sing, and jesters, who might make her remain merry, in order to take away that melancholy which painters are often wont to give to the portraits that they paint. And in this work of Leonardo's there was a smile so pleasing, that it was a thing more divine than human to behold; and it was held to be something marvellous, since the reality was not more alive

...There was very great disdain between Michelangelo Buonarroti and him, on account of which Michelangelo departed from Florence, with the excuse of Duke Giuliano, having been summoned by the Pope to the competition for the facade of

S. Lorenzo. Leonardo, understanding this, departed and went into France, where the King, having had works by his hand, bore him great affection; and he desired that he should colour the cartoon of S. Anne, but Leonardo, according to his custom, put him off for a long time with words.

Finally, having grown old, he remained ill many months, and, feeling himself near to death, asked to have himself diligently informed of the teaching of the Catholic faith, and of the good way and holy Christian religion; and then, with many moans, he confessed and was penitent; and although he could not raise himself well on his feet, supporting himself on the arms of his friends and servants, he was pleased to take devoutly the most holy Sacrament, out of his bed. The King, who was wont often and lovingly to visit him, then came into the room; wherefore he, out of reverence, having raised himself to sit upon the bed, giving him an account of his sickness and the circumstances of it, showed withal how much he had offended God and mankind in not having worked at his art as he should have done. Thereupon he was seized by a paroxysm, the messenger of death; for which reason the King having risen and having taken his head, in order to assist him and show him favour, to the end that he might alleviate his pain, his spirit, which was divine, knowing that it could not have any greater honour, expired in the arms of the King, in the seventy fifth year of his age.

The Battle of Tewkesbury (1471)

From Anonymous, *A History of the Arrival of King Edward IV into England*

Taken from J. Bruce, ed. "Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England". (London: 1838).

Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

[Battle of Tewkesbury. 1471](#)

After all these things had thus befallen, the Tuesday in Easter week, the 16th day of April, came certain tidings to the king how that Queen Margaret, her son called Prince of Wales, the Countess of Warwick, the Prior of St John, at that time called treasurer of England, Lord Wenlock, and many other knights, squires, and others of their party, who long had been out of the land with them had arrived and landed in the west-country, upon Easter Day, at Weymouth, after long awaiting passage, and being on the sea, and landing again for default of good wind and weather. And so at divers times they took the sea, and forsook it again, till it was the 13th day of April, Easter Even. That day they passed. The queen, Margaret, and her son went from where she landed to an abbey near by, called Seern and all the lords, and the remnant of the fellowship with them. Thither came unto them Edmund, called Duke of Somerset, Thomas Courteney, called the Earl of Devonshire, with them, and welcomed them into England, comforted them, and put them in good hope that, although they had lost one field, whereof the queen had knowledge the same

day, Monday, the 15th day of April, and was therefore right heavy and sorry, yet it was to be thought that they should have right good speed, and that, for that loss, their party was never the feebler, but rather the stronger, and that they doubted nothing but that they should assemble so great a power of people in divers parts of England, truly assured unto their party, that it would not lie in the king's power to resist them; and in that country they would begin. And so, forthwith, they sent all about in Somerset, Dorset, and part of Wiltshire, for to get ready and raise the people by a certain day and they raised the whole might of Cornwall and Devon, and so, with great numbers of people they departed out of Exeter and took the right way to Glastonbury and thence to the city of Bath and as they went they gathered the able men of all those parts.

The king being at London and having knowledge of all this their movements from time to time, at once provided for the relief of his sick and hurt men, who had been with him at Barnet field, which were right many in number and sent to all parts to get him fresh men and at once prepared all things that were thought necessary for a new field of battle so he provided artillery, and ordnance, guns, and other things for the field, in great plenty. And for as much as they at that season were in an angle of the land, and needs must take one of two ways or else they, not thinking themselves powerful enough to have an encounter with the king and therefore, perhaps, would draw northward into Lancashire and Cheshire, trusting also to have in their way the assistance of Welshmen; for which considerations, the king caused great diligence to be done by means of scouts. If they had taken their way eastwards, his intention was to have encountered them as soon as he could, but for as much as he understood well they took the other way, towards the northwest, he hastened with his host as fast as he could, upon the purpose that he had taken to stop them. They therefore endeavoured greatly to deceive the king's party in that matter, for which cause and purpose they sent their advance riders straight from Exeter to Shaftesbury, and afterwards to Salisbury, and took the straight way to Taunton, and to Glastonbury, to Wells, and thereabouts whence, another time, they sent advance riders to a town called Yeovil and to a town called Bruton, to make men understand that they would have drawn towards Reading and London. Such manner of riding nevertheless served them of two things; one was, to call and raise the people to make towards them for their help out of all those parts; another was to have deceived the king in his approach towards them, but, thanked be God, he was not unaware of it, but by good and serious advice, provided for every way, as may appear in telling forth his progress from Windsor towards them. And he had knowledge that they, understanding his approaching and marching near to them, had left their purpose of giving battle, and turned aside, and went to Bristol, a good and strong walled town, where they were greatly refreshed and relieved, by such as were the king's rebels in that town, of money, men, and artillery. Therefore they shortly took their decision to go the next way to

Tewkesbury, whither they came the same day, about four after noon, by which time they had so travelled with their host the previous night and day that they were right weary with their travelling. For by that time they had travelled 36 long miles, in a foul country, all in lanes and stony ways, between woods, without any good refreshment. And for as much as the greater part of their hosts were footmen, the other part of the host, when they were come to Tewkesbury, could not have laboured any further unless they had wilfully forsaken and left their footmen behind them, and those who were horsemen were right weary of that journey, as were their horses. They therefore determined to abide there the chance that God would send them in the adventure they had taken in hand. And for that reason the same night they pitched camp in a field, in a close just at the town's end with the town and the abbey at their backs; before them, and upon every side of them, foul lanes, and deep ditches, and many hedges, hills and valleys, a right evil place to approach....

The king, the same morning, Friday, early advanced his banners, and divided his whole host into three battles, and sent before him his forerunners, and scouts on every side of him, and so, in fair array and order, he took his way through the open country called Cotswold, making all his people, of whom there were more than 3,000 footmen, travel that Friday, which was a right hot day, thirty miles and more. His troops could not find, anywhere along the way, horsemeat or man's meat, or so much as drink for their horses, save in one little brook, where there was very little relief, it was as soon muddied with the carriages that had passed through it. And all that day the king's host was within five or six miles of his enemies; he in open country and they among woods, having always good reconnoitring of their position. So continuing that journey he came, with all his host, to a village called Cheltenham, only five miles from Tewkesbury, where the king had certain knowledge that, only a little before his coming thither, his enemies had come to Tewkesbury and there were taking a field. Whereupon the king did not tarry long, but comforted himself a little and his people with such meat and drink as he had caused to be carried with him for the victualling of his host; and at once set forth towards his enemies, and took the field, and lodged himself and all his host within three miles of them.

Upon the morrow following, Saturday, the 4th day of May the king apparelled himself, and set all his host in good array, displayed his banners, did blow up the trumpets, committed his cause and quarrel to God, and advanced directly upon his enemies who were pitched strongly in a marvellously strong ground, very difficult to assail. In front of their field were such evil lanes and deep dikes, so many hedges, tree, and bushes, that it was very hard to approach near and come to hand fighting. But Edmund, called Duke of Somerset, having that day the vanguard advanced with his troops somewhat on one side of the king's vanguard, and by certain paths and

ways previously surveyed, and unknown to the king's party, he departed out of the field, passed a lane, and came to a close, just in front of the king and from the hill that was in one of the closes, he set right fiercely on the end of the king's division. The king, in manly fashion, at once set upon them won the dike and hedge and with great violence pushed them back up the hill, assisted by the Duke of Gloucester.

Here it is to be remembered that when the king had come to the field, before he attacked, he considered that, upon the right hand of the field was a park, with many trees. He, thinking to provide a remedy in case his said enemies had laid any ambush of horsemen in that wood, he chose, out of his troops, 200 spears and set them in a group together, about a quarter of a mile from the battlefield, charging them to keep a close watch on that part of the wood, and to do what was necessary if the need should arise, and if they saw no such need to employ themselves in the best way they could. This provision came as well to the point at this time of the battle as could well have been devised, for the said spears of the king's party, seeing no likelihood of any ambush in the said corner of the wood, and seeing also a good opportunity to employ themselves well, all at once burst out upon the Duke of Somerset and his vanguard from one side, unexpectedly. Upon this his men, seeing that the king gave them enough to do before them, were greatly dismayed and abashed, and so took to flight in the park, and into the meadow that was near, and into lanes and dikes where they best hoped to escape the danger. Nevertheless, many were distressed, taken, and slain; and even at this point in their flight the king courageously set upon that other part of the field, where was Edward, called prince, and in a short while put him to discomforture and flight. And so it befell in the chase of them that many of them were slain, and at a mill, in the meadow by the town, many of them were drowned. Many ran towards the town, many to the church, to the abbey, and elsewhere, as best they might.

In the winning of the field such as endured hand-strokes were slain at once. Edward, called prince, was taken, fleeing towards the town, and slain in the field. There were also slain, Thomas, called the Earl of Devonshire, John of Somerset; called Marquis Dorset; Lord Wenlock; with many others in great numbers.

When this was done, and achieved with God's might, the king took the direct way to the abbey there to give unto Almighty God praise and thanks for the victory that of his mercy he had that day granted and given him.

Tragedy of Richard III:

From William Shakespeare, *Richard III*
Taken from Open Source Shakespeare
[Richard III Lines and Speeches](#)
(Act 1 Scene 1)

Richard III:

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this son of York;
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,
Our bruised arms hung up for monuments,
Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
Grim-visaged war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front:
And now, instead of mounting barded steeds
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
But I, that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling Nature,
Deformed, unfinish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up –
And that so lamely and unfashionable
That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them –
Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to pass away the time,
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
And descant on mine own deformity.
And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,

By drunken prophecies, libels and dreams,
To set my brother Clarence and the King
In deadly hate, the one against the other:
And if King Edward be as true and just
As I am subtle, false and treacherous,
This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up,
About a prophecy, which says that 'G'
Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be –
Dive, thoughts, down to my soul: here Clarence comes.

(Act 1 Scene 4)

Duke of Clarence:

O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams,
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,
I would not spend another such a night
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days,
So full of dismal terror was the time!
Methoughts that I had broken from the Tower,
And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy;
And in my company my brother Gloucester,
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches: thence we look'd toward England,
And cited up a thousand fearful times,
During the wars of York and Lancaster,
That had befall'n us. As we paced along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought that Gloucester stumbled, and in falling,
Struck me (that thought to stay him) overboard,
Into the tumbling billows of the main.
O Lord! Methought, what pain it was to drown:
What dreadful noise of waters in mine ears;
What ugly sights of death within mine eyes!
Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;
Ten thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon;
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels,
All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea.
Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in those holes
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept –
As 'twere in scorn of eyes – reflecting gems,

Which woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

(Act 1 Scene 2)

Lady Anne:

What, do you tremble? Are you all afraid?
Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!
Thou hadst but power over his mortal body:
His soul thou canst not have; therefore begone.
Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not;
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with cursing cries and deep exclams.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries.
O gentlemen! See, see dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths and bleed afresh.
Blush, Blush, thou lump of foul deformity,
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins where no blood dwells:
Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.
O God! Which this blood mad'st, revenge his death;
O earth! Which this blood drink'st, revenge his death;
Either heav'n with lightning strike the murderer dead,
Or earth gape open wide and eat him quick,
As thou dost swallow up this good King's blood
Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered.

