

---

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>



**HD WIDENER**



HW NHRV I

AL  
V  
T

H97.56.5

HARVARD COLLEGE  
LIBRARY



THE GIFT OF  
EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRITT  
OF BOSTON

Class of 1882





AN

E S S A Y

ON

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.



AN  
E S S A Y  
ON  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,  
THE  
MANNERS, AND SPIRIT  
OF  
N A T I O N S,

From the Reign of CHARLEMAIGN  
To the Age of LEWIS XIV.

Written in French by M. de VOLTAIRE.

Translated into English,

*With additional Notes and Chronological Tables,*

By Mr. NUGENT.

The SECOND EDITION, revised, and considerably  
improved by the AUTHOR.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. NOURSE at the *Lamb* opposite *Katherine-Street* in the *Strand*. MDCCLIX.



H 97.56.5

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
GIFT OF  
EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRILL  
MAY 21 1925

391  
C. 6-111  
16-3

## TRANSLATOR'S

## P R E F A C E.

THE reader will easily perceive that the following work is not a chronological compilement, or a dry series of genealogies and facts; the public is overstocked with pieces of that sort: it is the picture of mankind in different ages; or a *philosophical history of the world*. Here the sagacious author may be said to erect his supreme tribunal, to sit as judge of all that has been transacted for a number of centuries in the various parts of this globe, to pronounce the destiny of the great, to fix their character with posterity, to give lessons to all nations, and to direct the conduct of future ages. If on some occasions he may appear to judge severely, it is only in regard to those whose memory has been ever branded with infamy: for he is as ready to do justice to merit, and to bestow eternity \* upon virtuous actions.

\* *Pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati accidere, quibus aeternitas debeat.* Plin. ep.

In short truth is his aim; and whatever face she wears, he is sure to describe her in her real colours.

If we consider his style and manner, we may venture to affirm that he has hardly his equal among the numerous list of modern historians. His Brevity, to which his plan confined him, is extremely pleasing; as he takes care to embellish it with a thousand graces. He has a noble elegance, unknown to vulgar writers; and though bold in the use of his figures, yet he is remarkably perspicuous. In the midst of his prose he throws out some sparks of his poetic fire; but he has a spirit and strength of sentiment, that support his flights. Where it is proper, he has sublimity; and where the subject will bear it, wit: but in the one there is not the least appearance of bombast; nor in the other, of force or constraint. There is a nervousness and yet a fluency in his periods, with an exquisite delicacy in his remarks; the justness of which will contribute to fix many things in the memory, that would have escaped it under a less sprightly narrative. Upon the whole, his manner is so interesting, that it animates while it delights the reader.

In regard to the present translation, I shall observe that it was made intirely from the Geneva edition under the author's inspection.

inspection, wherein very considerable additions and corrections were inserted, which are not to be found in the first edition printed in Holland.

Some errors having been committed by Mr. Voltaire, in the English history, particularly as to the names of places, families, and the like, in which a foreigner may be easily mistaken; care has been taken to rectify them in the translation.

In the course of the work several terms are made use of, which may not perhaps be so obvious to the generality of readers: these I have been desired by a friend to explain, for the use at least of the fair sex; and to add a few notes towards illustrating some points of history and mythology, which have been only glanced at in the original. This I have done but very sparingly, for fear of swelling the work.

In the *age of Lewis the fourteenth*, there is a list of cotemporary princes; which has been looked upon as useful. I have followed this example in the present translation, by adding Chronological tables of the several princes, who reigned within the period contained in each volume.

The use of Indexes being acknowledged on all hands to be very great, a copious one has been therefore added: which, together with correcting and enlarging the marginal

## P R E F A C E.

ginal dates, will fully shew that no pains have been spared to render this work agreeable to the English reader.

If any thing remains further to be added, it is to beg indulgence for my own mistakes. I am sensible of the difficulty and almost impossibility of doing justice to so elegant, and indeed so ingenious an historian: but they who are the best judges of this difficulty, will be the readiest to excuse me.



C O N-

# CONTENTS.

## INTRODUCTION.

Containing the plan of the work, with a brief account of what the western nations were originally, and the reasons why we began this Essay with the East. Page 1

Chap.

I.	<i>Of China, its antiquity, force and laws.</i>	10
II.	<i>Of the religion of China.—That the government is not atheistical; that Christianity was not preached there in the seventh century. Of some sects established in the country.</i>	22
III.	<i>Of India.</i>	30
IV.	<i>Of Persia, Arabia, and Mahomet.</i>	36
V.	<i>Of the state of Italy, and the church before Charlemaign.</i>	98
VI.	<i>Origin of the papal power.</i>	79
VII.	<i>State of the Eastern church before Charlemaign.</i>	81
VIII.	<i>Of Charlemaign.</i>	87
IX.	<i>The emperor Charlemaign.</i>	94
X.	<i>Manners and customs about the time of Charlemaign.</i>	102
XI.	<i>Laws and customs at the time of Charlemaign.</i>	106
XII.	<i>Of religion at the time of Charlemaign.</i>	114
XIII.	<i>A continuation of the customs in the time of Charlemaign. Of justice, laws, and singular usages.</i>	130
XIV.	<i>Lewis the Weak or the Debonnair.</i>	136
XV.	<i>State of Europe after the death of Lewis the Debonnair, or the Weak.</i>	145
		Chap.

# CONTENTS.

Chap.		Page
XVI.	<i>Of the Normans towards the ninth century.</i>	153
XVII.	<i>Of England towards the ninth century.</i>	160
XVIII.	<i>Of Spain and the Mussulmen in the eighth and ninth centuries.</i>	164
XIX.	<i>Of the empire of Constantinople in the eighth and ninth centuries.</i>	173
XX.	<i>Of Italy and the popes with the divorce of Lotharius king of Lorain, and the rest of the affairs of the church in the eighth and ninth centuries.</i>	180
XXI.	<i>Of Photius, and the schism between the eastern and western churches.</i>	186
XXII.	<i>The state of the western empire towards the end of the ninth century.</i>	193
XXIII.	<i>Of feudal tenures, and the empire.</i>	196
XXIV.	<i>Of Otho the Great in the tenth century.</i>	199
XXV.	<i>Of the Popedom in the tenth century, before Otho the Great made himself master of Rome.</i>	202
XXVI.	<i>The reign of the emperor Otho, and the state of Italy continued.</i>	207
XXVII.	<i>Of the emperors Otho II. and III. and of Rome.</i>	212
XXVIII.	<i>Of France towards the time of Hugh Capet.</i>	217
XXIX.	<i>The state of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries.</i>	223
XXX.	<i>The conquest of Naples and Sicily by some gentlemen of Normandy.</i>	227
		Chap.

# CONTENTS,

Chap.	Page.
XXXI.	<i>Of Sicily in particular and the Legatine power in that island.</i> 238
XXXII.	<i>The conquest of England by William duke of Normandy.</i> 243
XXXIII.	<i>The state of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries.</i> 249
XXXIV.	<i>Of Spain and the Mahometans of that kingdom, to the beginning of the twelfth century.</i> 254
XXXV.	<i>Of religion, and superstition in the tenth and eleventh centuries.</i> 262
XXXVI.	<i>Of the Empire, Italy, the emperor Henry IV. and Gregory VII. Of Rome and the empire in the eleventh century.</i> 270
XXXVII.	<i>Of the emperor Henry V. and of Rome, to the reign of Frederick I.</i> 288
XXXVIII.	<i>Of Frederick Barbarossa.</i> 293
XXXIX.	<i>Of the emperor Henry VI. and of Rome.</i> 301
XL.	<i>The state of France and England, till the reigns of St. Lewis, and of John Lackland, and Henry III. during the twelfth century. Great change in the public administration in England and France. Murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. England becomes a province to Rome, &amp;c.</i> 306

Chap.



# CONTENTS.

Chap.		Page
XLI.	<i>Of Otto IV. and Philip Augustus in the thirteenth century. Of the battle of Bouvines, of England and France, to the death of Lewis VIII. father of St. Lewis.</i>	320
XLII.	<i>Of Frederick II. and his quarrels with the popes; and of the German empire.</i>	328
XLIII.	<i>Of the East at the time of the crusades.</i>	341
XLIV.	<i>Of the first crusade to the taking of Jerusalem.</i>	347
XLV.	<i>Crusades after the taking of Jerusalem.</i>	350
XLVI.	<i>Of St. Lewis and the last crusade.</i>	385
XLVII.	<i>Continuation of the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders.</i>	397

## ERRATA.

Page 1. line 9. from the bottom, for *be* read *we*. P. 15. l. 12. from the bottom, dele *into*. P. 36. l. 7. from the bottom, dele *when*. P. 57. l. 3. from the bottom, for *μολίση* read *μυρίση*. P. 77. l. 4. from the bottom, for *Pepin's* read *Pepin*. P. 90. l. 16. after *Eresburg* read *in*. P. 212. l. 2. from the bottom, for VI. read VII. P. 260. l. 4. before *Cid* read *the*. P. 301. l. 10. from the bottom, for *cardinal* read *cardinals*. P. 190. for *in* read *at*. P. 384. l. 8. from the bottom, after *Jews* read *that were left in Jerusalem*.

A N

A N  
E S S A Y  
O N

Universal History,

The MANNERS and SPIRIT of

N A T I O N S.



I N T R O D U C T I O N.

*Containing the plan of the work, with a brief account of what the western nations were originally, and the reasons why he began this Essay with the East.*

**A**T length you are desirous to overcome the dislike you had conceived to modern history, since the decline of the Roman empire, and to take a general view of the nations which inhabit and lay waste the earth. In this immense prospect you seek only what is worth your notice, namely, the spirit, the manners and

VOL. I.

B

and

and customs of the most considerable nations, supported by such facts, as it would be a reproach to you not to know. The end of this inquiry is not to learn in what year a prince unworthy of being known, succeeded to a barbarous sovereign in an uncivilized nation. Could you be so unfortunate as to get by heart the chronological succession of all the Dynasties, the whole would be a bare knowledge of words. The more you ought to be acquainted with the great exploits of sovereigns, who have improved the manners and contributed to the happiness of their people, the less you need desire to know of the vulgar race of kings, who would be only a burden to the memory. Of what use would it be, to be acquainted with the particulars of so many petty interests which no longer subsist, and of such a number of extinct families, that contended for provinces, that were afterwards swallowed up in great kingdoms. Almost every city at present has its history, true or false, more ample, and more minute than that of Alexander. The bare annals of a monastic order, contain more volumes than those of the Roman history.

In this immense collection, all which it is impossible to embrace, you must confine your reading, and make some choice. It is like a great magazine, out of which you may take what will serve your purpose.

The celebrated Bossuet, who in his discourse on one part of the universal history, has entered into the true spirit of it, went no lower than Charlemaign. Your intent is to begin at this era, and thence to form a general idea of the universe :

universe: but you will be often obliged to go back to remoter times. This great writer takes but a slight notice of the Arabians who founded so potent an empire and so flourishing a religion; he makes mention of them as a swarm of barbarians. He expatiates on the Egyptians; but he is silent in regard to the Indians and the Chinese, nations as antient at least, and as considerable as the people of Egypt.

Nourished with the produce of their lands, clothed with their silks, amused by the games which they invented, and even instructed by their moral fables, why should we neglect to be acquainted with the spirit of those nations, to whose coasts our European merchants did not fail to steer, as soon as the way was laid open?

When you consider this globe as a philosopher, you first direct your attention to the east, the nursery of all arts, and from whence they have been communicated to the west.

The oriental climates towards the south have every thing from nature; and we in the south west, are indebted for all things to time, to commerce, and to tardy industry. Forests, stones, and wild fruits, are the whole natural product of the antient countries of the Celtæ\*, the Allobroges †, the  
 Piets

\* The Celtæ or Celtes were the antient inhabitants of Gaul; the name is of uncertain origin, some deriving it from Celtes, who is said to have been the ninth king of the antient Gauls, and others from the Greek word κέλται or κέλτοι, signifying horsemen in Homer and Pindar.

† The Allobroges were the antient inhabitants of Dauphiné, Savoy and Piedmont. Some derive the name from ἄλλος other, and *Broga*, a land or country in the antient Gallic language, signifying that they were a people who came from some other  
 B 2 province.

Picts †, the Germans, the Sarmatians ‖, and the Scythians. The island of Sicily is said to produce of itself a little oats; but wheat, rice, and delicious fruits grow no where naturally except towards the Euphrates, in China, and in India. Fruitful countries were peopled the first, and the first civilized. The whole Levant from Greece to the extremity of our hemisphere, was long celebrated in history, before we knew enough to convince us that we were barbarians. If we want to be informed in regard to our ancestors the Celtes, we must have recourse to the Greeks and the Romans, nations of a much later date than the Asiatics.

That the Gauls, for instance, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, joined the inhabitants of those mountains, and made settlements on the banks of the Eridanus, that they marched to Rome 361 years after its foundation, and laid siege to the capital; all this we learn of the Romans. That another body of Gauls, about a hundred years after, penetrated into Thessaly and Macedonia, and even advanced to the banks of the Euxine sea, we are informed by the Greeks, without mentioning what Gauls these were, or what road they took. We have no monument extant of those emigrations, which

province. They were subdued by the consul Fabius Maximus, who took the name of *Allobrogicus*.

† The *Picts* were a people, who are said to have come from Scythia, and to have settled between England and Scotland. Some authors say they came from Denmark, and that their name is derived from painting their bodies.

‖ The Sarmatians were the ancient inhabitants of that vast northern country, part of which lieth in Asia, called Tartary; the other in Europe, containing Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, and part of Muscovy.

resemble

resemble those of the Tartars. They prove only that the nation was very numerous, but not civilized. The colony of Greeks, who founded Marseilles six hundred years before our vulgar æra, could not polish Gaul; for the Greek tongue did not reach beyond the territory of that city.

We modern Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, Britons, and Sarmatians, know nothing of our history, above eighteen centuries ago, except what little we have learnt of our conquerors. We have not even fabulous accounts; we have not ventured even to feign an original. The idle notion that all this western world was peopled by Gomer son of Japhet, is an oriental tale.

If the antient Tuscans, who instructed the old Romans, knew something more than the other western nations, it is because the Greeks had planted colonies among them; or rather it is because in all ages it was one of the properties of that soil to produce men of genius, as the territory of Athens was more favourable to the arts than that of Thebes, or Lacedemon. But what monuments have we of antient Tuscany? none at all. We lose our time in idle conjectures about some unintelligible inscriptions, which have escaped the injuries of time. In regard to the other European nations, there is not so much as one inscription left in their antient language.

The maritime part of Spain was discovered by the Phenicians, just as America has been since discovered by the Spaniards. The Syrians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, were successive-

ly enriched by the subterraneous treasures which they found in that country. The Carthaginians worked several mines as rich as those of Peru and Mexico; time has since exhausted them, as it will exhaust those of the new world. Pliny relates that the Romans in the space of nine years, drew from thence eight thousand marks of gold, and about four and twenty thousand of silver. We must confess that those pretended descendants of Gomer, had made a very indifferent use of the presents of all sorts which the earth poured into their hands, since they were successively subdued by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Goths, and the Arabs.

What little we know of the Gauls from Julius Cæsar and other Roman authors, represents them as a people that stood in need of being subdued by a more civilized nation. The dialects of the antient Celtic were frightful. The emperor Julian, in whose time this language was still spoke, says it resembled the croaking of ravens. Their manners in Cæsar's time, were as barbarous as their language. The Druids\*, those aukward impostors, made for the people whom they governed, used to sacrifice human victims, which they burnt in a huge hollow pile of osier,

\* The *Druids* were the priests of antient Gaul and Britain, who are supposed to be the same as the Eubages of Ammianus Marcellinus, or the Saronides of Diodorus Siculus. Their name is of uncertain origin, some deriving it from the Hebrew word *Derusim*, signifying *those who search or inquire*; and others more probably from the Greek word *δρῦς*, a tree which those priests held in great veneration. They were chose out of the best families, and were greatly respected on account of the honours of their birth, as well as of their office. They had the administration of all sacred things, and were the interpreters of religion. They preserved the memory and actions of great men in verse,

shaped

shaped like a statue \*. The Druidesses plunged a knife into the breast of each of their captives, and from the flowing of the blood formed their predictions †. The great hollow stones, that have been found on the confines of Germany and Gaul, are said to be the altars, on which those sacrifices were offered. These are all the monuments of antient Gaul. The inhabitants of the coast of Biscay and Gascony used sometimes to feed on human flesh. We ought to turn away our eyes from those savage times, which are a dishonour to human nature.

Among the follies of the human mind, let us reckon the notion that has prevailed in our times, of deriving the Celtes from the Hebrews. The Celtes sacrificed human victims, it is said, because Jephtha had offered up his daughter. The Druids were clothed in white like the Jewish priests; and like these also they had a high priest. Their Druidesses are an imitation of Moses's

\* *Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur hostes. Cæs. Com lib. de bell. Gal. lib. 6.*

† This was practised among the Cimbri, who indeed were a branch of the old Celtes. The Druidesses, on those occasions, were clothed with tunics fastened with hooks, and girt with a brass girdle, and without shoes. As soon as the Cimbrians had taken any prisoners, these women flew upon them with drawn swords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large cistern, by the side of which was a kind of foot-stool, on which the Druids then officiating stood, who plunged a long knife into the breast of each of those wretches. The particulars of this bloody ceremony are taken from Strabo *lib. 7.* Augustus Tiberius, and succeeding emperors made severe laws against it.



sister and of Debora. The custom † of fattening an indigent Massilian, and leading him to his death dressed with garlands and loaded with the bitterest imprecations, owed its original to the *scape-goat*. They go so far as to find a resemblance between a few Celtic and Hebrew words, which are both pronounced equally bad; and thence it is inferred, that the Jews and the Celtic nations are of the same stock. Thus is reason insulted in universal histories, and what little knowledge we may have of antiquity, is all smothered in a mass of forced conjectures.

The Germans in their manners resembled the Gauls, for they sacrificed human victims, they decided their little quarrels by single combat; and only were more simple and less industrious. Their habitations were huts, where on one side lay the father, mother, sisters, brothers, children, all naked on straw, and on the other were their domestic animals. And yet these are the very people, whom we shall soon see subdue the Romans.

When Cæsar went over to England, he found the inhabitants of this island still more savage than the Germans. Scarce did they cover their private parts with the skins of beasts. The women of a particular district were all in common to the men of the same district. Their dwellings were cottages of reeds, and their only ornaments were figures which men and women imprinted on their bodies by pricking the skin, and making

† This is reported to have been the custom of Marseilles in times of pestilence, but the poor man must have offered himself voluntarily, and then they fattened him with the daintiest fare a whole year, before he was sacrificed. See *Univ. Hist.* v. 18. p. 553.

an infusion of the juice of herbs, as is still practised by the savages of America.

That human nature was plunged, for such a series of ages, into this condition so similar, and in many respects inferior to that of brutes, is but too true. The reason is, it is not in the nature of man to covet what he does not know. The human species requires not only a prodigious space of time, but likewise a happy concurrence of circumstances, before they can raise themselves above animal life.

You are therefore very much in the right, in desiring to pass at once to those nations, that were first civilized. It is possible that long before the empires of China and the Indies, there might have been learned, civilized, and powerful nations, whom a swarm of barbarians plunged once more into their first state of ignorance and rudeness, which is called a state of pure nature.

The taking of Constantinople alone was sufficient to demolish the spirit of ancient Greece. The genius of the Romans was extinguished by the Goths. The coasts of Africa, where heretofore stood such flourishing cities, are now no more than nests of robbers. Much greater changes must have happened in less happy climates. Natural causes must have joined the moral ones; for though the ocean cannot intirely change its bed, yet it is certain that it has alternately covered, and withdrawn itself from vast tracts of land. Nature is necessarily exposed to a great number of calamities and vicissitudes. There must have been frequent revolutions; but we know them not; mankind to us are new.

B 5.

Besides,

Besides, you begin your inquiries at the time, when our European chaos assumes a new form after the decline of the Roman empire. Let us then survey this globe together. Let us see in what state it then was, and consider it in the same order as it seems to have been civilized, that is, by proceeding from the eastern nations to our own; and let us give our attention first of all to a people, who had a connected history in a language already fixed, before we knew how to write.



## C H A P. I.

### *Of China, its antiquity, forces and laws.*

**T**HE empire of China, even in those days, was larger than that of Charlemaign, especially if we include Corea and Tonquin, provinces at that time tributary to the Chinese: it extends about 30 degrees in longitude, and 24 in latitude. This state has subsisted in splendour above 4000 years, without having undergone any material alteration in its laws, manners, language, or even in the mode and fashion of dress.

Its history, which is incontestable, being the only one founded on celestial observations, is traced by the most accurate chronology, so high as an eclipse calculated 2155 years before our vulgar æra, and verified by the missionaries skilled in mathematical learning, who having been sent in these latter times to preach the gospel to  
the

the people of this unknown nation, have admired and instructed them. Father Gaubil has examined a series of 36 eclipses of the sun, recorded in the books of Confucius, and found only two of them dubious and two spurious.

True it is that Alexander had sent from Babylon into Greece, the observations of the Chaldeans, who ascended 400 years higher than the Chinese; and doubtless this is one of the most valuable monuments of antiquity. But these ephemerides of Babylon were not connected with historical facts; whereas the Chinese have joined the celestial to the terrestrial history, and thus proved the one by the other.

Their chronology, according to testimonies that are judged authentic, uninterruptedly ascends two hundred and thirty years beyond the above-mentioned eclipse, so high as the emperor Hiao, who took some pains himself to correct their astronomy, and who during a reign of about 80 years, made it his study to promote the knowledge and happiness of mankind. His name is still held in veneration in China, as in Europe we venerate the names of the Titus's, the Trajans, and the Antoninus's. His being an able mathematician for his time, shews that his nation was already much civilized. We do not find that the antient chiefs of the German or Gallic boroughs, reformed astronomy. Clovis had no observatory.

We find that six kings preceded Hiao, but the length of their reigns is uncertain. Where chronology is thus silent, the best way, in my opinion, is to have recourse to Sir Isaac Newton's rule, who having composed one common

year for the time which the princes of different countries reigned, reduces each reign to 22 years or thereabouts. Pursuant to this calculation, which, as most moderate, seems most reasonable, those six kings must have reigned very near 130 years: and this is far more agreeable to the order and course of nature, than the 250 years, for example, attributed to the seven kings of Rome; and than so many other calculations contradicted by the experience of all ages.

Fohi then, the first of those kings, reigned 25 centuries at least before our vulgar æra, at the time when the Babylonians had already a series of astronomical observations: and from that time China was subject to one sovereign. The union of its 15 kingdoms under one head, shews, that long before that time this country was very populous, civilized, and divided into many sovereignties: for a great empire is never formed but out of several petty states; this being the work of time, policy, and courage: there cannot therefore be a stronger proof of antiquity.

A tyrant named Hoangti, commanded indeed that all books should be burnt; but this mad and barbarous order rather induced people to preserve them with care, and accordingly they appeared again after his decease. But what does it signify, whether those books always include a sure chronology or not. Suppose we know not exactly at what time Charlemaign lived: as it is certain that he made vast conquests with large armies, it appears that he was born in a numerous nation, formed into a body by a long succession of ages. Since therefore the emperor Hiao, who undeniably lived about two thousand four hundred

dred years before our æra, subdued the whole country of Corea, it is certain that his people were of the very remotest antiquity.

Mankind do not multiply so easy as we imagine. One third part of the number of infants die at the age of ten. The calculators of the propagation of the human species have observed, that there must be favourable circumstances for a nation to increase a twentieth part in the space of a hundred years: and it often happens that the number of inhabitants diminishes instead of increasing. This is a further proof of the antiquity of China. It was in the reign of Charlemaign, and long before, even more populous than extensive.

The last register that we know of, made in the 15 provinces that compose China properly so called, amounts to near sixty millions of men able to bear arms, without including either the veteran troops, the old men above sixty, or the young men under twenty, or the *mandarins* \*, or the multitude of literati, or the *bonzes* †, and

\* *Mandarin* is a name given to the magistrates and governors of provinces in China, who are chosen from among the most learned men of the empire, and whose government is always at a great distance from the place of their birth. The Chinese call them *Quongfu*, that is to say, Presidents; and the Portuguese not being able to pronounce the word *Quongfu* according to the antient Chinese, called them *Mandarinos*, from the Latin word *Mandare*, in which they have been followed by the other European nations. The *Mandarins* are greatly respected by the common people, who always speak to them upon their knees. There are military mandarins who have the command of the troops, and *Mandarins* who have the administration of justice.

† *Bonzes* are Indian and Chinese priests, who affect great continence and admirable sobriety. They have divers universities, where they teach the mysteries of their sex, and live in community. The Indian *Bonzes* wear a chaplet round their necks,

and much less the women, whose number in all countries equals that of the men within a 15th or 16th part, according to the observations of those who have made the exactest calculations in regard to the human species. At this rate there cannot be less than 130 millions of inhabitants in China; Europe has not many more than 100 millions, reckoning 20 millions in France, two and twenty in Germany, four in Hungary, ten in all Italy as far as Dalmatia, eight in great Britain and Ireland, eight in Spain and Portugal, ten in European Russia, six in Poland, six in Turkey in Europe, Greece and the islands, four in Sweden, three in Norway and Denmark, three in Holland and the Austrian Netherlands.

We must not therefore be surprized that the cities of China are immensely large; that Pequin, the new capital of the empire, is above six great \* leagues in circumference, and contains about four millions of inhabitants: that Nankin, the antient metropolis, had formerly a greater number: and that a simple borough, called Quientseng, where they manufacture their porcelain, contains about a million of people.

The forces of this empire, according to the relation of the most intelligent persons that ever travelled, consist in a militia of about 800,000 soldiers well maintained; five hundred and seventy thousand horses are fed in the emperor's stables

necks, consisting of an hundred beads, and carry a staff at the end of which is a wooden bird; they live upon the alms of the people, and yet maintain several orphans and widows out of their own collection.