The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain

From Anonymous, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*

Taken from Jacob Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315-1791, (New York: JPS, 1938), 51-55. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/jewish/1492-jews-spain1.asp>

And in the year 5252 [1492], in the days of King Ferdinand, the Lord visited the remnant of his people a second time [the first Spanish visitation was in 1391], and exiled them. After the King had captured the city of Granada from the Moors, and it had surrendered to him on the 7th [2d] of January of the year just mentioned, he

ordered the expulsion of all the Jews in all parts of his kingdom—in the kingdoms of Castile, Catalonia, Aragon, Galicia, Majorca, Minorca, the Basque provinces, the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, and the kingdom of Valencia. Even before that the Queen had expelled them from the kingdom of Andalusia [1483]

The King gave them three months' time in which to leave. It was announced in public in every city on the first of May, which happened to be the 19th day of the Omer, and the term ended on the day before the 9th of Ab. [The forty-nine days between the second of Passover and Shabuot are called Omer days. The actual decree of expulsion was signed March 31 and announced the first of May, the 19th day of the Omer. The Jews were to leave during in May, June, and July and be out of the country by August 1, the 8th of Ab.]

About their number there is no agreement, but, after many inquiries, I found that the most generally accepted estimate is 50,000 families, or, as others say, 53,000— [This would be about 250,000 persons. Other estimates run from 100,000 to 800,000.] They had houses, fields, vineyards, and cattle, and most of them were artisans. At that time there existed many [Talmudic] academies in Spain, and at the head of the greatest of them were Rabbi Isaac Aboab in Guadalajara [probably the greatest Spanish rabbi of his day], Rabbi Isaac Veçudó in Leon, and Rabbi Jacob Habib in Salamanca [later author of a famous collection of the non-legal parts of the Talmud, the *En Yaakob*]. In the last named city there was a great expert in mathematics, and whenever there was any doubt on mathematical questions in the Christian academy of that city they referred them to him. His name was Abraham Zacuto. [This famous astronomer encouraged the expedition of Vasco da Gama.] . . .

In the course of the three months' respite granted them they endeavoured to effect an arrangement permitting them to stay on in the country, and they felt confident of success. Their representatives were the rabbi, Don Abraham Seneor, the leader of the Spanish congregations, who was attended by a retinue on thirty mules, and Rabbi Meïr Melamed, who was secretary to the King, and Don Isaac Abravanel [1437–1508], who had fled to Castile from the King of Portugal, and then occupied an equally prominent position at the Spanish royal court. He, too, was later expelled, went to Naples, and was highly esteemed by the King of Naples. The aforementioned great rabbi, Rabbi Isaac of Leon, used to call this Don Abraham Seneor: "Soné Or" ["Hater of Light," a Hebrew pun on Seneor], because he was a heretic, and the end proved that he was right, as he was converted to Christianity at the age of eighty, he and all his family, and Rabbi Meïr Melamed with him. [Seneor and his son-in-law, Meïr, were converted June 15, 1492; Ferdinand and Isabella were among the sponsors.] Don Abraham had arranged the nuptials between the King and the Queen. The Queen was the heiress to the throne, and the King one of the Spanish nobility. On account of this, Don Abraham was appointed leader of the

Jews, but not with their consent.

The agreement permitting them to remain in the country on the payment of a large sum of money was almost completed when it was frustrated by the interference of a prior who was called the Prior of Santa Cruz. [Legend relates that Torquemada, Prior of the convent of Santa Cruz, thundered, with crucifix aloft, to the King and Queen: "Judas Iscariot sold his master for thirty pieces of silver. Your Highness would sell him anew for thirty thousand. Here he is, take him, and barter him away."] Then the Queen gave an answer to the representatives of the Jews, similar to the saying of King Solomon [ProverbS 2 1: 1]: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water. God turneth it withersoever He will." She said furthermore: "Do you believe that this comes upon you from us? The Lord hath put this thing into the heart of the king." [Isabella says it is God's will that the Jews be expelled.]

Then they saw that there was evil determined against them by the King, and they gave up the hope of remaining. But the time had become short, and they had to hasten their exodus from Spain. They sold their houses, their landed estates, and their cattle for very small prices, to save themselves. The King did not allow them to carry silver and gold out of his country, so that they were compelled to exchange their silver and gold for merchandise of cloths and skins and other things- [Ever since 1480 Jews and Gentiles were forbidden to export precious metal, the source of a nation's wealth.]

One hundred and twenty thousand of them went to Portugal, according to a compact which a prominent man, Don Vidal bar Benveniste del Cavalleria, had made with the King of Portugal, and they paid one ducat for every soul, and the fourth part of all the merchandise they had carried thither; and he allowed them to stay in his country six months. This King acted much worse toward them than the King of Spain, and after the six months had elapsed he made slaves of all those that remained in his country, and banished seven hundred children to a remote island to settle it, and all of them died. Some say that there were double as many. Upon them the Scriptural word was fulfilled [Deuteronomy 28:32]: "Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, etc" [all Spanish Jews, who were still in Portugal in 1493, were enslaved by King John (1481-1495). The children were sent to the isle of St. Thomas, off the coast of Africa.] He also ordered the congregation of Lisbon, his capital, not to raise their voice in their prayers, that the Lord might not hear their complaining about the violence that was done unto them.

Many of the exiled Spaniards went to Mohammedan countries, to Fez, Tlemçen, and the Berber provinces, under the King of Tunis. [These North African lands are across the Mediterranean from Spain.] On account of their large numbers the

Moors did not allow them into their cities, and many of them died in the fields from hunger, thirst, and lack of everything. The lions and bears, which are numerous in this country, killed some of them while they lay starving outside of the cities. A Jew in the kingdom of Tlemçen, named Abraham, the viceroy who ruled the kingdom, made part of them come to this kingdom, and he spent a large amount of money to help them. The Jews of Northern Africa were very charitable toward them. A part of those who went to Northern Africa, as they found no rest and no place that would receive them, returned to Spain, and became converts, and through them the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled [Lamentations 1:13]: "He hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back." For, originally, they had all fled for the sake of the unity of God; only a very few had become converts throughout all the boundaries of Spain; they did not spare their fortunes; yea, parents escaped without having regard to their children.

When the edict of expulsion became known in the other countries, vessels came from Genoa to the Spanish harbors to carry away the Jews. The crews of these vessels, too, acted maliciously and meanly toward the Jews, robbed them, and delivered some of them to the famous pirate of that time who was called the Corsair of Genoa. To those who escaped and arrived at Genoa the people of the city showed themselves merciless, and oppressed and robbed them, and the cruelty of their wicked hearts went so far that they took the infants from the mothers' breasts.

Many ships with Jews, especially from Sicily, went to the city of Naples on the coast. The King of this country was friendly to the Jews, received them all, and was merciful towards them, and he helped them with money. The Jews that were at Naples supplied them with food as much as they could, and sent around to the other parts of Italy to collect money to sustain them. The Marranos in this city lent them money on pledges without interest; even the Dominican Brotherhood acted mercifully toward them. [The Dominican monks were normally bitterly opposed to Jews.] On account of their very large number, all this was not enough. Some of them died by famine, others sold their children to Christians to sustain their life. Finally, a plague broke out among them, spread to Naples, and very many of them died, so that the living wearied of burying the dead.

Part of the exiled Spaniards went over sea to Turkey. Some of them were thrown into the sea and drowned, but those who arrived, there the King of Turkey received kindly, as they were artisans. He lent them money and settled many of them on an island, and gave them fields and estates. [The Turks needed smiths and makers of munitions for the war against Christian Europe.]

A few of the exiles were dispersed in the countries of Italy, in the city of Ferrara,

in the [papal] countries of Romagna, the March, and Patrimonium, and in Rome. . . .

He who said unto His world, Enough, may He also say Enough unto our sufferings, and may He look down upon our impotence. May He turn again, and have compassion upon us, and hasten out salvation. Thus may it be Thy will!

Luther: Letter on Rome and the Jews

From Martin Luther, *Letter to George Spalatin*

Taken from "Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters", trans. by P. Smith (1913), Vol. 1, pp. 33-35, 98. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

Internet History Sourcebooks: Modern History

PEACE BE WITH You, Reverend Spalatin! Brother John Lang has just asked me what I think of the innocent and learned John Reuchlin and his prosecutors at Cologne, and whether he is in danger of heresy. You know that I greatly esteem and like the man, and perchance my judgment will be suspected, because, as I say, I am not free and neutral; nevertheless as you wish it I will give my opinion, namely that in all his writings there appears to be absolutely nothing dangerous.

I much wonder at the men of Cologne ferreting out such an obscure perplexity, worse tangled than the Gordian knot as they say, in a case as plain as day. Reuchlin himself has often protested his innocence, and solemnly asserts he is only proposing questions for debate, not laying down articles of faith, which alone, in my opinion, absolves him, so that had he the dregs of all known heresies in his memorial, I should believe him sound and pure of faith. For if such protests and expressions of opinion are not free from danger, we must needs fear that these inquisitors, who strain at gnats though they swallow camels, should at their own pleasure pronounce the orthodox heretics, no matter how much the accused protested their innocence.

What shall I say? that they are trying to cast out Beelzebub but not by the finger of God. I often regret and deplore that we Christians have begun to be wise abroad and fools at home. A hundred times worse blasphemies than this exist in the very streets of Jerusalem, and the high places are filled with spiritual idols. We ought to show our excessive zeal in removing these offences which are our real, intestine enemies. Instead of which we abandon all that is really urgent and turn to foreign and external affairs, under the inspiration of the devil who intends that we should neglect our own business without helping that of others. Pray can anything be imagined more foolish and imprudent than such zeal? Has unhappy Cologne no waste places nor turbulence in her own church, to which she could devote her knowledge, zeal and charity, that she must needs search out such cases as this in

remote parts?

But what am I doing? My heart is fuller of these thoughts than my tongue can tell. I have come to the conclusion that the Jews will always curse and blaspheme God and his King Christ, as all the prophets have predicted. He who neither reads nor understands this, as yet knows no theology, in my opinion. And so I presume the men of Cologne cannot understand the Scripture, because it is necessary that such things take place to fulfill prophecy. If they are trying to stop the Jews blaspheming, they are working to prove the Bible and God liars.

But trust God to be true, even if a million men of Cologne sweat to make him false. Conversion of the Jews will be the work of God alone operating from within, and not of man working-or rather playing-from without. If these offences be taken away, worse will follow. For they are thus given over by the wrath of God to reprobation, that they may become incorrigible, as Ecclesiastes says, for every one who is incorrigible is rendered worse rather than better by correction.

Farewell in the Lord; pardon my words, and pray the Lord for my sinning soul.

Your brother,

MARTIN LUTHER

Calvin: On Predestination

From John Calvin, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*

Taken from Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Sourced through Fordham Halsall IHSP.