\* 24 Miles.

OR

or pasture grounds, for mounting the cavalry, for the court journeys, and for public couriers. Several missionaries, whom the emperor Cang-hi, from his love of the sciences, had in these latter times about his person, affirm, that they attended him in those magnificent hunting matches towards great Tartary, in which 100,000 horse and 60,000 foot marched regularly in order of battle. This has been a custom in those countries time immemorial.

The Chinese towns had never any other fortifications than such as good sense pointed out to all nations, before the use of artillery; namely a ditch, a rampart, a strong wall, and towers: and even since the Chinese have made use of cannon, they have not followed the model of our fortresses; but whereas other nations fortify their towns, these people have fortified their empire. The great wall which separated and defended China against the Tartars, and which was built a hundred and thirty seven years before our æra, subsists to this day; it is 500 leagues in circumference, rising on the tops of mountains, and descending down ~~the~~ precipices, being almost every where 20 feet broad, and above 30 feet high: a monument superior to the pyramids of Egypt, both by its utility and dimensions.

Yet this rampart did not hinder the Tartars from making a proper use of the divisions of the Chinese, and conquering that empire; but this revolution made no change in their constitution of government. The country of the conquerors is become part of the conquered state; and the Mantchoux Tartars, now masters of China, have only submitted with sword in hand to the laws



laws of the country, whose throne they invaded.

The emperor's ordinary revenue, according to the most probable calculations, amounts to two hundred millions of ounces of silver\*. Here it is proper to observe, that the ounce of silver is not worth one hundred French sous intrinsic value, as the history of China asserts; for there is no such thing as intrinsic numerical value: but taking the silver mark at 50 livres, as reckoned in France, this sum amounts to 1250 millions of French money in 1740. I mention this date; for this arbitrary value has but too greatly changed, and perhaps will change still in this kingdom; this is a point which several writers who are better acquainted with books than public affairs, do not seem sufficiently to attend to; and hence it is, that they are frequently so defective in their valuation of foreign coins.

They had gold and silver coin, long before the darics were struck in Persia. The emperor Cang-hi had collected a series of 3000 of these pieces, among which were several struck in India; another proof of the antiquity of the arts in Asia. But gold for a long time has ceased to be a common measure in China, having become a merchandise as in Holland; neither do they coin any silver, but settle the value of this metal by the weight and standard; they coin nothing but copper, which alone has an arbitrary value in this country. In difficult times the government has made use of a paper currency, as since hath been practised by several states in Europe;

\* Above fifty two millions of Guineas.

but

but they never had any such thing as public banks, which by multiplying the credit of a nation increase its riches.

This country, so greatly favoured by nature, produces all the different sorts of fruits that grow in Europe, and a great many others which we are strangers to. The earth is covered with wheat, rice, vines, pulse, and trees of every kind; but the inhabitants never make any wine, being satisfied with a liquor of sufficient strength, which they extract from rice.

That precious insect which produces silk, is originally from China, from whence it was not imported into Persia till very late, together with the art of weaving the down, in which it is involved: this manufacture was so very scarce even in Justinian's time, that silk was sold in Europe for its weight in gold.

The Chinese have had a paper manufacture time immemorial; the paper is exceeding white and fine, and made of the strings of boiled bamboo\*. We cannot tell when first their porcelain was invented, nor that beautiful varnish which we begin now to imitate and to rival in Europe.

They have had glass manufactures these 2000 years, but their glass is not so fine nor so transparent as ours.

They invented printing at the same time. It is well known that their method of printing is by engraving on wooden blocks, in the manner as was first practised by Guttenberg at Mentz in the fifteenth century. The art of stamping characters on wood is more improved in China;

\* A kind of sugar-cane in the Indies.

but

but such is their attachment to antient customs, that they have not yet adopted our method of using moveable and fount types, though greatly superior to theirs.

They have been used to bells from the very earliest times. They have cultivated chemistry; and though they have made no great improvements in natural philosophy, they invented gunpowder; but they never use it except at festivals, in the exhibiting of fireworks, in which they surpass other nations. It was the Portuguese that first taught them the use of artillery, and the Jesuits that learnt them to found cannon. Tho' the Chinese have not distinguished themselves by the invention of these destructive instruments, yet this is not owing to their virtue, since they have nevertheless been used to war.

If they have gone far in astronomy, this is because it is a science depending on ocular observation, and the fruit of patience. They were assiduous observers of the heavens, remarked all the phænomena, and transmitted them to posterity. They divided after our manner the annual course of the sun into 365 parts and a quarter; and had a confused knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes and solstices. But what is most worthy of observation is, that time immemorial they have divided their months into weeks of seven days.

They still shew the instruments which one of their celebrated astronomers made use of a thousand years before our æra, in a city which is only of the third order in that empire.

In Nanquin, the antient capital, they have preserved a brazen globe, larger than three men  
can

can surround in their embrace; it stands on a cube of brass, which opens, and receives a man who turns the globe round; and on it are drawn the meridians and parallels.

Pekin has an observatory full of astrolabes and armillary spheres, inferior indeed to our instruments for exactness, but yet sufficient proofs of the superiority of the Chinese over the other nations of Asia.

They were acquainted with the compass, but did not apply it to its right use in navigation. For as they inhabited a land that abounds with every thing, they had no need like us to circumnavigate the globe. The compass as well as gunpowder was only a matter of curiosity in respect to them, nor indeed were they much to be lamented for the want of such improvements.

It is surprizing that this ingenious nation never went beyond the elements of geometry, that they were ignorant of semitones in music, that their astronomy and all their sciences were at the same time so antient and so limited. It seems as if nature had given to this species of men so different from ours, organs formed for discovering all at once whatever was necessary for them, and incapable of going any further. We on the contrary have made our discoveries very late; but we have been quick in bringing things to perfection. But what is less surprizing is, that these people have always blended their errors in judicial astrology with the truth of their celestial observations. This has been a superstition adopted some time or other by all mankind; nor is it long since we have

have recovered from it ourselves, such is the proneness of human nature to error.

If any one was to inquire how it comes to pass, that this nation should during an uninterrupted succession of ages have cultivated the arts and sciences, and yet make so small a progress in them, perhaps two reasons may be assigned: one is the great respect they have for whatever has been transmitted to them by their ancestors, and which makes them look upon every thing as perfect that bears the stamp of antiquity; the other is the nature of their language, the first principle of all human knowledge.

The art of communicating our ideas in writing, which should be a plain easy method, is with them a thing of the greatest difficulty. Every word has a different character; thus in China a learned man is he who knows most of those characters, insomuch that a great many arrive at old age before they know how to write well.

What they seem to understand best, and to have most improved, is morality and the laws. The respect which children bear to their parents, is the foundation of the Chinese government. Paternal authority is so strongly supported among them, that a son cannot go to law with his father but by the consent of all his relations, friends, and of the magistrates. The learned mandarins are considered as fathers of the towns and provinces, and the king as father of the empire: this principle ingrafted in their breasts has formed this vast empire into a single family.

Human nature is addicted there as in other countries to vice, but more restrained by the laws,

laws, which are always uniform. The learned author of the lord Anson's voyage round the world, expresses great contempt of China, because the lower sort of people in Canton imposed upon the English as much as ever they could. But are we to judge of the government of a great nation from the behaviour of the populace in a sea port town? And what would the Chinese say of us, if they had been cast away upon our coasts, at the time when the laws of European nations confiscated shipwrecked effects, and custom permitted the murder of the proprietors?

By means of the continual ceremonies with which society is incumbered in this country, and which nothing but friendship and domestic familiarity can prevail upon them to dispense with, they have established throughout the empire a certain modesty and decorum, which softens and tempers their manners. This gentleness and civility reaches even to the lowest class of people: for the missionaries inform us, that even in the public market places, in the midst of the hurry and confusion of carriages, which excite such horrid noise and imprecations in our parts of the world, they have often seen the peasants fall upon their knees, and ask one another pardon for the trouble which they accused themselves of having occasioned, and then assist each other with such coolness of temper as indeed greatly helps to disembarass them.

In other countries the laws inflict punishments on criminal actions, in China they do more, they reward virtue. If the fame of a generous and signal action is spread in a province, the mandarin is obliged to acquaint the emperor, who presently  
 X  
 sends

sends a badge of honour to the person who has so well deserved it. This morality, and this submission to the laws, joined to the worship of a supreme Being, constitute the religion of China, as professed by the emperor and the men of literature. The emperor has been high pontif time immemorial; it is he who sacrifices to *Tien*, the supreme ruler of heaven and earth: he is considered also as the first philosopher and first preacher in the empire; and his edicts are generally instructions and lessons of morality.



## C H A P. II.

### Of the religion of China.

*That the government is not atheistical; that Christianity was not preached there in the seventh century. Of some sects established in the country.*

*King of Lu*  
**C**ONGFUTSEE, whom we call Confucius, and who flourished two thousand three hundred years ago, a little before Pythagoras, was the founder of this religion, which consists in being just: he taught and practised it both in a state of grandeur and in obscurity; one while first minister to a king who was tributary to the emperor; then an exile, and reduced to extreme poverty. In his life-time he had five thousand disciples, and after his death his doctrine was embraced by the emperors, the *colaos*,

that is the mandarins, the men of literature, and in fine, by all but the common people.

His family is still existing: and in a country where there is no other title of nobility but that derived from actual services; it is distinguished from all other families in memory of its founder. In regard to himself, he has no divine honours paid him, these being due to the Deity alone; but he has such as a man deserves, who has given the purest ideas that human nature unassisted by revelation can form of the supreme Being: for which reason father le Comte and the other missionaries have remarked that the Chinese acknowledged the true God, when other nations were idolaters, and that they sacrificed to him in the most antient temple in the universe.

The reproach of atheism, which we in this part of the world are so apt to bestow upon every body that is not of the same way of thinking as ourselves, has been lavished on the Chinese. Nothing but the inconsiderateness, for which we are remarkable in all our disputes, could have made us presume to treat a government as atheistical, most of whose edicts speak \* of a *supreme being, father of nations, recompensing, and punishing with justice, who has established betwixt himself and man, a correspondence of prayers and benefits, of transgressions and chastisements.*

It is true their religion does not admit of eternal rewards and punishments; and this shews its antiquity. Moses himself makes no mention of a future state. The Sadducees did not believe

\* See the edict of the emperor *Yontching*.

it;



it; this doctrine has been happily established in the west only by the master of life and death.

It has been thought that the Chinese literati have not a distinct idea of an immaterial God; but it is wrong to infer from thence that they are atheists. The antient Egyptians, a people so very religious, did not worship Isis and Osiris as pure spirits. All the gods of antiquity were adored under a human form; and (which demonstrates the injustice of mankind) among the Greeks all were stigmatized as atheists, who would not allow of corporeal deities, and who worshipped in the divinity an unknown nature, invisible, inaccessible to our senses.

The famous archbishop Navaretta \* says, that according to all interpreters of the sacred books of the Chinese, *the soul is an aerial, fiery particle, which separating itself from the body joins the celestial substance.* This is the opinion of the Stoics. This is what Virgil † admirably

\* Ferdinand Navaretta, a learned Dominican friar, was born at Pennafiel in old Castile, and had been an eloquent preacher, when he quitted Spain in 1646 to preach the gospel in China, where he did not arrive till 1659. He learnt the Chinese language, which he wrote, and spoke with fluency. He was head of the mission in the province of Chekiang in 1665, when a persecution arose, and he with the rest of the missionaries was banished. He returned to Spain in 1672, and soon after went to Rome, to give an account of his mission. In 1678 Charles II. raised him to the archbishopric of St. Domingo in America, where he resided till his death in 1689. No man is said to have wrote better concerning the affairs of China: his work is intitled *Tradados historicos, politicos, etbicos, y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, in three volumes; but the third was never published, and the second was condemned by the inquisition.

† The passage alluded to is:

Principio cælum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,  
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra

Spiritus

mirably explains in his sixth Eneid. Now surely neither Epictetus's Manual, nor Virgil's Æneid are infected with atheism. We have slandered the Chinese, merely because their metaphysics differ from ours. We ought rather to admire two virtues, by which they are distinguished, and which at the same time condemn the superstitions of the pagans, and the manners of the Christians. The religion of the literati was never disgraced by fables, nor stained by quarrels and civil wars.

In charging the government of this vast empire with atheism, we have been so inconsiderate as to accuse them also of idolatry, an accusation which contradicts itself. The great mistake in regard to the Chinese rites proceeds from our judging of their customs by ours: for we carry our prejudices and litigious disposition to the further extremity of the earth. A genuflexion, which with them is only a common civility, appears to us an act of adoration; and a table we mistake for an altar. Thus it is we judge of every thing. We shall see hereafter, how our divisions and disputes drove the missionaries out of China.