[*John Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion - Christian Classics Ethereal Library*](#)

The covenant of life not being equally preached to all, and among those to whom it is preached not always finding the same reception, this diversity discovers the wonderful depth of the Divine judgment. Nor is it to be doubted that this variety also follows, subject to the decision of God's eternal election. If it be evidently the result of the Divine will, that salvation is freely offered to some, and others are prevented from attaining it---this immediately gives rise to important and difficult questions, which are incapable of any other explication, than by the establishment of pious minds in what ought to be received concerning election and predestination---a question, in the opinion of many, full of perplexity; for they consider nothing more unreasonable, than that, of the common mass of mankind, some should be predestinated to salvation, and others to destruction. But how

unreasonably they perplex themselves will afterwards appear from the sequel of our discourse. Besides, the very obscurity which excites such dread, not only displays the utility of this doctrine, but shows it to be productive of the most delightful benefit. We shall never be clearly convinced as we ought to be, that our salvation flows from the fountain of God's free mercy, till we are acquainted with His eternal election, which illustrates the grace of God by this comparison, that He adopts not all promiscuously to the hope of salvation, but gives to some what He refuses to others. Ignorance of this principle evidently detracts from the Divine glory, and diminishes real humility. But according to Paul, what is so necessary to be known, never can be known, unless God, without any regard to works, chooses those whom He has decreed. "At this present time also, there is a remnant according to the election of grace. And if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise, grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise, work is no more work." If we need to be recalled to the origin of election, to prove that we obtain salvation from no other source than the mere goodness of God, they who desire to extinguish this principle, do all they can to obscure what ought to be magnificently and loudly celebrated, and to pluck up humility by the roots. In ascribing the salvation of the remnant of the people to the election of grace, Paul clearly testifies, that it is then only known that God saves whom upon which there can be no claim. They who shut the gates to prevent anyone from presuming to approach and taste this doctrine, do no less injury to man than to God; for nothing else will be sufficient to produce in us suitable humility, or to impress us with a due sense of our great obligations to God. Nor is there any other basis for solid confidence, even according to the authority of Christ, who, to deliver us from all fear, and render us invincible amidst so many dangers, snares, and deadly conflicts, promises to preserve in safety all whom the Father has committed to His care. Whence we infer, that they who know not themselves to be God's peculiar people will be tortured with continual anxiety; and therefore, that the interest of all believers, as well as their own, is very badly consulted by those who, blind to the three advantages we have remarked, would wholly remove the foundation of our salvation. And hence the Church rises to our view, which otherwise, as Bernard justly observes, could neither be discovered nor recognized among creatures, being in two respects wonderfully concealed in the bosom of a blessed predestination, and in the mass of a miserable damnation. But before I enter on the subject itself, I must address some preliminary observations to two sorts of persons. The discussion of predestination---a subject of itself rather intricate---is made very perplexed, and therefore dangerous, by human curiosity, which no barriers can restrain from wandering into forbidden labyrinths, and soaring beyond its sphere, as if determined to leave none of the Divine secrets unscrutinized or unexplored. As we see multitudes everywhere guilty of this arrogance and presumption, and among them some who are not censurable in other respects, it is proper to admonish them of the bounds of their duty on this

subject. First, then, let them remember that when they inquire into predestination, they penetrate the inmost recesses of Divine wisdom, where the careless and confident intruder will obtain no satisfaction to his curiosity, but will enter a labyrinth from which he will find no way to depart. For it is unreasonable that man should scrutinize with impunity those things which the Lord has determined to be hidden in himself; and investigate, even from eternity, that sublimity of wisdom which God would have us to adore and not comprehend, to promote our admiration of His glory. The secrets of His will which He determined to reveal to us, He discovers in His word; and these are all that He foresaw would concern us or conduce to our advantage.

II. "We are come into the way of faith," says Augustine; "let us constantly pursue it. It conducts into the king's palace, in which are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. For the Lord Christ Himself envied not His great and most select disciples when He said, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.' We must talk, we must improve, we must grow, that our hearts may be able to understand those things of which we are at present incapable. If the last day finds us improving, we shall then learn what we never could learn in the present state." If we only consider that the word of the Lord is the only way to lead us to an investigation of all that ought to be believed concerning Him, and the only light to enlighten us to behold all that ought to be seen of Him, this consideration will easily restrain and preserve us from all presumption. For we shall know that when we have exceeded the limits of the word, we shall get into a devious and darksome course, in which errors, slips, and falls, will often be inevitable. Let us, then, in the first place, bear in mind, that to desire any other knowledge of predestination than what is unfolded in the word of God, indicates as great folly, as a wish to walk through unpassable roads, or to see in the dark. Nor let us be ashamed to be ignorant of some things relative to a subject in which there is a kind of learned ignorance. Rather let us abstain with cheerfulness from the pursuit of that knowledge, the affectation of which is foolish, dangerous, and even fatal. But if we are stimulated by the wantonness of intellect, we must oppose it with a reflection calculated to repress it, that as "it is not good to eat much honey, so for men to search their own glory, is not glory." For there is sufficient to deter us from that presumption, which can only precipitate us into ruin.

III. Others, desirous of remedying this evil, will have all mention of predestination to be as it were buried; they teach men to avoid every question concerning it as they would a precipice. Though their moderation is to be commended, in judging that mysteries ought to be handled with such great sobriety, yet, as they descend too low, they have little influence on the mind of man, which refuses to submit to unreasonable restraints. To observe, therefore, the legitimate boundary on this side also, we must recur to the word of the Lord, which affords a certain rule for the understanding. For the Scripture is the school of the Holy Spirit, in which, as nothing necessary and useful to be known is omitted, so nothing is taught which is

not beneficial to know. Whatever, therefore, is declared in the Scripture concerning predestination, we must be cautious not to withhold from believers, lest we appear either to defraud them of the favor of their God, or to reprove and censure the Holy Spirit for publishing what it would be useful by any means to suppress. Let us, I say, permit the Christian man to open his heart and his ears to all the discourses addressed to him by God, only with this moderation, that as soon as the Lord closes his sacred mouth, he shall also desist from further inquiry. This will be the best barrier of sobriety, if in learning we not only follow the leadings of God, but as soon as he ceases to teach, we give up our desire of learning. Nor is the danger they dread, sufficient to divert our attention from the oracles of God. It is a celebrated observation of Solomon, that "it is the glory of God to conceal a thing." But, as both piety and common sense suggest that this is not to be understood generally of every thing, we must seek for the proper distinction, lest we content ourselves with brutish ignorance under the pretext of modesty and sobriety. Now, this distinction is clearly expressed in a few words by Moses "The secret things," he says, "belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law." For we see how he enforces on the people attention to the doctrine of the law only by the celestial decree, because it pleased God to promulgate it; and restrains the same people within those limits with this single reason, that it is not lawful for mortals to intrude into the secrets of God.

IV. Profane persons, I confess, suddenly lay hold of something relating to the subject of predestination, to furnish occasion for objections, cavils, reproaches, and ridicule. But if we are frightened from it by their impudence, all the principal articles of the faith must be concealed, for there is scarcely one of them which such persons as these leave unviolated by blasphemy. The refractory mind will discover as much insolence, on hearing that there are three persons in the Divine essence, as on being told, that when God created man, He foresaw what would happen concerning him. Nor will they refrain from derision on being informed that little more than five thousand years have elapsed since the creation of the world. They will ask why the power of God was so long idle and asleep. Nothing can be advanced which they will not endeavor to ridicule. Must we, in order to check these sacrileges, say nothing of the Divinity of the Son and Spirit, or pass over in silence the creation of the world? In this instance, and every other, the truth of God is too powerful to dread the detraction of impious men; as is strenuously maintained by Augustine, in his treatise on the Perseverance of the Faithful. We see the false apostles, with all their defamation and accusation of the true doctrine of Paul, could never succeed to make him ashamed of it. Their assertion, that all this discussion is dangerous to pious minds, because it is inconsistent with exhortations, shakes their faith, and disturbs and discourages the heart itself, is without any foundation. Augustine admits, that he was frequently blamed, on these accounts, for preaching predestination too freely; but he readily and amply refutes

them. But as many and various absurdities are crowded upon us here, we prefer reserving every one to be refuted in its proper place. I only desire this general admission, that we should neither scrutinize those things which the Lord has left concealed, nor neglect those which He has openly exhibited, lest we be condemned for excessive curiosity on the one hand, or for ingratitude on the other. For it is judiciously remarked by Augustine, that we may safely follow the Scripture, which proceeds as with the pace of a mother stooping to the weakness of a child. that it may not leave our weak capacities behind. But persons who are so cautious or timid, as to wish predestination to be buried in silence, lest feeble minds should be disturbed,—with what pretext, I ask, will they gloss over their arrogance, which indirectly charges God with foolish inadvertency, as though He foresaw not the danger which they suppose they have had the penetration to discover. Whoever, therefore, endeavors to raise prejudices against the doctrine of predestination, openly reproaches God, as though something had inconsiderately escaped from Him that is pernicious to the Church.

V. Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death, no one, desirous of the credit of piety, dares absolutely to deny. But it is involved in many cavils, especially by those who make foreknowledge the cause of it. We maintain, that both belong to God; but it is preposterous to represent one as dependent on the other. When we attribute foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things have ever been, and perpetually remain, before His eyes, so that to His knowledge nothing in future or past, but all things are present; and present in such a manner, that He does not merely conceive of them from ideas formed in His mind, as things remembered by us appear present to our minds, but really beholds and sees them as if actually placed before Him. And this foreknowledge extends to the whole world, and to all the creatures. Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which He has determined in Himself what would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being created for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated either to life or to death. This God has not only testified in particular persons, but has given a specimen of it in the whole posterity of Abraham, which should evidently show the future condition of every nation to depend upon His decision. "When the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, the Lord's portion was His people; Jacob was the lot of His inheritance." The separation is before the eyes of all: in the person of Abraham, as in the dry trunk of a tree, one people is peculiarly chosen to the rejection of others: no reason for this appears, except that Moses, to deprive their posterity of all occasion of glorying, teaches them that their exaltation is wholly from God's gratuitous love. He assigns this reason for their deliverance, that "He loved their fathers, and chose their seed after them." More fully in another chapter: "The Lord did not set His love upon you, nor choose you, because you were more in

number than any people; but because the Lord loved you." He frequently repeats the same admonition: "Behold, the heaven is the Lord's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is. Only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and He chose their seed after them." In another place, sanctification is enjoined upon them, because they were chosen to be a peculiar people. And again, elsewhere, love is asserted to be the cause of their protection. It is declared by the united voice of the faithful, "He hath chosen our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob, whom He loved." For the gifts conferred on them by God, they all ascribe to gratuitous love, not only from a consciousness that these were not obtained by any merit of theirs, but from a conviction, that the holy patriarch himself was not endued with such excellence as to acquire the privilege of so great an honor for himself and his posterity. And the more effectually to demolish all pride, he reproaches them with having deserved no favor, being "a stiff-necked and rebellious people." The prophets also frequently reproach the Jews with the unwelcome mention of this election, because they had shamefully departed from it. Let them, however, now come forward, who wish to restrict the election of God to the desert of men, or the merit of works. When they see one nation preferred to all others---when they hear that God had no inducement to be more favorable to a few, and ignoble, and even disobedient and obstinate people---will they quarrel with him because he has chosen to give such an example of mercy? But their obstreperous clamors will not impede this work, nor will the reproaches they hurl against Heaven, injure or affect his justice; they will rather recoil upon their own heads. Lo, this principle of the gracious covenant, the Israelites are also recalled whenever thanks are to be rendered to God, or their hopes are to be raised for futurity. "He hath made us, and not we ourselves," says the Psalmist: "we are His people, and the sheep of His pasture." It is not without reason that the negation is added, "not we ourselves," that they may know that of all the benefits they enjoy, God is not only the Author, but derived the cause from Himself, there being nothing in them deserving of such great honor. He also enjoins them to be content with the mere good pleasure of God, in these words: "O ye seed of Abraham His servant, ye children of Jacob His chosen." And after having recounted the continual benefits bestowed by God as fruits of election, he at length concludes that He had acted with such liberality, "because He remembered His covenant." Consistent with this doctrine is the song of the whole Church: "Thy right hand, and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance, gave our fathers the land, because Thou hadst a favor unto them." It must be observed that where mention is made of the land, it is a visible symbol of the secret separation, which comprehends adoption. David, in another place, exhorts the people to the same gratitude: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people whom He hath chosen for His own inheritance." Samuel animates to a good hope: "The Lord will not forsake His people, for His great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you His people." David, when his faith is assailed, thus arms himself for the conflict: "Blessed is the man whom Thou

choosest, and causest to approach unto Thee; he shall dwell in Thy courts." But since the election hidden in God has been confirmed by the first deliverance, as well as by the second and other intermediate blessings, the word choose is transferred to it in Isaiah: "The Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel;" because, contemplating a future period, He declares that the collection of the residue of the people, whom He had appeared to have forsaken; would be a sign of the stable and sure election, which had likewise seemed to fail. When He says also, in another place, "I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away," He commends the continual course of His signal liberality and paternal benevolence. The angel, in Zachariah, speaks more plainly: "The Lord shall choose Jerusalem again;" as though His severe chastisement had been a rejection, or their exile had been an interruption of election; which, nevertheless, remains inviolable, though the tokens of it are not always visible.

VI. We must now proceed to a second degree of election, still more restricted, or that in which the Divine grace was displayed in a more special manner, when of the same race of Abraham God rejected some, and by nourishing others in the Church, proved that He retained them among His children. Israel at first obtained the same station as his brother Isaac, for the spiritual covenant was equally sealed in him by the symbol of circumcision. He is cut off; afterwards Esau; lastly, an innumerable multitude, and almost all Israel. In Isaac the seed was called; the same calling continued in Jacob. God exhibited a similar example in the rejection of Saul, which is magnificently celebrated by the Psalmist: "He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but chose the tribe of Judah ;" and this the sacred history frequently repeats, that the wonderful secret of Divine grace may be more manifest in that change. I grant, it was by their own crime and guilt that Ishmael, Esau, and persons of similar characters, fell from the adoption; because the condition annexed was, that they should faithfully keep the covenant of God, which they perfidiously violated. Yet it was a peculiar favor of God, that He deigned to prefer them to other nations; as it is said in the Psalms: "He hath not dealt so with any nation; and so for His judgments, they have not known them." But I have justly said that here are two degrees to be remarked; for in the election of the whole nation, God has already shown that in His mere goodness He is bound by no laws, but is perfectly free, so that none can require of Him an equal distribution of grace, the inequality of which demonstrates it to be truly gratuitous. Therefore Malachi aggravates the ingratitude of Israel, because, though not only elected out of the whole race of mankind, but also separated from a sacred family to be a peculiar people, they perfidiously and impiously despised God their most beneficent Father. "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau." For God takes it for granted, since both were sons of a holy father, successors of the covenant, and branches from a sacred root, that the children of Jacob were already laid under more than common obligations by their admission to that honor; but Esau, the first-born, having been rejected, and their father, though inferior by

birth, having been made the heir, He proves them guilty of double ingratitude, and complains of their violating this two-fold claim.

VII. Though it is sufficiently clear, that God, in his secret counsel, freely chooses whom He will, and rejects others, His gratuitous election is but half displayed till we come to particular individuals, to whom God not only offers salvation, but assigns it in such a manner, that the certainty of the effect is liable to no suspense or doubt. These are included in that one seed mentioned by Paul; for though the adoption was deposited in the hand of Abraham, yet many of his posterity being cut off as putrid members, in order to maintain the efficacy and stability of election, it is necessary to ascend to the head, in whom their heavenly Father has bound His elect to each other, and united them to Himself by an indissoluble bond. Thus the adoption of the family of Abraham displayed the favor of God, which He denied to others; but in the members of Christ there is a conspicuous exhibition of the superior efficacy of grace; because, being united to their head, they never fail of salvation. Paul, therefore, justly reasons from the passage of Malachi which I have just quoted, that where God, introducing the covenant of eternal life, invites any people to Himself, there is a peculiar kind of election as to part of them, so that he does not efficaciously choose all with indiscriminate grace. The declaration, "Jacob have I loved," respects the whole posterity of the patriarch, whom the prophet there opposes to the descendants of Esau. Yet this is no objection to our having in the person of one individual a specimen of the election, which can never fail of attaining its full effect. These, who truly belong to Christ, Paul correctly observes, are called "a remnant;" for experience proves, that of a great multitude the most part fall away and disappear, so that often only a small portion remains. That the general election of a people is not always effectual and permanent, a reason readily presents itself, because, when God covenants with them, He does not also give the spirit of regeneration to enable them to preserve in the covenant to the end; but the eternal call, without the internal efficacy of grace, which would be sufficient for their preservation, is a kind of medium between the rejection of all mankind and the election of the small number of believers. The whole nation of Israel was called "God's inheritance," though many of them were strangers; but God, having firmly covenanted to their Father and Redeemer, regards that gratuitous favor rather than the defection of multitudes; by whom His truth was not violated, because His preservation of a certain remnant to Himself, made it evident that His calling was without repentance. For God's collection of a Church for himself, from time to time, from the children of Abraham, rather than from the profane nations, was in consideration of his covenant, which, being violated by the multitude, He restricted to a few, to prevent a total failure. Lastly, the general adoption of the seed of Abraham was a visible representation of a greater blessing, which God conferred on the few out of the multitude. This is the reason that Paul so carefully distinguishes the descendants of Abraham according to the flesh, from His spiritual children called after the example of Isaac. Not that the mere descent from Abraham was a

vain and unprofitable thing, which could not be asserted without depreciating the covenant; but because to the latter alone the immutable counsel of God, in which He predestinated whom He would, was of itself effectual to salvation. But I advise my readers to adopt no prejudice on either side, till it shall appear from adduced passages of Scripture what sentiments ought to be entertained. In conformity, therefore, to the clear doctrine of the Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined, both whom He would admit to salvation, and whom He would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on His gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit; but that to those whom He devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible, judgment. In the elect, we consider calling as an evidence of election, and justification as another token of its manifestation, till they arrive in glory, which constitutes its completion. As God seals His elect by vocation and justification, so by excluding the reprobate from the knowledge of His name and the sanctification of His Spirit, He affords an indication of the judgment that awaits them. Here I shall pass over many fictions fabricated by foolish men to overthrow predestination. It is unnecessary to refute things which, as soon as they are advanced, sufficiently prove their own falsehood. I shall dwell only on these things which are subjects of controversy among the learned, or which may occasion difficulty to simple minds, or which impiety speciously pleads in order to stigmatize the Divine justice.

The Act of Supremacy of 1534

Henry VIII and the Houses of Parliament

Taken from "Statutes of the Realm III". Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

<https://tudorhistory.org/primary/supremacy.html>

Albeit, the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations; yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the

King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed corrected, restrained or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this realm: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

Knox: The Monstrous Regiment of Women

From John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*; *THE FIRST BLAST TO AWAKE WOMEN DEGENERATE*.

Taken from edition by Edward Arber, F.S.A., etc., University College. Southgate, London, N. 15 August 1878. No. 2.

<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/9660/pg9660.txt>

To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature; contumely [an insult] to God, a thing most contrary to his revealed will and approved ordinance; and finally, it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.

In the probation of this proposition, I will not be so curious as to gather

whatsoever may amplify, set forth, or decor the same; but I am purposed, even as I have spoken my conscience in most plain and few words, so to stand content with a simple proof of every member, bringing in for my witness God's ordinance in nature, his plain will revealed in his word, and by the minds of such as be most ancient amongst godly writers.

And first, where I affirm the empire of a woman to be a thing repugnant to nature, I mean not only that God, by the order of his creation, has spoiled [deprived] woman of authority and dominion, but also that man has seen, proved, and pronounced just causes why it should be. Man, I say, in many other cases, does in this behalf see very clearly. [14]For the causes are so manifest, that they cannot be hid. For who can deny but it is repugnant to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see? That the weak, the sick, and impotent persons shall nourish and keep the whole and strong? And finally, that the foolish, mad, and frenetic shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as be sober of mind? And such be all women, compared unto man in bearing of authority. For their sight in civil regiment is but blindness; their strength, weakness; their counsel, foolishness; and judgment, frenzy, if it be rightly considered.

I except such as God, by singular privilege, and for certain causes known only to himself, has exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, does paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience has declared them to be inconstant, variable, cruel, lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment. And these notable faults have men in all ages espied in that kind, for the which not only they have removed women from rule and authority, but also some have thought that men subject to the counsel or empire of their wives were unworthy of public office. For thus writes Aristotle, in the second of his Politics. What difference shall we put, says he, whether that women bear authority, or the husbands that obey the empire of their wives, be appointed to be magistrates? For what ensues the one, must needs follow the other: to wit, injustice, confusion, and disorder. The same author further reasons, that the policy or regiment of the Lacedemonians (who other ways amongst the Greeks were most excellent) was not worthy to be reputed nor accounted amongst the number of commonwealths that were well governed, because the magistrates and rulers of the same were too much given to please and obey their wives. What would this writer (I pray you) have said to that realm or nation, where a woman sits crowned in Parliament amongst the midst of men?

"Oh fearful and terrible are thy judgments, O Lord, which thus hast abased man for his iniquity!"

I am assuredly persuaded that if any of those men, which, illuminated only by the light of nature, did see and pronounce the causes sufficient why women ought not to bear rule nor authority, should this day live and see a woman sitting in judgment, or riding from Parliament in the midst of men, having the royal crown upon her head, the sword and the scepter borne before her, in sign that the administration of justice was in her power: I am assuredly persuaded, I say, that such a sight should so astonish them, that they should judge the whole world to be transformed into the Amazons, and that such a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that country, as poets do feign was made of the companions of Ulysses; or at least, that albeit the outward form of men remained, yet should they judge their hearts were changed from the wisdom, understanding, and courage of men, to the foolish fondness and cowardice of women. Yea, they further should pronounce, that where women reign or be in authority, that there must needs vanity be preferred to virtue, ambition and pride to temperance and modesty; and finally, that avarice, the mother of all mischief, must needs devour equity and justice.

But lest that we shall seem to be of this opinion alone, let us hear what others have seen and decreed in this matter. In the Rules of the Law thus is it written: "Women are removed from all civil and public office, so that they neither may be judges, neither may they occupy the place of the magistrate, neither yet may they be speakers for others." The same is repeated in the third and the sixteenth books of the Digests where certain persons are forbidden, *Ne pro aliis postulent*, that is, that they be no speakers nor advocates for others. And among the rest, women are forbidden, and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefacedness [modesty] intermeddle themselves with the causes of others; neither yet that women presume to use the offices due to men. The Law in the same place does further declare that a natural shamefacedness [modesty] ought to be in womankind, which most certainly she loses whensoever she takes upon her the office and estate of man. As Calphurnia was evidently declared, who having license to speak before the senate, at length she became so impudent and importunate, that by her babbling she troubled the whole assembly; and so gave occasion that this law was established.