Some time before Confucius, Laokium\* had  
intro-

*Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus  
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.  
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,  
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.  
Igneus est ollis vigor, et cælestis origo  
Seminibus.*

\* *Laokium*, or more properly Lao-Kiun, was the founder of one of the two principal sects, established in China. He was born in the province of Hou-Quang, in the reign of Ting-Vang the 21st emperor of the third Dynasty, about 600 years before our vulgar æra. His doctrine was that the soul died with the body,  
VOL. I. C that

introduced a sect that believed in wicked spirits, enchantments, and witchcrafts: another sect like that of Epicurus was received, though with some opposition, in China five hundred years before the birth of Christ. But in the first century of our æra this country was over-run by the superstition of the Bonzes, who brought from India the idol Fo or Foe, which is worshipped under different names by the Tartars and Japanese; a pretended divinity descended from heaven upon the earth, to whom they pay a worship the most ridiculous, and of consequence the best adapted to the stupid vulgar. This religion, which had its first rise in India almost a thousand years before Christ, has infected all oriental Asia; this is the God which the Bonzes preach in China, the Talapoins in Siam, and the Lamæ in Tartary. It is in his name that they promise immortal life, and that thousands of Bonzes consecrate their days to such penitential exercises as are shocking to human nature: some spend their whole life naked and fettered, others wear an iron collar which bends their bodies double, and holds their faces down to the ground. Their fanaticism is subdivided in infinitum; they are supposed to expel devils and to work miracles; and they sell their absolutions to the people. The mandarins are sometimes seduced by this sect, and by a fatality which shews that the same superstition is common to all

that the *summum bonum* consisted in pleasure; and confining all happiness to this life, he pretended to have found out the secret of prolonging it beyond the ordinary course: for which reason this was called the *Sect of the Immortals*. Yet it is thought, that the chief of this sect acknowledged a Supreme Being, whom he called *TAO*. See Du Halde and Navaretta.

nations,

nations, some mandarins have turned Bonzes and shaved their heads out of devotion.

It is these Bonzes that in Tartary have the Dailama for their chief, a living idol to whom they pay divine worship; and this perhaps is the highest pitch of human superstition.

This Dailama the successor and vicegerent of the God Fo, is supposed to be immortal: the priests always train up a young Lama, who is intended to be the secret successor of the Supreme Pontiff, and takes his place as soon as he, whom the people believe immortal, is dead. The Tartar princes never speak to him but upon their knees; and he ultimately decides the several points on which the Lamas are divided: in fine he has for some time past made himself master of Tibet that lies west of China: the emperor also receives his ambassadors, and sends an embassy in return with considerable presents.

These sects are tolerated in China for the use of the vulgar, as a coarse sort of food proper for their stomachs; while the magistrates and the learned, who are in every respect separated from the common people, feed on a purer substance. Yet Confucius was greatly concerned at this deluge of errors; there were a great many idolaters in his time. The sect of Laokium had already introduced superstitions among the people: hence in one of his books he says; *how comes it that the ignorant populace are guilty of more crimes than the learned? It is because the populace are governed by the Bonzes.*

A great many of the learned are indeed fallen into the error of materialism, but this has not altered their moral doctrine: They say that virtue

is so necessary to mankind, and so amiable in itself, that they have no occasion for the knowledge of a God to follow it. Besides we ought not to look upon the Chinese materialists as atheists, since the primitive fathers of the church believed \* God and angels to be corporeal.

Some pretend that the Christian religion was known in China towards the eighth century, in the time of Charlemaign. It is affirmed that our missionaries have found in the province of King-ching, an inscription in Syriac and Chinese characters: this monument, which the reader may see at length in Kircher, mentions that a holy man named Olopuen conducted by blue clouds, and observing the direction of the winds, came from Tacin to China in the year 1092 of the æra of the Seleucidæ, which answers to the year 636 of Jesus Christ; that as soon as he arrived in the suburbs of the imperial city, the emperor sent a *colao* to attend him, and built a Christian church for his use, &c.

It is evident by the very inscription itself, that this is one of those pious frauds, which have not been looked upon in so bad a light as they deserve. This the learned Navaretta allows. This country of *Tacin*, this æra of the Seleucidæ, this name of Olopuen, which, they say, is Chinese, and resembles a Spanish name, these *blue clouds*, which

\* I apprehend this is in part a mistake; many of the primitive fathers, it is true, did believe the angels to be corporeal, or to have been formed of a thin rarefied matter; but none of them held that opinion of the Deity: for we find in ecclesiastic historians, that Audeus a Syrian of Mesopotamia, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century, was condemned for this opinion, and his followers were called *Anthropomorphites*. See Du Pin, *Epiph.* Aug.

serve

serve as guides, this Christian church built all of a sudden at Pekin for a priest of Palestine, who could not set foot in China without running the risk of his life; all shew the story to be ridiculous. Those who endeavour to defend it, do not reflect, that the priests whose names are mentioned in this pretended monument, were Nestorians, and consequently that they are only contending for heretics.

This inscription we must rank with that of Malabar, where it is said that St. Thomas arrived in that country, in the quality of a carpenter, with a rule and a stake, and that he carried alone a large beam of wood, as a proof of his mission. There are historical truths enough, without mixing with them these foolish lies.

It is therefore very certain that in the time of Charlemain, the Christian religion (as well as the people who profess it) were absolutely strangers to China. Indeed there were some Jews in that country. Several families of that vagrant and superstitious nation, were settled there two centuries before our vulgar æra; and followed the business of brokers, which the Jews practise in almost every part of the world.

I shall defer my survey of Siam, Japan, and all that tract of country situate towards the east and south, till I come to that time in which the industry of the Europeans opened an easy passage to those parts, the remotest of our hemisphere.

## C H A P. III.

## Of India.

**F**OLLOWING the apparent course of the sun, the next country I come to, is India, a country almost as extensive as China, and more known on account of the precious commodities in all ages brought from thence by the industry of merchants, than from any exact relation of it.

A chain of mountains but little interrupted, seems to have fixed its limits towards China, Tartary and Persia; and the rest is surrounded by the sea. And yet India on this side the Ganges, was for a long time subject to the Persians; for which reason Alexander the revenger of Greece and the conqueror of Darius, pushed his conquests even into that part of India which was tributary to his enemy. Since the time of Alexander, the Indians have lived in a licentiousness and effeminacy inspired by the goodness of the climate, and the richness of the soil.

The Greeks travelled thither in search of knowledge, before the reign of Alexander. There the celebrated Pilpay †, two thousand three hundred years

† Pilpay or Pidpay is the name of an ancient Indian Bramin, who was governor of part of Indostan, and counsellor to a powerful Indian king, named Dabschelim, whom he instructed in morality and politics, according to the method of the Orientals, by fables. These instructions gave birth to the work which was written 2000 years ago in the Indian language, and intitled *Kelile Wadimne*, a name the Orientals give to a certain animal very much resembling a fox, which is made to speak throughout

years ago, wrote his Moral Fables that have since been translated into almost all languages.

All subjects whatever have been treated in the way of fable or allegory, by the Orientals, and particularly the Indians. Hence it is that Pythagoras, who studied among them, generally expresses himself in parables. The spirit of Pilpay prevailed long in India. Pachimerus † in the thirteenth century, translated several pieces written by their sages: we shall give here a very extraordinary passage from one of them.

“ I have seen all sects accusing one another of  
 “ imposture. I have seen all the Magi furiously  
 “ disputing about the first principle and the last  
 “ end. I have questioned them all; and among  
 “ all those heads of faction, I found nothing but  
 “ an inflexible obstinacy, a supercilious contempt,  
 “ and an implacable aversion against one ano-  
 “ ther. I resolved therefore to believe none of  
 “ them. These Doctors, in seeking the truth,  
 “ are like a woman that wants to introduce her  
 “ lover by a back door, but cannot find the key.  
 “ Mankind in their idle researches, resemble a  
 “ person, who climbs up a tree, where there is  
 “ little honey, and scarce has he eaten of it,

out the work. All the modern translations of this valuable composition are made either from the Greek or from the Persian, and are said to differ greatly from the original. See Fabric. bibliot. Gr. and Hyde *de ludis Orient.*

† George Pachimerus is an antient Greek writer, who flourished towards the year 1280, under Michael Paleologus and Andronicus his successor. He was a person of rank, and wrote the history of the abovementioned emperors, which is esteemed, not for its stile, which is obscure and stiff, but for exactness and impartiality. He wrote comments on Aristotle, and some Greek verses.



“ when the dragons that are about the tree, devour him.”

Such was the manner of writing among the Indians. Their spirit appears still more in the diversions which they invented. The game, which the French by corruption call *des echecs* (chess) is of their invention: it is allegorical like their fables, and an image of war. The names of *Shak* (Check) which signifies *King*, and of *Pion*, (Pawn) which signifies *soldier*, are still retained in that part of the east.

The figures we make use of in arithmetic, which we received from the Arabs, near the time of Charlemaign, came from India: and perhaps the antient medals so highly valued by the curious among the Chinese, are a proof that the arts were cultivated in India, before they were known in China.

The Indians have, from time immemorial, divided the annual course of the sun into twelve parts; and the year of the Brachmans\*, and most antient Gymnosophists, always began when the sun entered the constellation, which they call

\* The Brachmans were a sect of Indian philosophers, known to the antients also by the name of Gymnosophists. They lived upon herbs and pulse, and abstained from all animal food. They spent their days in solitude, without matrimony, or property, and wished ardently for death, considering life only as a burden. The Greek philosophers used to travel to India to consult the Brachmans, and it is from them that Pythagoras is supposed to have learnt the doctrine of metempsychosis. The modern Bramins are thought to be the successors of the antient Brachmans, living much in the same manner, and following the same doctrine. The name is said to be derived from Brama, the legislator of India, who divided the people into four casts or tribes, namely the Brachmans and Bramins, who are the priests and doctors of law, the Ragueputs who are the militia, the Banians who are merchants and brokers, and last of all the artisans.

mos-

*moscham*, and we the ram. Their weeks always consisted of seven days: a division never known to the Greeks. Their days bear the names of the seven planets. Sunday was by them called Mithradinam; but it is uncertain whether this word Mithra, which among the Persians also signifies the sun, belonged originally to the language of the Magi, or to that of the sages of India: for it is very difficult to discover which of the two nations taught the other. If it was necessary to decide this point between the Egyptians and Indians, I should imagine that the sciences were much more antient in the Indies; and my conjecture is founded on the country of India being more easily inhabited than the land adjoining to the Nile, whose inundations must for a long time have discouraged the first colonies, before they had brought this river into subjection by digging canals. Besides the soil of India, being much more various in its fertility, was better adapted to excite the curiosity and industry of mankind. Some have imagined that the human race came originally from Indostan, alledging that the weakest animal must have been produced in the mildest climate: but we are in the dark in regard to all originals. Who can say that there were neither insects, nor herbs, nor trees in our climate, when they were in the east?

India was known only by name in the time of Charlemaign; and the Indians were ignorant that there was a Charlemaign. The Arabs, sole masters of the maritime commerce, supplied both Constantinople and the Franks with the commodities of the Indies. The Venetians bought them up at Alexandria. The demand for them in France

among private people was not yet very considerable: they were long unknown in Germany, and throughout the north. The Romans had carried on this trade themselves, as soon as they were masters of Egypt. Thus the western nations have always carried their gold and silver to India, and enriched that country, which is so rich of itself.

India having been in all ages a trading industrious nation, its civil polity must have been excellent; and that country, to which Pythagoras had travelled for instruction, must have been governed by good laws, without which the arts are never cultivated. But mankind with good laws have ever been subject to foolish customs: that which made it a point of honour and religion, for women to burn themselves upon the dead bodies of their husbands, subsisted in India from time immemorial, and is not yet abolished. Indian philosophers have flung themselves upon a funeral pile, through excess of fanaticism and vain glory. Calanus \*, who burnt himself to death in the presence of Alexander, did not set the example. One would think that a nation, in which both philosophers and women devoted themselves voluntarily to death, must have been warlike and invincible: yet ever since the antient Sezac †, known

\* Calanus was an Indian philosopher, who followed Alexander in his expedition into India. He lived to the age of 83 free from all pain or sickness, and being then seized with a violent cholick, he took the resolution to burn himself. See Curt. lib. 10. Arrian, lib. 7. Val. Max. lib. 1.

† Sefac, Sefenchis, or Sefonchosis, king of Egypt, the first of the 12th dynasty of Africanus, reigned in the little Disopolis towards the year 1510 before the birth of Christ. According to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Eusebius, this is the famous Sefostris,

known by the name of Bacchus, every invader of India hath easily conquered that country.

It would be difficult to reconcile the sublime ideas, which the Bramins preserve of the Supreme Being, with their superstitions and fabulous mythology; did not history furnish us with the like contradictions among the Greeks and Romans. In the midst of those idolatrous nations, there have been Christians settled, these two hundred years. A merchant of Syria, whose name was Mark Thomas, having settled on the Malabar coast with his family, and his factors, in the sixth century, left there his religion, which was † Nestorianism. These eastern sectaries multiplied, and called themselves the Christians of St. Thomas: they lived peaceably among idolaters. Those who make no stir, are seldom persecuted. These Christians had no knowledge of the Latin church.