In the first book of the Digests, it is pronounced that the condition of the woman, in many cases, is worse than of the man: as in jurisdiction (says the Law), in receiving of cure and tuition, in adoption, in public accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherly power which she has not upon her own sons. The Law further will not permit that the woman give anything to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kind, being the inferior member, to presume to give anything to her head. The Law does moreover pronounce womankind to be most avaricious (which is a vice intolerable in those that should rule or minister justice).

And Aristotle, as before is touched, does plainly affirm, that wheresoever women bear dominion, there the people must needs be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperance, given to pride, excess, and vanity; and finally, in the end, they must needs come to confusion and ruin.

Would to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections of women, of their natural weakness and inordinate appetites! I might adduce histories, proving some women to have died for sudden joy; some for impatience to have murdered themselves; some to have burned with such inordinate lust, that for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangers their country and city; and some to have been so desirous of dominion, that for the obtaining of the same, they have murdered the children of their own sons, yea, and some have killed with cruelty their own husbands and children. But to me it is sufficient (because this part of nature is not my most sure foundation) to have proved, that men illuminated only by the light of nature have seen and have determined that it is a thing most repugnant to nature, that women rule and govern over men. For those that will not permit a woman to have power over her own sons, will not permit her (I am assured) to have rule over a realm; and those that will not suffer her to speak in defence of those that be accused (neither that will admit her accusation intended against man) will not approve her that she shall sit in judgment, crowned with the royal crown, usurping authority in the midst of men.

The Spanish Armada

From Elizabeth I, *Against the Spanish Armada*

Taken from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1588elizabeth.asp>

My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England, too; and

think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean my lieutenant general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and by your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over the enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

The Tridentine Creed

From Pope Paul IV, *The Council of Trent*

Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP

Tridentine Creed

I, N, with a firm faith believe and profess each and everything which is contained in the Creed which the Holy Roman Church maketh use of. To wit:

I believe in one God, The Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God. Born of the Father before all ages. God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God. Begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father. By whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven. And became incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary: and was made man. He was also crucified for us, suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was buried. And on the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures. He ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead and His kingdom will have no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, Who proceeds from the Father and the Son. Who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, and who spoke through the prophets. And one holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the forgiveness of sins and I await the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen

I most steadfastly admit and embrace Apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the Church.

I also admit the Holy Scripture according to that sense which our holy mother the Church hath held, and doth hold, to whom it belongeth to judge of the true sense and interpretations of the Scriptures. Neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

I also profess that there are truly and properly Seven Sacraments of the New

Law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one; to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church in the solemn administration of the aforesaid sacraments.

I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

I profess, likewise, that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the Body and Blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation. I also confess that under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.

I constantly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. Likewise, that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be honored and invoked, and that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the Mother of God, ever virgin, and also of other Saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration is to be given them.

I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

I acknowledge the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons, and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent, and by the ecumenical Council of the Vatican, particularly concerning the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and his infallible teaching. I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church hath condemned, rejected, and anathematized. This true Catholic faith, outside of which no one can be saved, which I now freely profess and to which I truly adhere, inviolate and with firm constancy until the last breath of life, I do so profess and swear to maintain with the help of God. And I shall strive, as far as possible, that this same faith shall be held, taught, and professed by all those over whom I have charge. I N. do so pledge, promise, and swear, so help me God and these Holy Gospels.

St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre

From De Thou, *Histoire des choses arrivées de son temps*

Taken De Thou, Histoire des choses arrivées de son temps, (Paris, 1659), 658 sqq, in J.H. Robinson, 2 vols. (Boston: Ginn, 1906), 2:180-183. Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP.

Internet History Sourcebooks: Modern History

So it was determined to exterminate all the Protestants and the plan was approved by the queen. They discussed for some time whether they should make an exception of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. All agreed that the king of Navarre should be spared by reason of the royal dignity and the new alliance. The duke of Guise, who was put in full command of the enterprise, summoned by night several captains of the Catholic Swiss mercenaries from the five little cantons, and some commanders of French companies, and told them that it was the will of the king that, according to God's will, they should take vengeance on the band of rebels while they had the beasts in the toils. Victory was easy and the booty great and to be obtained without danger. The signal to commence the massacre should be given by the bell of the palace, and the marks by which they should recognize each other in the darkness were a bit of white linen tied around the left arm and a white cross on the hat.

Meanwhile Coligny awoke and recognized from the noise that a riot was taking place. Nevertheless he remained assured of the king's good will, being persuaded thereof either by his credulity or by Teligny, his son-in-law: he believed the populace had been stirred up by the Guises and that quiet would be restored as soon as it was seen that soldiers of the guard, under the command of Cosseins, had been detailed to protect him and guard his property.

But when he perceived that the noise increased and that some one had fired an arquebus in the courtyard of his dwelling, then at length, conjecturing what it might be, but too late, he arose from his bed and having put on his dressing gown he said his prayers, leaning against the wall. Labonne held the key of the house, and when Cosseins commanded him, in the king's name, to open the door he obeyed at once without fear and apprehending nothing. But scarcely had Cosseins entered when Labonne, who stood in his way, was killed with a dagger thrust. The Swiss who were in the courtyard, when they saw this, fled into the house and closed the door, piling against it tables and all the furniture they could find. It was in the first scrimmage that a Swiss was killed with a ball from an arquebus fired by one of Cosseins' people. But finally the conspirators broke through the door and mounted the stairway, Cosseins, Attin, Corberan de Cordillac, Seigneur de Sarlabous, first captains of the regiment of the guards, Achilles Petrucci of Siena, all armed with cuirasses, and Besme the German, who had been brought up as a page in the house of Guise; for the duke of Guise was lodged at court, together with the great nobles

and others who accompanied him.

After Coligny had said his prayers with Merlin the minister, he said, without any appearance of alarm, to those who were present (and almost all were surgeons, for few of them were of his retinue) : "I see clearly that which they seek, and I am ready steadfastly to suffer that death which I have never feared and which for a long time past I have pictured to myself. I consider myself happy in feeling the approach of death and in being ready to die in God, by whose grace I hope for the life everlasting. I have no further need of human succor. Go then from this place, my friends, as quickly as you may, for fear lest you shall be involved in my misfortune, and that some day your wives shall curse me as the author of your loss. For me it is enough that God is here, to whose goodness I commend my soul, which is so soon to issue from my body. After these words they ascended to an upper room, whence they sought safety in flight here and there over the roofs.

Meanwhile the conspirators; having burst through the door of the chamber, entered, and when Besme, sword in hand, had demanded of Coligny, who stood near the door, "Are you Coligny?" Coligny replied, "Yes, I am he," with fearless countenance. "But you, young man, respect these white hairs. What is it you would do? You cannot shorten by many days this life of mine." As he spoke, Besme gave him a sword thrust through the body, and having withdrawn his sword, another thrust in the mouth, by which his face was disfigured. So Coligny fell, killed with many thrusts. Others have written that Coligny in dying pronounced as though in anger these words: "Would that I might at least die at the hands of a soldier and not of a valet." But Attin, one of the murderers, has reported as I have written, and added that he never saw any one less afraid in so great a peril, nor die more steadfastly.

Then the duke of Guise inquired of Besme from the courtyard if the thing were done, and when Besme answered him that it was, the duke replied that the Chevalier d'Angouleme was unable to believe it unless he saw it; and at the same time that he made the inquiry they threw the body through the window into the courtyard, disfigured as it was with blood. When the Chevalier d'Angouleme, who could scarcely believe his eyes, had wiped away with a cloth the blood which overran the face and finally had recognized him, some say that he spurned the body with his foot. However this may be, when he left the house with his followers he said: "Cheer up, my friends! Let us do thoroughly that which we have begun. The king commands it." He frequently repeated these words, and as soon as they had caused the bell of the palace clock to ring, on every side arose the cry, "To arms !" and the people ran to the house of Coligny. After his body had been treated to all sorts of insults, they threw it into a neighboring stable, and finally cut off his head, which they sent to Rome. They also shamefully mutilated him, and dragged his body through the streets to the bank of the Seine, a thing which he had formerly almost prophesied, although he did not think of anything like this.

As some children were in the act of throwing the body into the river, it was

dragged out and placed upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, where it hung by the feet in chains of iron; and then they built a fire beneath, by which he was burned without being consumed; so that he was, so to speak, tortured with all the elements, since he was killed upon the earth, thrown into the water, placed upon the fire, and finally put to hang in the air. After he had served for several days as a spectacle to gratify the hate of many and arouse the just indignation of many others, who reckoned that this fury of the people would cost the king and France many a sorrowful day, Francois de Montmorency, who was nearly related to the dead man, and still more his friend, and who moreover had escaped the danger in time, had him taken by night from the gibbet by trusty men and carried to Chantilly, where he was buried in the chapel.

The First Three Articles of the Treaty of Westphalia

From *The Treaty of Westphalia*

Taken from "The Treaty of Westphalia". Sourced from Fordham Halsall IHSP and the Yale Law Library.

https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/westphal.asp

In the name of the most holy and individual Trinity: Be it known to all, and every one whom it may concern, or to whom in any manner it may belong, That for many Years past, Discords and Civil Divisions being stir'd up in the Roman Empire, which increas'd to such a degree, that not only all Germany, but also the neighbouring Kingdoms, and France particularly, have been involv'd in the Disorders of a long and cruel War: And in the first place, between the most Serene and most Puissant Prince and Lord, Ferdinand the Second, of famous Memory, elected Roman Emperor, always August, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Arch-Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Marquiss of Moravia, Duke of Luxemburgh, the Higher and Lower Silesia, of Wirtemberg and Teck, Prince of Suabia, Count of Hapsburg, Tirol, Kyburg and Goritia, Marquiss of the Sacred Roman Empire, Lord of Burgovia, of the Higher and Lower Lusace, of the Marquisate of Slavonia, of Port Naon and Salines, with his Allies and Adherents on one side; and the most Serene, and the most Puissant Prince, Lewis the Thirteenth, most Christian King of France and Navarre, with his Allies and Adherents on the other side. And after their Decease, between the most Serene and Puissant Prince and Lord, Ferdinand the Third, elected Roman Emperor, always August, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Arch-Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Marquiss of Moravia, Duke of Luxemburg, of the Higher and Lower Silesia, of Wirtemberg and Teck, Prince of Suabia, Count of Hapsburg, Tirol, Kyburg and Goritia, Marquiss of the Sacred Roman Empire, Burgovia, the Higher and Lower Lusace, Lord of the Marquisate of Slavonia, of Port Naon and