Sesostris, who was one of the greatest conquerors that ever existed. He reigned 51 years, and undertook his expedition into Asia in the eighteenth of his reign. See Herodot. lib. 2.

† The doctrine of Nestorius, a Greek monk, who was raised to the see of Constantinople in 428. He maintained that there were two persons in Christ, as well as two natures, and that the virgin Mary could not be called *θεοτόκος*, mother of God, but only *χριστοτόκος*, mother of Christ. St. Cyril of Alexandria was his great antagonist. The general council of Ephesus condemned the doctrine of Nestorius in 431, after which he was deposed and banished.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of Persia, Arabia, and Mahomet.*

**I**N turning towards Persia, we find a little before the time I make use of as an æra \*, the greatest and most sudden revolution that was ever known upon earth.

A new empire, a religion and manners hitherto unknown, changed the face of these countries; and this change had already extended a great way, into Asia, Africa and Europe.

In order to obtain an idea of Mahometism, which has given a new form to so many empires, I shall begin with taking a view of the parts of the world that first submitted to it.

Persia had before Alexander's time, extended its dominion from Egypt to Bactria †, beyond the country where now stands Samarcand, and from Thrace to the river Indus.

Though it was divided and limited under the Seleucidæ ‡, it gained new additions under Ar-

\* That is, the reign of Charlemaign.

† Or Bactriana, now called Chorassan.

‡ *Seleucidæ* is the name of the descendants of Seleucus I. king of Syria, one of Alexander's generals. The æra of the Seleucidæ is of great importance in history. Some authors call it the æra of the Greeks. The Jews call it the æra of contracts, because when upon being subdued by the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to make use of it in all their civil deeds. Most nations made it begin at the autumnal equinox of the year 312 before Christ, except the Chaldeans who date it from the commencement of the ensuing spring, because they did not look upon Seleucus as well settled at Babylon, before the retreat of Demetrius, which happened at that time.

faces

faces\* the Parthian, two hundred and fifty years before Christ: and though the Arfacidæ possessed neither Syria, nor the countries bordering on the Euxine sea, they disputed with the Romans the empire of the East, and their opposition always proved unsurmountable.

In the time of Alexander Severus, about the year of our Lord 226, a Persian common soldier, who took the name of Artaxerxes, wrested this kingdom from the Parthians, and re-established the Persian empire, whose extent was then nearly the same as it is at present.

You are not disposed to examine who were the first Babylonians subdued by the Persians, nor why these people should boast of astronomical observations for four hundred thousand years, of which no more than a series of nineteen hundred years could be found in the time of Alexander the Great. Neither are you inclined to depart from your subject, to revive the ideas of the grandeur of Babylon, and of those monuments, which are founded much higher than they deserve, and of which the very ruins are destroyed. If any remains of the Asiatic arts merit our curiosity, it is the ruins of Persepolis described in many books, and copied in several prints. I am

\* *Arfaces*, the first king of the Parthians, was elected by those people, who revolted against the Macedonian Seleucidæ, 250 years before our æra. He reigned about thirty years, and was successful in his administration. His successors were called Arfacidæ, as the antient kings of Egypt had the name of Pharaoh, and the new ones of Ptolemy. Authors are not agreed in regard to the time when this government was settled, which lasted to the reign of Alexander son of Mamea, when Artabanus was killed by Artaxerxes in the year 228. See Photius, Eusebius, Usher, &c.

not

not ignorant of the admiration inspired by those ruins, that escaped the torches with which Alexander and the courtesan Thais, set Persepolis in flames. But could a palace erected at the foot of a chain of barren rocks, be a master piece of art? The columns which are yet standing, cannot surely be reckoned either of a just proportion, or of an elegant design. The capitals are loaded with foolish ornaments, and nearly as high as the shaft. All the figures are as heavy and hard, as those which unluckily disgrace our Gothic churches. They are monuments of grandeur but not of taste; and the whole confirms me in the opinion, that if we confine ourselves to the history of the polite arts, we shall find no more than four ages in the annals of the world, namely those of Alexander, of Augustus, of the Medicis, and of Lewis XIV.

Yet the Persians were always an ingenious people. Lokman\*, who is the same as Esop, was born at Casbin. This tradition is far more probable, than that which makes him a native of

\* He is surnamed the *Wise*, and mentioned with respect in the Koran, which has induced many of the Mahometans to write commentaries upon his fables or apologues. Some make him cotemporary with Moses, and others with David, which is the opinion of Mircond the Persian historian. They pretend that he lived three thousand years, to which purpose, Sahdi a famous Persian poet tells the following story. Lokman towards the latter end of his days, lived in the neighbourhood of a morass full of reeds, where he had built himself a hut, and employed his time in making wicker baskets. The angel of death appeared to him, and said, how comes it Lokman, that thou, who hast been three thousand years in the world, didst not learn to build thyself a house? Lokman answered him, *O Efrail*, (that was the angel of death's name) it would be very foolish for one that knew he had thee at his heels, to think of building a house.

Ethiopia,

Ethiopia, a country that never produced philosophers. The doctrine of the antient Zerdust, called Zoroaster by the Greeks, who have changed all the oriental names, still subsisted. Its antiquity is rated at nine thousand years; for the Persians, as well as the Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese, throw back the origin of the world as much as others bring it forward. This antient religion was only improved by a second Zoroaster, under Darius the son of Hytaspes. In this doctrine we find the earliest notions of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of happiness or misery. There we find an express mention of hell. Zoroaster in the writings preserved by Sadder\*, pretends that God gave him a sight of this hell, and of the punishments reserved for the wicked: there he saw many kings, and among the rest one who wanted a foot. He asked God the reason; and God answered him: *This perverse king did but one good action in his whole life. As he was hunting one day, he saw a dromedary tied so far from his trough, that though he wanted to eat, he could not reach it. He kicked the trough nearer with his foot; I placed that foot in heaven; all the rest is here.* This passage, which is but little known, shews the kind of philosophy that prevailed in those distant ages, a philosophy always

\* Sadder, or as others call him Saddy, or Saadi and Sadi, is the most celebrated author among the Persians. He led the life of a Dervis or solitary, and spent great part of his time in travelling. He was made a slave by the Franks in the Holy Land and ransomed for ten crowns by a merchant of Aleppo, who gave him a hundred more in portion with his daughter. But this wife made Sadder's life so uneasy, that he could not help expressing his anxiety in his works, particularly in his *Gulistan* or flower garden. See D'Herbelot bibl. orient.

allegorical,




allegorical, and yet sometimes extremely profound.

The Babylonians were the first, who admitted intermediate beings between the Deity and man. The Jews gave no names to angels, till the time of the Babylonish captivity. The word *Satan* appears for the first time in the book of Job; it is a Persian name, some pretend that Job was of that country. The name of *Raphael* is used by Tobias, who was captive at Nineveh, and who wrote in Chaldaic.

The doctrine of two principles is from Zoroaster. Oromasdes\* or Oromazes, the antient of days, and Arimanes †, the genius of darkness, are the original of Manicheism. This is the Osiris ‡, and the

\* *Oromazes* is the name, which the Magi and the Chaldeans gave to the Supreme Being, and which in the Chaldaic language signifies, *burning light*. They represented God as surrounded by fire, and used to say, that *his body is like unto light, and his soul unto truth*, according to Porphyry in the life of Pythagoras. This God was the good principle, but there was another bad principle, which they called *Arimanes* or *Arimanus*, that is, in Chaldaic, *my enemy*, or *cunning and deceitful*. It is opposed to Oromazes, who was to destroy it however at last. See Plut. de Iside & Osiride, Diog. Laert. in præmio, and D'Herbelot bibl. orient.

† M. le Clerc thinks that Arimanes may be derived from  the Hebrew word *Harim*, *cunning, crafty*, and he observes that this is the epithet given to the serpent, Gen. c. 3.

‡ *Osiris*, according to fabulous history, was the son of Jupiter and Niobe, and king of Argos; he resigned his kingdom to his brother Ægialus, and went to Egypt, and having civilized that kingdom, he attained the sovereignty of it. Afterwards he married Io or Isis, whom Jupiter had changed into a cow. She and her husband instructed the Egyptians in several arts, so that after their death they both received divine honours from that nation. Typho is said to have been the brother of Osiris, whom he killed with an intent to usurp the throne; but he was overcome by Isis, who punished him for his parricide. Osiris, it is pretended,

the Typhon of the Egyptians; this the Pandora || of the Greeks; this the vain effort of all the sages to explain the original of good and evil. This Theurgy of the Magi was respected in the east under all governments; and amidst all revolutions, the antient religion maintained itself in Persia. Neither the Gods of the Greeks, nor other Deities ever gained ground in that empire.

Towards the end of the sixth century, Nou-shirvan or Cosroes the great extended his empire into a part of Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix. He drove out the Abyssinian Christians, by whom they had been invaded; and banished Christianity, as much as he was able, out of his dominions, being forced to that severity by the crime of his wife's son, who turning Christian revolted against him.

In the last year of the reign of this famous king, Mahomet was born at Mecca in Arabia Petræa, on the fifth of May 570. His country at that time defended its liberties against the Persians, and against the princes of Constantinople, who still retained the title of Roman emperors.

pretended, was transformed into an ox, under which form the Egyptians worshipped him, and he was called Apis and Serapis. There was another Typho, a giant, son of *Tartarus and Terra*, according to Hesiod. See Plut. de Isid. et Osir. Tibullus looks upon Osiris as inventor of the plow,

*Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,  
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit bumum.*

|| Pandora, a surprizing fine woman, according to poetical accounts, formed by the hands of Vulcan. Each of the Gods had given her some perfection, Venus beauty, Pallas wisdom, Mercury eloquence, &c. Jupiter being angry with Prometheus, for stealing the heavenly fire, sent Pandora upon earth with a fatal box, which when opened by Epimetheus, brother of Prometheus, diffused the ills and diseases which it contained, all over the earth. Hope alone remained at the bottom.

The

The children of the great Noushairvan, who were unworthy of such a father, laid Persia waste by their parricides and civil wars : The successors of the wise Justinian degraded the name of emperor : Maurice was dethroned by the arms of Phocas, and by the intrigues of the patriarch of Syria, in conjunction with some bishops, whom Phocas afterwards punished for having assisted him. The blood of Maurice and his five sons was spilt by the hand of the common executioner. Pope Gregory the great, the enemy of the patriarchs of Constantinople, endeavoured to engage the tyrant Phocas to embrace his interest, by lavishing praises upon him, and condemning the memory of Maurice, whom he had flattered while living.

The Roman empire in the West was destroyed, and a deluge of Barbarians, Goths, Heruli, Huns and Vandals had overflowed Europe ; when Mahomet laid the foundations of the religion and power of the Mussulmen in the deserts of Arabia.

It is well known that Mahomet was the younger son of a poor family ; that he was for a long time in the service of a woman of Mecca whose name was Cadigha, who followed the employment of a Merchant ; that he married her, and lived an obscure life till he was forty years old. It was not till this age that he displayed the talents that rendered him superior to all his countrymen. He had a lively and forcible eloquence, void of all art and method, such as appears adapted to the taste of the Arabs ; an air of authority and insinuation, animated by piercing eyes, and a happy disposition of features ;  
he

he had besides the intrepidity of Alexander, his liberality, and that sobriety which Alexander wanted, in order to render his character complete.

The love of women, which the warmth of his constitution rendered unavoidable, and which occasioned his having so many wives and concubines, did not weaken either his courage, his application, or his health. This the Arabians, his contemporaries, observe, and the picture is justified by his actions.

Having obtained a thorough knowledge of the character of his fellow citizens, of their ignorance, credulity and disposition to enthusiasm, he found that it was possible for him to assume the character of a prophet. He therefore pretended to receive revelations, he uttered them and first gained credit in his own house, which was probably the most difficult task: in three years he had forty two disciples. Omar, his persecutor, became his apostle; and at the end of five years, he had one hundred and fourteen followers.

He taught the Arabians who paid their adorations to the stars, that they ought only to adore the God who created the stars; that the books of the Jews and Christians being corrupted and interpolated, ought to be held in abhorrence: that they were obliged under pain of eternal punishment, to pray five times a day; to give alms; and especially whilst they acknowledged only one God, to believe in Mahomet, the last of his prophets, and to hazard their lives in defence of that faith.

He prohibited the use of wine, because the abuse of it is too dangerous. He preserved circumcision which was practised by the Arabians,  
as

as well as by the antient Egyptians, and was probably instituted to prevent those early abuses of puberty that often enervate youth. He allowed the men a plurality of wives, a custom that had prevailed from time immemorial, throughout all the East; and he made no alteration in morality, which in its main branches has ever been the same amongst all mankind, and which no legislator has ever corrupted. His religion was in other respects more enslaving than any other, by the legal ceremonies, by the number and forms of prayers and ablutions; nothing being more mortifying to human nature, than practices which it does not require, and which must be repeated every day.

He promised by way of recompence an eternal life, in which the soul should be inebriated with all kinds of spiritual pleasures, and in which the body, being raised again with all its organs of sensation, should taste, by means of those senses, all the pleasures it is capable of enjoying.

His religion was called *Ismanism*, which signifies resignation to the will of God; and the book in which it is contained is named *Koran*, that is, *the Book, the Scriptures, or the Lecture*, by way of eminence.

All the interpreters of this book allow that its morality is contained in these words; "Court  
 " him who discards thee; give to him who  
 " taketh from thee; forgive those who have of-  
 " fended thee; do good to all; and never dis-  
 " pute with the ignorant." He ought much  
 rather to have recommended to his followers not to dispute with the learned. But in that part of the world, it was never imagined that there was science or learning elsewhere. Among

Among the incoherent declamations with which this book, according to the eastern taste, is filled; there are passages that appear truly sublime. Mahomet, for example, on speaking of the cessation of the deluge, expresses himself thus. "God said, Earth absorb thy waters, Heaven drink up the showers thou hast poured down: the Heaven and the Earth obeyed."

His definition of God is expressed in a manner still more sublime: on being asked who was that Allah whom he preached, he replied: "It is he who holds his being of himself, and from whom all other beings are derived; who begetteth not, neither is begotten; and who has no likeness throughout the whole extent of being."

'Tis true that contradictions, absurdities and anachronisms are plentifully scattered throughout this book; where we more particularly find a profound ignorance of the most simple and obvious parts of natural philosophy. This is the touchstone of the books which false religions pretend to have been written by the Deity; for God can utter nothing that is absurd or false; but the vulgar who are incapable of seeing these faults adore them, while their *Imans*\* employ a deluge of words to conceal and palliate them.

\* *Imans* in Turkey are the same as curates or parish priests. They are obliged to officiate at appointed hours, each in his own mosque. Before they enter upon their offices they must appear to be men of regular lives. They are nominated by the grand vizir at the presentation of the parishioners, All the literature requisite is to know how to read the Koran. They are installed without any ceremony, and the Musti has no authority over them, as they have no hierarchy. Each Iman is independent in his parish: but in civil and criminal matters they are subject to the temporal power. See le Brun, &c.

Some

Some people have imagined from an equivocal passage in the Koran, that Mahomet could neither write nor read; which would still add to the prodigies of his success: but it is not probable that a man who had been long a merchant, should be ignorant of what is so necessary to trade: much less is it probable, that a man who was so well versed in the histories and fables of his native country, should be ignorant of what was known to all the children in Arabia. Besides the Arabian authors observe, that Mahomet, when dying, called for a pen and ink.

On his being persecuted at Mecca, his flight, which was called *Hegira* †, became the æra of his glory, and of the foundation of his empire: from being a fugitive, he rose to be a conqueror; and having taken refuge at Medina, he converted the people, made use of their assistance, and with an hundred and thirteen men, defeated the inhabitants of Mecca, who came and attacked him with a thousand. This victory, which his followers considered as a miracle, made them imagine that God fought for them, as they did for him; and from this first victory they flattered themselves with the hopes of conquering the world. Mahomet took Mecca, saw his persecutors at his feet, conquered within the compass of nine years, by preaching and the force of arms, all Arabia, a country as large as Persia, and which neither the Persians nor Romans were ever able to subdue.

† This is the famous epocha of the Arabs, who date their years from the flight of Mahomet to Mecca, which was on a Friday July 15th, in the year of Christ 622, and under the reign of the emperor Heraclius. See Petav. de doct. temp. Scalig. de emend. &c.

On

On his first success, he wrote to Cosroes the second, king of Persia, to the emperor Heraclius, to the prince of the Copts †, governor of Egypt, to the king of Abyffinia; and to a prince whose name was Mandar, who reigned in a province near the Persian gulph.

He had the presumption to make them the proposal of embracing his religion; and what appears very strange is, that two of these princes actually became Mahometans; these were Mandar, and the king of Abyffinia. Cosroes tore Mahomet's letter with an air of indignation; Heraclius answered him by making him presents; and the prince of the Copts sent him a girl esteemed the masterpiece of nature, who was called the beautiful Maria.

Mahomet at the end of nine years, thinking himself strong enough to extend his conquests and religion into the Grecian and Persian empires, began by attacking Syria, then subject to Heraclius, and took some cities. That prince, whose head was turned with metaphysical disputes

† *Copts* is a name given to such of the Christians of Egypt, as are of the sect of Jacobites, so called from Jacobus Zanzalus their patriarch, who lived in the sixth century: they are also called Monophysites, because they believe there is but one nature in Christ. It is thought that the word *Copt* comes from *Ægyptos*, because the greatest part of the Christians of Egypt persisted in that error; and when the Arabs made themselves masters of that country, the orthodox were expelled, and the Jacobites permitted to stay. These soon lost the use of the Greek tongue, and performed divine service in the Egyptian, though mixed with Greek terms and in Greek characters. The ancient Coptic is now a dead language, to be met with no where but in the translations of the sacred writings and in liturgies, the language used all over the country being Arabic. The Copts have a patriarch, who is styled the patriarch of Alexandria, and has eleven or twelve bishops under him.

in



in religion, and who had espoused the party of the Monothelites, received within the compass of a very short time, two proposals of a very singular nature; the one from Cosroes the second, who had subdued him long before, and the other from Mahomet. Cosroes insisted on Heraclius's embracing the religion of the Magi, and Mahomet, on his becoming a Mussulman\*.

The new prophet left it to the choice of those whom he wanted to subdue, either to embrace his sect, or to pay a tribute. This tribute was regulated by the Koran at thirteen drachms of silver yearly by every head of a family. So small a tax proves that the people he conquered, were poor. The tribute has been increased since. Of all the legislators, who founded a new religion, he is the only one that extended his by conquests. Other nations have spread their worship by fire and sword into foreign countries; but no founder of a sect was ever a conqueror. This extraordinary privilege is, in the eye of the Mahometans, the strongest argument, that God himself was pleased to assist their prophet.

At last Mahomet, after having made himself master of Arabia, and formidable to all his neighbours, was seized with a mortal distemper at the age of sixty three years and a half; when resolving to behave in his last moments like a hero and a man of integrity, he cried out, "Let him to whom I have done violence and injustice appear; I am now ready to make him reparation." On this a man stood up, and desiring the restitution of some money, he ordered it to be given

\* *Mussulman* signifies a true believer, a name which Mahomet gave to those, who embraced his religion.

him, and expired a short time after, with the character of a great man even in the opinion of those who knew him to be an impostor, and revered as a prophet by all the rest.

The Arabs, his cotemporaries, wrote his life in a most circumstantial manner. The barbarous simplicity of those times, which are called heroic, appears throughout the whole. His marriage contract with his first wife Cadigha, is expressed in these words: *Whereas Cadigha is in love with Mahomet, and Mahomet is also in love with her.* We find what victuals his wives dressed for him; we are told the names of his swords, and of his horses. Especially we may observe a remarkable conformity between the manners of his people, and those of the antient Hebrews (I speak here of their manners only) the same ardor to rush into battle in the name of the Lord, the same thirst for plunder, the same division of the spoils, and every thing referred to this great object.

But, humanly speaking, and considering things abstractedly from the judgments of God, and his unsearchable ways, how came it that Mahomet and his successors, who began their conquests exactly like the Jews, how came it, I say, that they atchieved such great things, and that the Jews did so little? Was it not because the Mussulmen took particular care, either by force or persuasion, to subject the vanquished to their religion? On the contrary the Jews never admitted strangers to partake of their rites? The Arabian Mussulmen incorporated among them other nations; the Jews always kept themselves a distinct people. It appears in short that the courage of the Arabians was more enthusiastic, and their

conduct more generous and bold. The Jews held all other nations in abhorrence, and were always afraid of being enslaved: on the contrary the Arabs wanted to bring all nations under them, and looked upon themselves as born to command.

Mahomet's last will was not executed. He had nominated Ali his son-in-law and Fatima his daughter to succeed him in the government of his empire: but ambition which triumphs over fanaticism itself, induced the chiefs of his army to chuse for caliph, or vicar of the prophet, old Abubeker, his father-in-law, from the hope that they should soon divide the succession amongst themselves. Mean while Ali staid in Arabia waiting till time should give him an opportunity to signalize himself.

Abubeker first gathered together the scattered sheets of the Koran: and the several chapters of this book being read in the presence of all the chiefs, its authenticity was established.

Soon after Abubeker led his Mussulmen into Palestine, where he defeated the brother of Heraclius. He died a short time after, with the reputation of being the most generous of all mankind, having never taken to his own use more than about forty French sous \* per day, out of all the spoil that was divided; thus shewing how the contempt of little mercenary views is compatible with that ambition which great interests inspire.

Abubeker is esteemed by the Mahometans as a great man, and a true Mussulman. He is one of the saints of the Koran. The Arabs have given us his last will couched in these terms: *In the name of the most merciful God, this is the will of*

\* Twenty-pence English.

*Abubeker,*

*Abubeker, made at a time when he was going out of this world into the next, at a time when infidels believe, when the impious cease to doubt, and when liars tell truth.* This introduction seems to prove that the man was sincere. And yet he was Mahomet's father-in-law, and had seen very far into that prophet. Either he was deceived himself by Mahomet, or he must have been an accomplice in a signal imposture, which he considered as necessary; and his place required him to impose upon the world, both in his life time, and at the hour of his death.

Omar who was elected after him, was one of the most rapid conquerors that ever spread desolation throughout the earth: He first took Damascus, celebrated for the fertility of its territory, for the finest manufactures of steel in the universe, and for those silks that still bear its name. He drove the Greeks, who went under the appellation of Romans, out of Syria and Phœnicia: and after a long siege, he took by capitulation the city of Jerusalem; a city that had been possessed by strangers, who succeeded each other, ever since David wrested it from its antient inhabitants.

At the same time the lieutenants of Omar advanced into Persia. The last of the Persian kings whom we call Hormisdas the fourth †, gave battle to the Arabians, at some leagues distance from Madain, which was then the capital of that empire; where he lost both the battle and his life. The Persians then passed under the dominion of

† By other writers he is called Isdigertes, he was the last Persian monarch of the line of Artaxerxes, in which the Persian empire had continued upwards of 400 years. This happened in 632. See Petav. rat. temp.

Omar, more easily than they had submitted to the yoke of Alexander.

Then fell that antient religion of the Magi, which the conqueror of Darius had treated with respect; for he never interfered in the worship of the nations he subdued.

The Magi worshipped one only God, were enemies to idóls, and revered fire, which animates all nature, as an emblem of the Deity. They regarded their religion as the purest and most antient; and the knowledge they had acquired of the mathematics, astronomy, and history, encreased their contempt for their conquerors, who were then involved in ignorance: they could not therefore forsake a religion that had been consecrated for so many ages, for a new doctrine professed by their enemies. Most of them retired to the extremities of Persia and India, where they live at present under the name of *Gaures* or *Guebres* †, marrying only amongst themselves; keeping up the sacred fire, and adhering to what they know of their antient worship: yet they are ignorant, despised, and except in their poverty resemble the Jews, who have so long been dispersed, without being allied to other nations; they have a still greater resemblance to the Barians, who live no where but in India, where they are scattered in different parts.

† They are called *Parsis* in India, and in Persia *Guebran*, a name taken from the Arabic *Gaur*, which signifies *infidel*, or *idolater*: They are in Caramania deserta, and towards the Persian gulf, but in much greater numbers in the provinces of Yezd and Kherman; they are all working people, chiefly employed in manufactures of tapestry, and fine capets; they prefer agriculture to every other profession. See D'Herbelot biblioth. orient.

Many

Many families of the Guebres or *Ignicolæ* \* remained at Ispahan, till the reign of Schah Abbas, who expelled them from thence, as Isabella did the Jews from Spain. The *Ignicolæ* in their prayers have long cursed Alexander and Mahomet: it is probable that they have joined Schah Abbas to them since.

While one of Omar's lieutenants subdued Persia, another took all Egypt and a great part of Lybia from the Romans. In this conquest was burnt the famous library of Alexandria, a monument of the knowledge and errors of mankind, begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and augmented by a number of succeeding kings. The Saracens at that time would have no learning but what was contained in the Koran; but they afterwards discovered a genius capable of the greatest undertakings. The re-establishment of the antient canal in Egypt, first dug by the kings of that country, and afterwards repaired by Trajan, to open a communication again between the Nile and the Red Sea, is an enterprize worthy of the most enlightened ages. A governor of Egypt sets about this great work under the caliphate of Omar, and completes it. How different the genius of the Arabs from that of the Turks? The latter have suffered a work to go to ruin, the preservation of which was of more value than the acquisition of a large province.

The success of this conquering nation seems to be owing rather to the enthusiasm that inspired them, and to the genius of the people, than to their leaders: for Omar was assassinated by a Persian slave in 603; and Otman his successor was

\* Worshippers of fire.