Salines, with his Allies and Adherents on the one side; and the most Serene and most Puissant Prince and Lord, Lewis the Fourteenth, most Christian King of France and Navarre, with his Allies and Adherents on the other side: from whence ensu'd great Effusion of Christian Blood, and the Desolation of several Provinces. It has at last happen'd, by the effect of Divine Goodness, seconded by the Endeavours of the most Serene Republick of Venice, who in this sad time, when all Christendom is imbroil'd, has not ceas'd to contribute its Counsels for the publick Welfare and Tranquillity; so that on the side, and the other, they have form'd Thoughts of an universal Peace. And for this purpose, by a mutual Agreement and Covenant of both Partys, in the year of our Lord 1641. the 25th of December, N.S. or the 15th O.S. it was resolv'd at Hamburgh, to hold an Assembly of Plenipotentiary Ambassadors, who should render themselves at Munster and Osnabrug in Westphalia the 11th of July, N.S. or the 1st of the said month O.S. in the year 1643. The Plenipotentiary Ambassadors on the one side, and the other, duly establish'd, appearing at the prefixt time, and on the behalf of his Imperial Majesty, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord, Maximilian Count of Trautmansdorf and Weinsberg, Baron of Gleichenberg, Neustadt, Negan, Burgau, and Torzenbach, Lord of Teinitz, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Privy Counsellor and Chamberlain to his Imperial Sacred Majesty, and Steward of his Houshold; the Lord John Lewis, Count of Nassau, Catzenellebogen, Vianden, and Dietz, Lord of Bilstein, Privy Counsellor to the Emperor, and Knight of the Golden Fleece; Monsieur Isaac Volmamarus, Doctor of Law, Counsellor, and President in the Chamber of the most Serene Lord Arch-Duke Ferdinand Charles. And on the behalf of the most Christian King, the most eminent Prince and Lord, Henry of Orleans, Duke of Longueville, and Estouteville, Prince and Sovereign Count of Neuschaftel, Count of Dunois and Tancerville, Hereditary Constable of Normandy, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the same Province, Captain of the Cent Hommes d'Arms, and Knight of the King's Orders, &c. as also the most illustrious and most excellent Lords, Claude de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux, Commander of the said King's Orders, one of the Superintendents of the Finances, and Minister of the Kingdom of France &c. and Abel Servien, Count la Roche of Aubiers, also one of the Ministers of the Kingdom of France. And by the Mediation and Interposition of the most illustrious and most excellent Ambassador and Senator of Venice, Aloysius Contarini Knight, who for the space of five Years, or thereabouts, with great Diligence, and a Spirit entirely impartial, has been inclin'd to be a Mediator in these Affairs. After having implor'd the Divine Assistance, and receiv'd a reciprocal Communication of Letters, Commissions, and full Powers, the Copys of which are inserted at the end of this Treaty, in the presence and with the consent of the Electors of the Sacred Roman Empire, the other Princes and States, to the Glory of God, and the Benefit of the Christian World, the following Articles have been agreed on and consented to, and the same run thus.

I.

That there shall be a Christian and Universal Peace, and a perpetual, true, and

sincere Amity, between his Sacred Imperial Majesty, and his most Christian Majesty; as also, between all and each of the Allies, and Adherents of his said Imperial Majesty, the House of Austria, and its Heirs, and Successors; but chiefly between the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire on the one side; and all and each of the Allies of his said Christian Majesty, and all their Heirs and Successors, chiefly between the most Serene Queen and Kingdom of Swedeland, the Electors respectively, the Princes and States of the Empire, on the other part. That this Peace and Amity be observ'd and cultivated with such a Sincerity and Zeal, that each Party shall endeavour to procure the Benefit, Honour and Advantage of the other; that thus on all sides they may see this Peace and Friendship in the Roman Empire, and the Kingdom of France flourish, by entertaining a good and faithful Neighbourhood.

II.

That there shall be on the one side and the other a perpetual Oblivion, Amnesty, or Pardon of all that has been committed since the beginning of these Troubles, in what place, or what manner soever the Hostilitys have been practis'd, in such a manner, that no body, under any pretext whatsoever, shall practice any Acts of Hostility, entertain any Enmity, or cause any Trouble to each other; neither as to Persons, Effects and Securitys, neither of themselves or by others, neither privately nor openly, neither directly nor indirectly, neither under the colour of Right, nor by the way of Deed, either within or without the extent of the Empire, notwithstanding all Covenants made before to the contrary: That they shall not act, or permit to be acted, any wrong or injury to any whatsoever; but that all that has pass'd on the one side, and the other, as well before as during the War, in Words, Writings, and Outrageous Actions, in Violences, Hostilitys, Damages and Expences, without any respect to Persons or Things, shall be entirely abolish'd in such a manner that all that might be demanded of, or pretended to, by each other on that behalf, shall be bury'd in eternal Oblivion.

III.

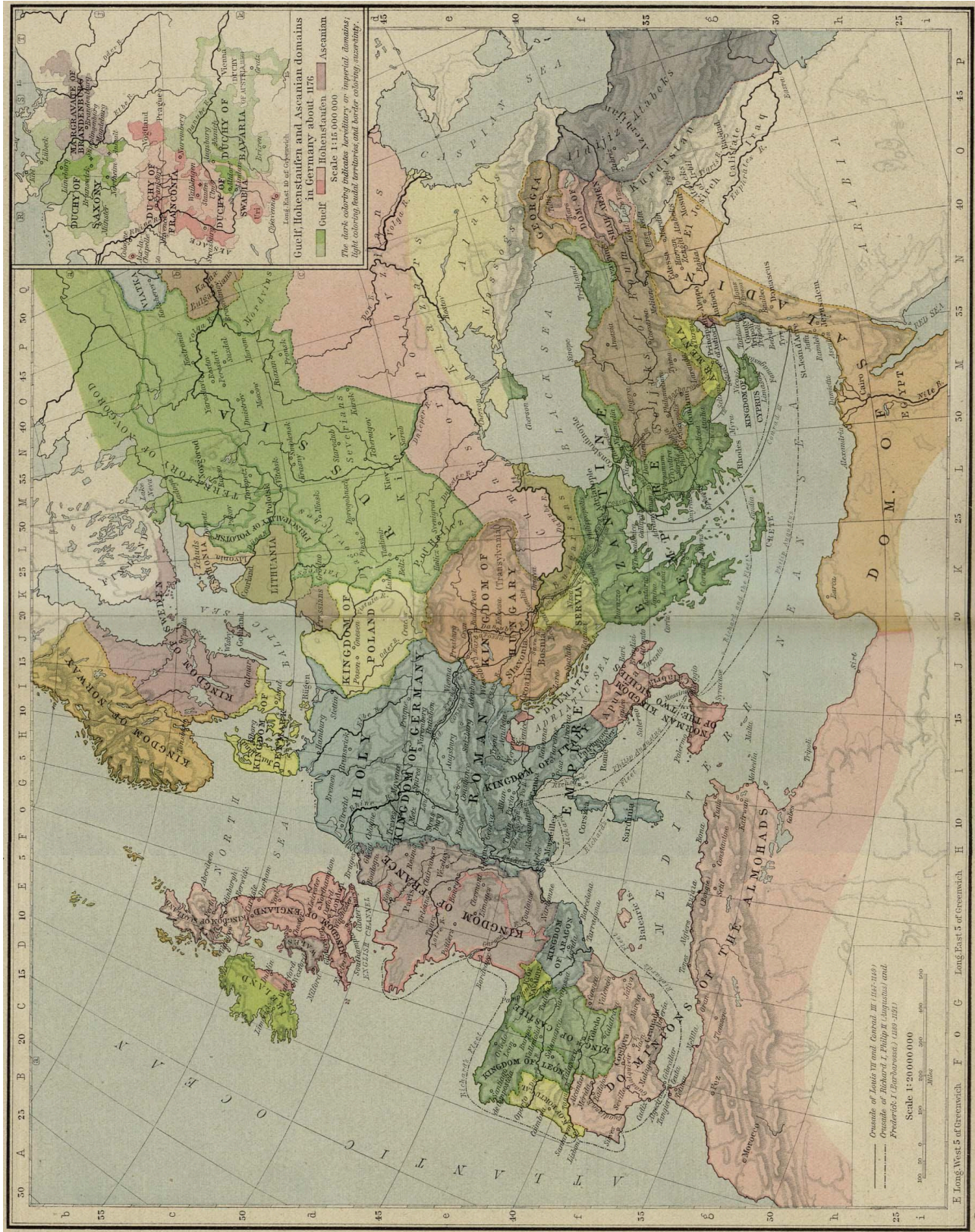
And that a reciprocal Amity between the Emperor, and the Most Christian King, the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, may be maintain'd so much the more firm and sincere (to say nothing at present of the Article of Security, which will be mention'd hereafter) the one shall never assist the present or future Enemys of the other under any Title or Pretence whatsoever, either with Arms, Money, Soldiers, or any sort of Ammunition; nor no one, who is a Member of this Pacification, shall suffer any Enemys Troops to retire thro' or sojourn in his Country.

Appendix A: Maps

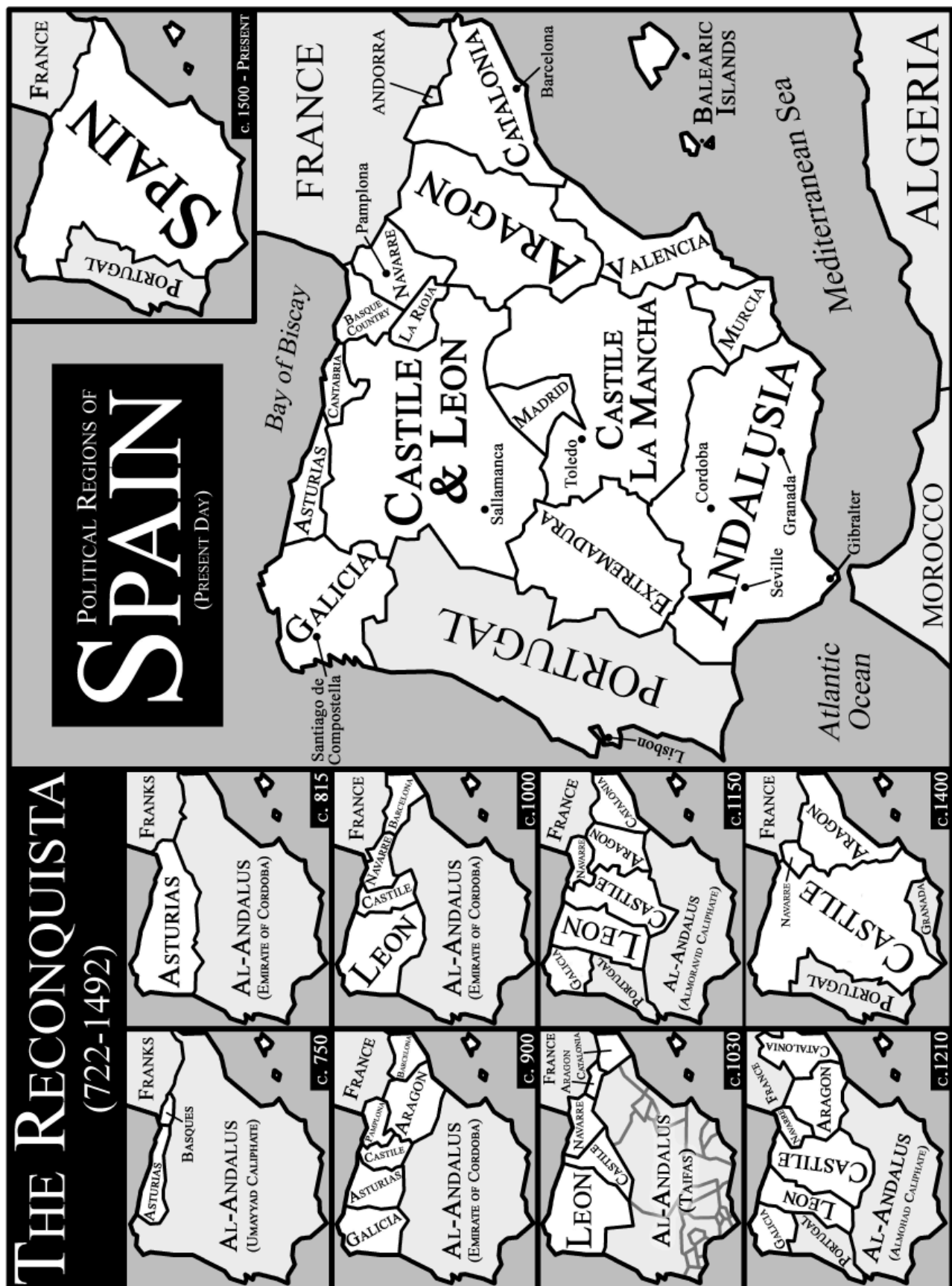
NB: Unless otherwise noted, all maps are from Chesterton Online and created by Julian Alquist.
Modern Europe