D 3

slain

slain in a tumult in 655. Ali the famous son-in-law of Mahomet was elected in the midst of commotions, which lasted during his administration. At the end of five years, he was assassinated like his predecessors, and still the Mahometan arms continued to prosper. This Ali, whom the Persians revere to this day, and whose principles they follow in opposition to those of Omar, at last obtained the caliphate, and transferred the seat of empire from the city of Medina, where Mahomet lies buried, to the city of Couffa, on the banks of the Euphrates; the ruins of which are now scarcely to be found: this has been the fate of Babylon, Seleucia, and all the ancient cities of Chaldea, that were only built with brick.

It is evident that the genius of the Arabians, being put in motion by Mahomet, did all of itself near three centuries, and in this respect resembled the genius of the ancient Romans. In effect it was under Valid, the least warlike of all the caliphs, that the greatest conquests were made. In 707 one of his generals extends his empire as far as Samarcand. At the same time another attacks the Greek empire towards the Black sea. Another in 711 transports an army from Egypt to Spain, which had been successively subdued with ease by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths and Vandals, and last of all by these Arabs, who were called Moors. There they erected the kingdom of Cordova. Indeed the sultan of Egypt shakes off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdat; and Abderama, governor of the conquered part of Spain, no longer acknowledges the sultan of Egypt: still the arms of the Mussulmen are every where victorious.

This

This Abderama, grandson of the caliph Hesham, makes himself master of the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon. He occupied Languedoc, seized on Guienne and Poitou; and had it not been for Charles Martel, who deprived him of victory and life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

After the reign of nineteen caliphs of the family of the Ommiades, succeeded the dynasty of the Abassides, about the year 752 of the Christian æra. Abougiasar Almanzor, who was the second caliph of the Abassides, fixed the seat of that great empire at Bagdat in Chaldea, beyond the Euphrates. The Turks say that he laid the foundations of Bagdat; but the Persians affirm that it was more antient, and that he only repaired it: this is the city, which is sometimes called Babylon, and which has been the occasion of so many wars between the Turks and Persians.

The dominion of the caliphs lasted six hundred and fifty five years; during which time they were as despotic in religion as in government. Though they were not adored like the great Lama, they enjoyed a more substantial authority; and even at the time of their decay, they were respected by the princes by whom they were persecuted. All the sultans, whether Turks, Arabians or Tartars, received the investiture of their dominions from the caliphs, with less reluctance than many Christian princes have received theirs from the pope: they did not indeed kiss the feet of the caliph, but they prostrated themselves at the threshold of his palace.

If ever any power threatened universal monarchy, it was certainly that of these caliphs; for  
D 4 they



they enjoyed the privileges of the throne and the altar, the right of wielding the sword, and of directing the impulses of enthusiasm: all their orders were oracles, and all their soldiers fanatics.

In the year 671, they laid siege to Constantinople, which was one day to become Mahometan: the almost inevitable divisions among so many ferocious chiefs, did not put a stop to their conquests; for in this particular they resembled the antient Romans, who amidst their civil wars subdued Asia minor.

In proportion as the Mahometans grew powerful, they became polite. These caliphs, who were always acknowledged as the sovereigns of religion, and apparently of the empire, by those who no longer received their orders at such a distance, lived in tranquillity in their new Babylon, and soon revived the arts. Aaron Rachid, cotemporary with Charlemain, was more respected than any of his predecessors, and made himself obeyed even in Spain and India; he revived the sciences, taught the agreeable and the useful arts to flourish, drew learned men into his country, composed verses, and made politeness take place of barbarism throughout his vast dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian method of computation by nine figures and a cypher, brought them to us: the French and Germans learnt from these Arabians the course of the stars: of this the very word *almanack* \* is still a proof.

\* Some derive it from the Arabic particle *al*, and *manab*, to count; while others, think it comes from *almanab*, new year's gifts, because the astronomers of Arabia used at the beginning of the year, to make presents of their ephemerides for the next year.

The

The *Almagest* \* of Ptolemy was then translated from the Greek into Arabic, by Benhonain the astronomer. The caliph Almamon caused a degree of the meridian to be measured by the rules of geometry, in order to determine the magnitude of the earth; an operation that was not performed in France till above nine hundred years after, in the reign of Lewis XIV. This astronomer Benhonain carried his observations very far, and discovered, that either Ptolemy had fixed the sun's greatest declination too far north, or that the obliquity of the ecliptic was changed: he even found that the period of thirty six thousand years assigned for the pretended motion of the fixed stars from the West to the East, ought to be greatly shortened.

The knowledge of chemistry and physic was cultivated by the Arabians; and we are indebted to them for the discovery of the first of these which we have brought to perfection. We owe to them the new remedies called *minoratives*, more mild and salutary than those that were before in use in the schools of Hippocrates and Galen. In short, the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West were obliged to receive instructions from the Mussulmen.

An infallible proof of the superior genius of a nation in regard to the polite arts, is the cultivation of true poetry. I speak not of high flown bombast compositions, nor of the heap of insipid

\* The Arabs write and pronounce it *Almagesti* or *Almagisti*, that is, the system of the world, composed by Ptolemy, intitled in Greek σύνταξις μεγίστη, *Syntaxis megisti*; whence the Arabs have taken their word by corruption, and by another corruption we have formed ours from that of the Arabs. See D'Herbelot. bibl. orient.

common places about the sun, the moon, and stars, the mountains, and seas: but of that bold yet elegant taste which obtained in the reign of Augustus, and which we have seen revived under Lewis XIV. This poetry which abounds with images and sentiments, was known in the time of Aaron Rachild. Amidst a variety of examples I shall select one that strikes me, and I give it because it is concise. It relates to the famous downfall of Giafar Barmecides\*.

\* The name of one of the most illustrious families in Asia, said to be originally from the city of Balch on the frontiers of Persia. Giafar, one of their ancestors, having been constrained by civil commotions to leave his country, fled for shelter to the court of Solyman, caliph of the line of Ommiades, who resided at Damascus in the beginning of the eighth century. Giafar appearing one day before the caliph, this prince immediately changed colour, and commanded him to withdraw, because he carried poison about him: this he perceived by the beating of two stones tied to his arm, which always had that effect, when poison was near. Giafar confessed, that he had some in the collet of his ring, to take or suck in case of any sudden misfortune; and as he expressed himself in the Persian language by the word *Bar*, or *Bermekum*, which signifies to *suck*, thence the name continued to him and his posterity. This Giafar was famous for all civil and military virtues, and was chosen by caliph Mahadi for governor to his son Aaron Rachild. He had four sons, Fadhel, Giafar, Mohammed, and Muffa, who all inherited their father's virtues, and raised their family to the highest degree of reputation. Giafar was vizir under Aaron Rachild, and that prince's intimate favourite. The cause of the disgrace of this family is variously related by Arabian writers. Some say it was for Giafar's having not performed a condition, which he promised when he married Abaffah the caliph's sister, which was, that they never should see each other but in his presence, and always live like brother and sister; others say it was for Giafar's having refused to obey Aaron's orders for putting Jahia prince of the Alides to death: others in fine, that it was owing to the jealousy which the caliph conceived of the great power and riches of this family. See D'Herbelot, lib. orient.

Weak

Weak mortal, whom prosperity  
Has intoxicated with its dangerous charms,  
Learn how precarious is the favour  
Of kings, from the example of Barmecides;  
And dread being happy.

This last verse is translated word for word. Nothing can be more beautiful in my opinion than, *dread being happy*. The Arabic tongue had the advantage of being perfected a great while ago; it was ascertained before the time of Mahomet, and has not altered since. Of the several jargons then spoken in Europe, there is not at present the least vestige. Which way soever we turn ourselves, we must own we were born but yesterday. We go beyond other nations in many respects; and perhaps it is because we came the last.



## C H A P. V.

*Of the state of Italy and the church, before Charlemaign.*

**N**OTHING is more worthy of our curiosity, than the manner in which God was pleased to establish his church, by making the second causes concur with his eternal decrees. Let us respectfully leave whatever is mysterious and divine, to those who are the depositaries of religion, and confine ourselves to history. A few disciples of St. John took up their residence in that part of Arabia nearest to Jerusalem; but Christ's disciples spread themselves all over the

world. The Platonic philosophers of Alexandria, where there was such a multitude of Jews, joined the primitive Christians at Rome in Nero's time; but they were confounded with the Jews, because they came from the same country, spoke the same language, and abstained from the aliments prohibited by the Mosaic law: besides many of them were circumcised, and observed the sabbath.

There were still about four thousand Jews at Rome: in Augustus's reign they were eight thousand; but Tiberius sent one moiety of them to Sardinia, in order to people the island, and to ease the city of Rome of a multitude of usurers. Far from being interrupted in their religious worship, they enjoyed the toleration which the Romans liberally extended to all religions. They were allowed to have synagogues and magistrates of their nation, as they have still in modern Rome, where they are more numerous. Having an implacable hatred to the professors of Christianity, they accused them of being the incendiaries who destroyed some part of Rome under the emperor Nero. It was as unjust to impute this accident to the Christians, as to Nero. Neither he, nor the Christians, nor the Jews, had any interest in setting Rome on fire. But there was a necessity for appeasing the populace, who had the same detestation as the Jews, for those strangers. A few poor wretches were sacrificed to the public vengeance. This instance of violence ought not, I apprehend, to be reckoned among the persecutions, which the Christians underwent on account of their faith; it had nothing at all to do with their religion, which was  
not

not so much as known, and which the Romans confounded with Judaism, then under the protection of the laws.

If it be true that in Spain they have found inscriptions, in which Nero is thanked *for having abolished a new superstition in that province*; the antiquity of those inscriptions is strongly suspected. But even supposing them authentic, Christianity is not mentioned: and after all, if those contumelious expressions were levelled against the Christians, must we not impute them to the Jews settled at that time in Spain, who were jealous of the Christians, and abhorred their religion as a domestic and inveterate enemy?

We shall not presume to search into the impenetrable obscurity, which involves the church in its infant state, and has been sometimes increased by the elaborate disquisitions of the literati.

This is very certain, that it was not the disposition of the senate to persecute any man for his opinion, that no emperor ever attempted to force the Jews to change their religion, neither after the revolt in Vespasian's reign, nor that which broke out under Adrian. It is true their worship was reviled and derided; and statues were erected in their temple before its demolition: but never did emperor, proconsul, or Roman senate, dream of hindering the Jews from believing the Mosaic law. This single reason shews what liberty the Christians had to extend their religion in private.

The Christians were not molested by any of the emperors, till the reign of Domitian. Dion Cassius says that under this emperor there were some

some people condemned as Atheists, and for imitating the manners of the Jews. It seems that this oppression, of which we have but very imperfect accounts, was neither long nor general. We cannot exactly tell why some Christians were exiled, nor why they were recalled. How is it possible to believe Tertullian who, upon the credit of Hegeffippus, gravely informs us, that Domitian examined the grandsons of the apostle St. Jude of the race of David, of whose pretensions to the throne of Judea he was jealous, and finding them to be poor and miserable, he discontinued the persecution. Were it possible for a Roman emperor to be afraid of the pretended descendants of David, when Jerusalem was destroyed, his malice would have been against the Jews and not the Christians. But who can imagine that the sovereign of the known world should give himself any uneasiness about the rights of St. Jude's grandsons to the kingdom of Palestine, or be at the trouble of examining them? Thus it is that histories have been unfortunately written by such a number of men, who had more piety than judgment.

Nerva, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Adrian, and the Antoninus's were not persecutors. Trajan having prohibited all private assemblies, wrote notwithstanding to Pliny: *you must make no inquiry after the Christians.* These words sufficiently prove, that they might conceal themselves, and exercise their religion with prudence, though through the malice of the priests, and the hatred of the Jews, they were frequently carried before the magistrates, and punished. The people, and especially the people of the provinces, hated

hated the Christians : They incited the magistrates against them, and were for having them exposed to wild beasts in the Circus \*. The emperor Adrian not only gave strict charge to Fondanus the proconsul of Asia Minor not to persecute them, but his orders expressly mention, *that if the Christians were slandered, the slanderer should be severely punished.*

This regard to justice in Adrian, made some people falsely imagine, that this emperor was a Christian. But would he who erected a temple to Antinous, erect one to Jesus Christ ?

Marcus Aurelius ordained that the Christians should not be persecuted on the account of religion. Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Philip, Gallien, openly protected them: therefore they had full leisure to extend their doctrine, and to strengthen their infant church. They held five councils in the first century, sixteen in the second, and thirty-six in the third. They had magnificent altars so early as this third century: the church historians mention some that were adorned with silver columns, which together weighed three thousand marks. The chalices made after the model of the Roman cups, as also the pattens or covers, were of pure gold.