Europe in 1190 AD (via Emerson Kent)



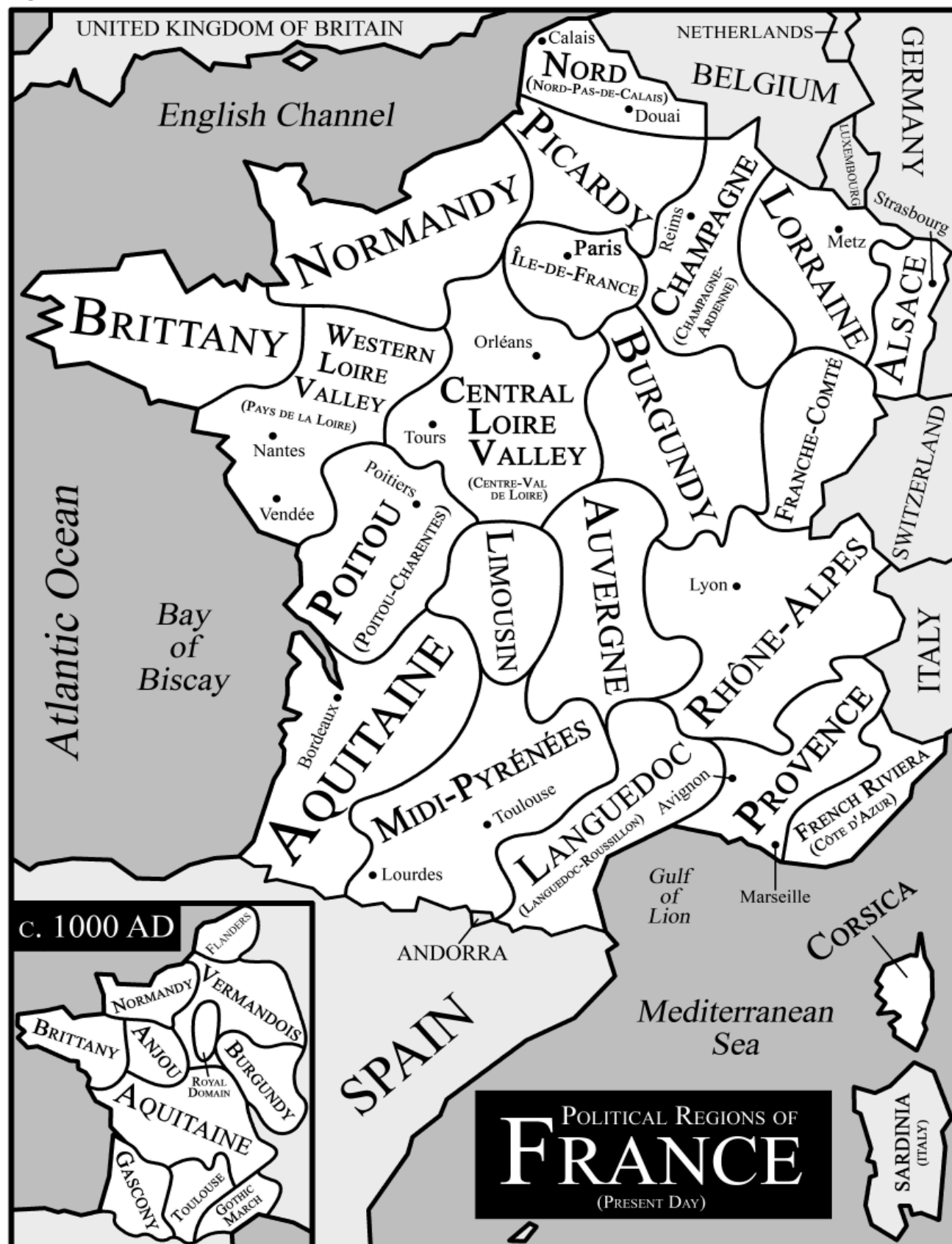
Regions of Spain



Counties of England



Regions of France



Regions of Italy



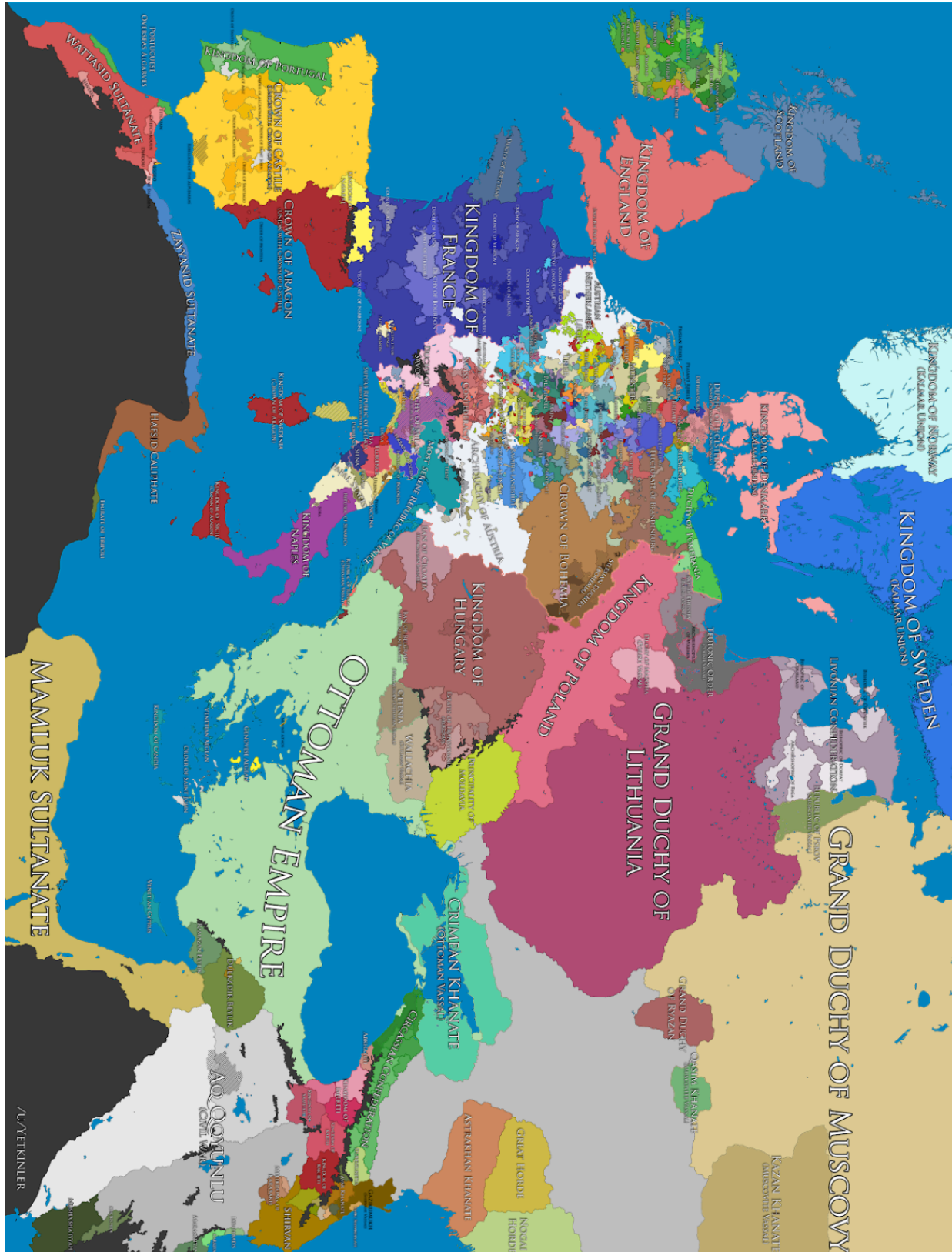
Geographic Regions of Asia



Modern Asia



Europe in 1500 (via Wikimedia Commons, authored by Erin Yetkinler)



Appendix B: English Monarchy 13th-17th Centuries

House of Plantagenet: Reigns and Manner of Death

Edward I “Longshanks” – r. 1272-1307: dysentery

Edward II – r. 1307-1327: murdered in prison

Edward III – r. 1327-1377: stroke

Richard II – r. 1377-1399: starved to death in prison

House of Lancaster (“cadet” branch of Plantagenets)

Henry IV – r. 1399-1413: leprosy and epileptic fit

Henry V – r. 1413-1422: dysentery

Henry VI – r. 1422-1461 and 1470-1471: murdered in prison

House of York (“cadet” branch of Plantagenets)

Edward IV – r. 1461-1470 and 1471-1483: apopleptic fit

Edward V – r. April-June 1483: murdered in prison

Richard III – r. 1483-1485: killed in battle

House of Tudor (descendants of an illegitimate son of Edward III’s 3rd son John of Gaunt)

Henry VII – r. 1485-1509: tuberculosis

Henry VIII – r. 1509-1547: syphilis, obesity, and TBI

Edward VI – r. 1547-1553: Tuberculosis

Jane – r. 10 July-19 July 1553: executed

Mary I “Bloody Mary” – r. 1553-1558: uterine cancer

Elizabeth I – r. 1558-1603: unknown illness

James I – r. 1603-1625: stroke. James I was also James VI of Scotland (r.1567-1625), and the first to unite all the British Isles under a single ruler.

Appendix C: Great Khans of the Mongols

Genghis Khan (1206-1227)

Tolui Khan (as Regent) (1227-1229)

Ögedei Khan (1229-1241)

Töregene Khatun (as Regent) (1241-1246)

Güyük Khan (1246-1248)

Oghul Qaimish (as Regent) (1248-1251)

Möngke Khan (1251-1259)

Ariq Böke (1259-1264)

Kublai Khan (1260-1294)

Temür Khan – (1297-1307)

Külüg Khan – (1308-1311)

Ayurbarwada Buyantu Khan – (1311-1320)

Gegeen Khan – (1321-1323)

Yesün-Temür – (1323-1328)

Ragibagh Khan – Temple name: Tianshun Di; Era name: Tianshun (天順) (1328)

Jayaatu Khan Tugh Temür – (1328–1329 / 1329–1332)
Khutughtu Khan Kusala – (1329)
Rinchinbal Khan – (1332)
Toghon Temür – (1333–1370)

Appendix D: French Monarchy 13th–17th Centuries

House of Capet

Philip IV (the Fair) – 1285–1314
Louis X (the Stubborn) – 1314–1316
John I – 1316
Philip V (the Tall) – 1316–1322
Charles IV (the Fair) – 1322–1328

House of Valois

Philip VI – 1328–1350
John II (the Good) – 1350–1364
Charles V (the Wise) – 1364–1380
Charles VI (the Mad) – 1380–1422

House of Lancaster

Henry I (the Usurper) – 1422–1453 (contested with his uncle, Charles VII; Henry I was also Henry VI of England)

House of Valois (re-established)

Charles VII (the Victorious) – 1422–1461 (contested with his nephew, Henry I)
Louis XI (the Spider) – 1461–1483
Charles VIII (Father of his People) – 1483–1498
Louis XII – 1498–1515
Francis I – 1515–1547
Henry II – 1547–1559
Francis II – 1559–1560
Charles IX – 1560–1574
Henry III – 1574–1589

House of Bourbon

Henry IV – 1589–1610

Appendix E: Iberian Monarchies

Kingdom of Castille

Alfonso X (1252–84)

Sancho IV (1284–96)

Ferdinand IV (Fernando) (1296–1312)

Alfonso XI (1312–50)

Peter I (Pedro) (first time; 1350–66)

Henry II (Enrique) (1366–67)

Peter I (second time; 1367–69)

Henry II (second time; 1369–79)

John I (Juan) (1379–90)

Henry III (Enrique) (1390–1406)

John II (Juan) (1406–54)

Henry IV (Enrique) (1454–74)

Isabella I and Ferdinand V (Ferdinand II of Aragon) (1474–1504)

Joan and Philip I (Juana and Felipe) (1504–06)

Ferdinand V (1506–16)

Kingdom of Aragon

Ramiro I (1035–63)

Sancho I (1063–94)

Peter I (Pedro) (1094–1104)

Alfonso I (1104–34)

Ramiro II (1134–37)

Petronilla (ruled with husband, Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona) (1137–63)

Alfonso II (1163–96)

Peter II (Pedro) (1196–1213)

James I (Jaime) (1213–76)

Peter III (Pedro) (1276–85)

Alfonso III (1285–91)

James II (Jaime) (1291–1327)

Alfonso IV (1327–36)

Peter IV (Pedro) (1336–87)

John I (Juan) (1387–95)

Martin (1395–1412)

Ferdinand I (Fernando) (1412–16)

Alfonso V (1416–58)

John II (Juan) (1458–79)

Ferdinand II and Isabella I (1479–1504)

Joan and Philip I (1504–1506)

Ferdinand III (1506–1516)

Kingdom of Spain (Castille and Aragon formally united)

Charles V (Carlos) (1516–56)

Philip II (Felipe) (1556–98)
Philip III (Felipe) (1598–1621)

Kingdom of Portugal (Inception to 1621)

House of Burgundy

Afonso I (1143–1185)
Sancho I 1185–1211)
Afonso II (1211–1223)
Sancho II (1223–1247)
Afonso III (1247–1279)
Denis I (1279–1325)
Afonso IV (1325–1357)
Peter I (1357–1367)
Ferdinand I (1367–1383)

House of Aviz

John I (1385–1433)
Edward I (1433–1438)
Afonso V (1438–1481)
John II (1481–1495)
Manuel I (1495–1521)
John III (1521–1557)
Sebastian I (1557–1578)
Cardinal-King Henry I (1578–1580)
Anthony I (1580–1580)

House of Hapsburg (Union with Spain)

Philip I (1580–1598)
Philip II (1598–1621)

Appendix F: Ottoman Sultans (1300–1617)

Osman I	c. 1300–24
Orhan	1324–60
Murad I	1360–89
Bayezid I	1389–1402
Mehmed I	1413–21
Murad II	1421–44

Mehmed II	1444–46
Murad II (second reign)	1446–51
Mehmed II (second reign)	1451–81
Bayezid II	1481–1512
Selim I	1512–20
Süleyman I	1520–66
Selim II	1566–74
Murad III	1574–95
Mehmed III	1595–1603
Ahmed I	1603–17

Appendix G: The Papacy (1198–1621)

Innocent III (1198–1216)
 Honorius III (1216–27)
 Gregory IX (1227–41)
 Celestine IV (1241)
 Innocent IV (1243–54)
 Alexander IV (1254–61)
 Urban IV (1261–64)
 Clement IV (1265–68)
 Blessed Gregory X (1271–76)
 Blessed Innocent V (1276)
 Adrian V (1276)
 John XXI (1276–77)
 Nicholas III (1277–80)
 Martin IV (1281–85)
 Honorius IV (1285–87)
 Nicholas IV (1288–92)
 St. Celestine V (1294)
 Boniface VIII (1294–1303)
 Blessed Benedict XI (1303–04)
 Clement V (1305–14)
 John XXII (1316–34) *Opposed by Nicholas V, antipope (1328–1330)*

Benedict XII (1334–42)
Clement VI (1342–52)
Innocent VI (1352–62)
Blessed Urban V (1362–70)
Gregory XI (1370–78)
Urban VI (1378–89) *Opposed by Robert of Geneva ("Clement VII"), antipope (1378–1394)*
Boniface IX (1389–1404) *Opposed by Robert of Geneva ("Clement VII") (1378–1394), Pedro de Luna ("Benedict XIII") (1394–1417) and Baldassare Cossa ("John XXIII") (1400–1415), antipopes*
Innocent VII (1404–06) *Opposed by Pedro de Luna ("Benedict XIII") (1394–1417) and Baldassare Cossa ("John XXIII") (1400–1415), antipopes*
Gregory XII (1406–15) *Opposed by Pedro de Luna ("Benedict XIII") (1394–1417), Baldassare Cossa ("John XXIII") (1400–1415), and Pietro Philarghi ("Alexander V") (1409–1410), antipopes*
Martin V (1417–31)
Eugene IV (1431–47) *Opposed by Amadeus of Savoy ("Felix V"), antipope (1439–1449)*
Nicholas V (1447–55)
Callistus III (1455–58)
Pius II (1458–64)
Paul II (1464–71)
Sixtus IV (1471–84)
Innocent VIII (1484–92)
Alexander VI (1492–1503)
Pius III (1503)
Julius II (1503–13)
Leo X (1513–21)
Adrian VI (1522–23)
Clement VII (1523–34)
Paul III (1534–49)
Julius III (1550–55)
Marcellus II (1555)
Paul IV (1555–59)
Pius IV (1559–65)
St. Pius V (1566–72)
Gregory XIII (1572–85)
Sixtus V (1585–90)
Urban VII (1590)
Gregory XIV (1590–91)
Innocent IX (1591)
Clement VIII (1592–1605)
Leo XI (1605)
Paul V (1605–21)

Appendix H: Russian Tsars

(All Grand Duchies: Tributaries of the Golden Horde prior to 1462)

Rurikid Dynasty

Ivan III “The Great”(1462–1505) – *First Independent Russian Monarch since 13th century*

Vasily III (1505–1533)

Interregnum 1533–1547

Ivan IV “The Terrible” (1547–1584) – *First to be named Tsar of All the Russias*

Fyodor Ioannovich (1584–1598)

Boris Godunov (1598–1605)

False Dimitri I (1605–1606)

Vasily IV Shuisky (1606–1610)

Romanov Dynasty

Mikhail Fyodorovich (1613–1645)

Appendix I: Holy Roman Emperors

Hohenstaufen Dynasty

Frederick II, emperor 1211–1250

William of Holland (1247–1256) Rival

Conrad IV, (1250–1254)

Interregnum (1254–1273)

Rival Claimants Period

Richard (1257–1272) *Rival*

Alfonso X of Castile, (1257–1275) *Rival*

Rudolph I of Habsburg, (1273–1291)

Adolf of Nassau, (1292–1298)

Albert I of Habsburg, (1298–1308)

House of Luxemburg

Henry VII of Luxemburg, (1308–1313)

Wittelsbach Dynasty

Louis IV Wittelsbach, (1314–1346)

Frederick III (1314–1326) Co-regent

Luxemburg Dynasty

Charles IV of Luxemburg, (1346–1378)

Wenzel of Luxemburg, (1378–1400)

Ruprecht III Wittelsbach of Palatinate, (1400–1410)

Sigismund of Luxemburg, (1410–1437)

House of Habsburg

Albert II of Habsburg, (1438–1439)

Frederick III, (1440–1493)

Maximilian I, (1493–1519)

Charles V, (1519)–1556)

Ferdinand I, (1556–1564)

Maximilian II, (1564–1576)

Rudolf II Habsburg, (1576–1612)

Appendix J: Byzantine Emperors (1204–1453)

Latin Emperors – the Frankokratia

Baldwin I., House of Flanders, 1204–5

Henry, House of Flanders, 1205–16

Peter, of Courtenay 1217–19

Robert I, of Courtenay, 1219–28

Baldwin II., of Courtenay, the Broke, 1228–61

Nicaean Emperors in Exile – Laskarids

Theodore I., Laskaris, 1204–22

John III., Doukas, Vatatzes, 1222–54

Theodore II., Laskaris, 1254–59

John IV., Laskaris, 1259–60

Paleologan Dynasty (Empire Restored to Constantinople)

Michael VIII., Paleologus, 1260–82

Andronikos II., Paleologus, 1282–1328

Andronikos III., Paleologus, 1328–41

John V., Paleologus, 1341–91

John VI., Kantacuzenos, 1347–54]

Manuel II., Paleologus, 1391–1425

John VII., Paleologus 1425–48

Constantine XI., Dragases Paleologus 1448–53

Appendix K: Reminders for Annotations

For each of the sources in this book, remember to answer the following questions in your notebook in addition to the annotations you write in the text.

- 1) WHO is this being written by? If there is no listed author, who might it have been? Explain your reasoning.
- 2) WHAT is their view of the event? (eyewitness, second-hand, etc.) If it is not clear, make your best guess and explain why you think so.
- 3) WHEN was this source written? Immediately after the events or many years later? You may need to do additional research.

- 4) WHERE is the action or event taking place? If a letter, where was it written from and to? If a description of a person or place, where did this person primarily live or where was the place located (in the political states of the time it was written).
- 5) WHY was this source written? Was the event/person/place important to wider history or just locally significant?
- 6) Draw a picture of the event, person, or place described. If it was of a battle, draw a map; if of a person, draw a sketch; etc.
- 7) Please use ONLY the marks in Appendix K for you annotations; you may however also right personal notes and comments in the margins.

Appendix L: Chesterton Annotation Guide

? - I don't understand

! - Shocking! Eureka!

 -Time and place (Setting info)

~ ~ -Difficult passage—this is rough going, I may need to revisit this

-- -Highlighting point of view/ perspective

< A - Connect this...

<< A - ...With this

* - Change of topic/transition

** - Name/ place worth remembering first introduced

*** - Major plot point/ Milestone

**** - Quote of Personal Value

N.B. (Nota Bene)—Note well—good for a conclusion reached about a text

I.E. (Id Est): a clarification or restatement

E.G. (Exemplum Gratia) Example given