So great was the liberty which the Christians enjoyed, notwithstanding the outcries and persecutions of their enemies, that in several provinces they had publicly erected churches on the ruins of Pagan temples. This is acknowledged by Origen and St. Cyprian; and the church must certainly have enjoyed a long repose, since those

\* The *Circus* was a place where the people of Rome assembled to see the public spectacles, so called, in all probability, from *κύκλος*, which signifies a circle.



two great men reproach their cotemporaries already with luxury, effeminacy, and avarice, the consequence of happiness and plenty. St. Cyprian particularly complains, that some bishops instead of imitating the holy examples before their eyes, *hoarded large sums of money, grew rich with usury, and defrauded people of their estates.* These are his very words: which are an evident proof of the ease and happiness they enjoyed under the Roman laws. The abuse of a thing is a demonstration of its existence. If Decius, Maximinus, and Dioclesian persecuted the Christians, it was for reasons of state: Decius, because they sided with Philip, who was suspected himself, though unjustly, of being a Christian: Maximinus, because they supported Gordian. During the space of twenty years they enjoyed the greatest liberty under Dioclesian. At length Cæsar Galerius who hated them, prevailed on Dioclesian in 303, to give orders for demolishing the cathedral church of Nicomedia, which had been built opposite to the imperial palace. A Christian publicly tore the edict, and was punished. A few days after, part of Galerius's palace was consumed by fire; and the Christians were supposed to be the incendiaries. As yet however they were not subject to any capital punishment. The tenour of the edict was that their temples and books should be burnt, and their persons divested of all honours. So far Dioclesian never intended to lay any constraint upon them in regard to religion. After his victory over the Persians he published some edicts against the Manicheans, who were devoted to the Persian interest, and secret enemies

enemies of the Roman empire. These edicts were owing intirely to political motives. Had they been dictated by religious zeal, which is rarely the case in regard to conquerors, the Christians would have been included. But as they were not; they must have enjoyed a repose of twenty years under Dioclesian, during which time their religion gained ground: nor were they molested in his whole reign, more than two years; and even then Laëtantius, Eusebius, and the emperor Constantine imputes this severity to Galerius only and not to Dioclesian. And indeed it is not at all probable that a man who had philosophy enough to abdicate the imperial dignity, should have so little as to be a fanatic persecutor. The ignorant vulgar have formed a notion of Dioclesian, as one that waged perpetual war against the Christian faith, and imagine his reign to have been a continual massacre like that of St. Bartholomew: but this is far from being true. The æra of martyrs, which begins at Dioclesian's accession, ought therefore to be dated two years before his abdication, since he put no one to death for religion the space of twenty years.

That he resigned the imperial dignity, out of vexation for not being able to abolish Christianity, is a wretched lie. On the contrary, had he been so virulent a persecutor, he would have continued to reign, in order to destroy that religion; and if he was forced to abdicate, as some affirm without proof, his abdication could not be the effect of vexation and spite. The vanity of dealing in the marvellous, and of swelling the number of martyrs, has been the cause of adding  
false

false and improbable persecutions to those which are but too real. It is said that in Dioclesian's reign, Maximianus Hercules Cæsar made a whole legion of martyrs in the Alps; this was called the Theban legion, consisting of six thousand six hundred men, all Christians, who suffered themselves to be massacred without repining. This famous story was not committed to writing till two hundred years after by the abbot Eucherius \*, who relates it upon hearsay. And even granting there was a Theban legion, which is very doubtful, how could Maximianus Hercules send for this legion, as he is said to have done, out of the East, only to quell a sedition in Gaul? Why should he destroy six thousand six hundred good troops, when he wanted their assistance to appease this tumult? How could they be all Christians to a man? Why should he murder them upon the road? Who were their executioners? What purpose could such a butchery answer, at a time when there was no persecution; at a time when the church enjoyed the profoundest tranquillity; and when the Christians had built a magnificent temple at Nicomedia, just opposite to Dioclesian's palace? *The profound peace and full liberty which we enjoyed, says Eusebius, occasioned a relaxation of morals.* Is this profound peace, and this full liberty, reconcileable with the massacre of six thousand six hundred soldiers? Could this extraordinary fact be true, would Eusebius have omitted to mention it? Such a multitude of real martyrs have sealed the Christian religion with their blood, that we should give no share of their glory

\* He was bishop of Lyons, See Du Pin.

to

to those who did not partake of their sufferings. It is certain that Dioclesian, during the two last years of his reign, and Galerius for some years after, did violently persecute the Christians of Asia Minor and the neighbouring provinces: but in Spain, Gaul, and England, which were under the dominion of Constantius Chlorus, far from being persecuted, their religion was predominant, and Eusebius says that Maxentius, who was chosen emperor at Rome in 306, raised no persecution.

The Christians were very useful to Constantius Chlorus, who took them under his protection, and whose wife Helena made public profession of their religion. They must therefore at that time have been a strong party in the state. Their money and their arms contributed to place Constantine on the throne. This is what rendered him odious to the senate, to the people of Rome and to the Pretorian guards, who had all espoused the cause of Maxentius his competitor to the empire. Our historians call Maxentius a tyrant, because he was unfortunate; and yet it is very certain that he was the lawful emperor, since he had been proclaimed by the senate and by the people of Rome.

Constantine's reign is a glorious æra to the religion which he established in the empire. There was no necessity for adding prodigies to this revolution, such as the apparition of the *Labarum* \* in the clouds, without letting us know

\* The *Labarum* was the Military standard, which the Romans bore since the reign of Constantine the great. This prince on his march against Maxentius is said to have seen in the heavens

know in what country this standard appeared. There was no occasion to write that the guards who had care of the *Labarum*, were invulnerable. The shield \* which fell from heaven in antient Rome, the *Oriflamme* † which an angel brought to St. Denis, and all these imitations of the Trojan Palladium ‡, have a fabulous air, and only tend to discredit truth. Learned antiquarians have sufficiently refuted these errors, by arguments drawn from philosophy, and sound criticism. Let us therefore content ourselves with seeing in what manner Rome ceased to be mistress of the world.

vens a luminous cross, like the Greek letter X inverted in the form of a square cross, with the Greek letter P over the X, round which were these Greek words EN ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, conquer by this: the next night it is said that Christ appeared to him, and ordered him to make a military standard in the form of the cross he had seen the preceding day, and he should be victorious; which he did, and he succeeded. The form of it may be seen on Constantine's medals. Others write it *Laborum*, and say that Constantine gave it this name, to signify that the cross should put an end to the labours and persecutions of the Christians. See Eusebius in vita Constantini. Turneb. Advers. l. 15. c. 16. Prudentius mentions it in his first book against Symmachus in these terms.

*Christus purpureum geminanti textus in auro—signabat Labarum.*

\* This is the *Ancile* which is said to have fallen from heaven at Rome, after a great pestilence, in the year 48, U. C. and the reign of Numa Pompilius. See Livy, Plutarch, &c.

† The *Oriflamme* is the standard of the abby of St. Dennis; it was made in the form of an antient banner, and said to have been so called, because it was made of silk of the colour of gold and fire. See Du Cange.

‡ A statue of the goddess Pallas, supposed to have dropped down from heaven, preserved in Troy, and on which the fate of that city is said to have depended: this occasioned Diomedes and Ulysses, in the time of the Trojan war, to steal it. See Liv. l. 26. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. lib. 3.

Constantine

Constantine having attained the imperial dignity in spite of the Romans, could not gain their affection. It is evident that the hatred they bore him, was not at all abated by the many horrid murders he committed, such as that of Licinius his brother-in-law contrary to the most solemn engagement, that of Licinian his nephew a child only twelve years old, that of Maximian his father-in-law who was strangled by his orders at Marseilles, that of his own son Crispus who was put to death after having gained several victories against his enemies, and in fine that of his wife Fausta, who was smothered in a bath. Probably this was what induced him to transfer the seat of empire to Byzantium. In the Theodosian Code we find an edict of Constantine, in which he declares, *that he founded Constantinople by order of the Deity*. Thus he pretended a revelation, to silence all complaints. This act alone is sufficient to shew his character. Our curiosity would feign penetrate into the inmost recesses of such a prince as Constantine, who soon made a general revolution throughout his dominions; changing the seat of empire, the manners of the court, the customs, language, dress, form of government, and religion. But how can we come at the real character of a person, whom one party represents as the most criminal, and the other as the most virtuous of men? Were we to conclude that he made every thing subservient to what he looked upon as his interest, we should not be mistaken.

To know whether the ruin of the empire was owing to him, is a point worthy of your inquiry.  
It

It seems evident that he was the cause of the downfall of Rome. By transferring the seat of empire to the Thracian Bosphorus, he raised a barrier in the east against the inroads of barbarians, who over-run the empire under his successors, and found Italy defenceless. He seems to have sacrificed the western empire to the east: for Italy fell when Constantinople rose. The political history of those times would be a curious and instructive study. But we have hardly any thing upon the subject, except satires and panegyrics. And yet the truth may sometimes be discovered by panegyrics. For instance, Constantine is extolled to the skies, for ordering the several chiefs of the Franks, with all the prisoners he had made in an expedition towards the Rhine, for ordering them, I say, to be devoured by wild beasts at the Circensian games. Such was the treatment shewn to the predecessors of Clovis and Charlemain. Writers who have been so mean as to commend such acts of barbarity, do however ascertain those acts, and the reader is to judge of them as he thinks prudent. The most circumstantial part of the history of this revolution, as far as it has been transmitted down to us, is that which relates to the establishment of the church, and its domestic troubles.

- It is melancholy to consider, that as soon as Christianity was seated on the throne, the sanctity of this religion should be profaned by Christians unworthy of that name, who indulged their thirst for revenge, even when their triumph should have inspired them with the love of peace. They massacred all the magistrates in Syria and Palestine, that had been concerned in persecuting them;

them; they drowned the wife and daughter of Maximinus; they put his sons and his relations to death by the most cruel tortures. The disputes about the consubstantiality of the son of God disturbed the world, and embued it in blood. In short Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, *that the Christians in his time, tore one another to pieces like wild beasts.* There were persons of eminent virtue among those people, though Ammianus takes no notice of them: but mankind are generally blind to the virtues of their enemies, and only observe their vices.

The church of Rome was preserved from those unfortunate disputes: in the beginning it was neither powerful, nor corrupt; so that it behaved with moderation, and enjoyed a long peace in the midst of a Pagan senate and people. In that capital of the known world there were seven hundred temples, great and small, dedicated to the Gods *majorum & minorum gentium* \*. These subsisted till the reign of Theodosius; and the country people continued a long time in their antient worship. Hence the followers of the old religion came to have the name of Pagans, *Pagani*, from the villages called in Latin *pagi*, in which idolatry was tolerated till the eighth century.

The imposture †, on which the donation of Constantine was founded, is well known; but the public are not so well informed how long this imposture had gained credit. Those who would not believe it, were frequently punished in

\* These are different orders of the heathen Gods.

† This imposture has been lately refuted even at Rome by F. Gius. Agostino Orsi, master of the sacred palace. See his dissertation *Della origine del dominio e della Sovranità de' Romani Pontefici sopra gli stati loro temporalmente soggetti.*



Italy and in other countries. Who could imagine that there were people burnt alive at Strasburg in 1478 for opposing this error?

Constantine indeed gave, not to the bishop of Rome only, but to the cathedral, which was the church of St. John Lateran, a thousand marks of gold, and thirty thousand of silver, with a yearly income of fourteen thousand sous, and some lands in Calabria. Succeeding emperors encreased this estate, which the bishops of Rome stood greatly in need of. The missionaries they sent into the Pagan countries in Europe, the shelter they afforded to bishops exiled from their sees, and the maintaining great numbers of poor, laid them under the necessity of having a good revenue to support these expences. The dignity being still greater than the revenue, the pastor of the Christians at Rome was grown the chief person in the western world. Pious men had often accepted of this office, and the ambitious courted it. Contests arose about the papal chair; for there were antipopes so early as the middle of the fourth century: hence the Pagan Consul Pretextatus expressed himself in these words in 466; *make me bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian.*

Yet this bishop had no other power than that which is founded either in virtue, personal accomplishments, or intrigue. Those pastors of the church had no civil jurisdiction, much less the prerogative of sovereigns. None of them had what we call the *jus terrendi*, nor a territorial right, nor the power of pronouncing \*do, dico,

\* These were the three words, which the Roman prætors used

co, *addico*. The emperors continued supreme judges of every thing, except articles of faith. They summoned councils: and Constantine at that of Nice heard and tried the criminal charge, which the bishops brought against one another. Even the title of *supreme pontif* was still annexed to the Imperial dignity.

When the Goths made themselves masters of Rome after the Heruli, when the celebrated Theodoric, a prince not inferior in power to Charlemaign, had fixed the seat of his empire at Ravenna in the beginning of the sixth century, without assuming the title of emperor of the west, which he might have done; he exercised exactly the same authority over the Romans, as the Cæsars had been used to: he maintained the senate; he allowed liberty of conscience; he made all persuasions, whether orthodox, Arians, or Pagans, submit to the civil magistrate; he tried the Goths by Gothic laws, and the Romans by theirs; he presided by his commissaries at the election of bishops; he prohibited simony; and put a stop to schisms. Two popes disputed the pontifical chair; he nominated Symmachus to that dignity, and this man being accused of some crime, he ordered him to be tried by his *missi dominici* †.

His son Athalaric regulated the elections of the popes, and of the other metropolitans of his dominions, by an edict which was strictly observ-

used to say, when they sat in judgment on the *dies fasti* or court days; the meaning of them is, *I sit here to give laws, declare right, adjudge losses.*

† *Missi Dominici* signifies commissaries appointed by the lord or sovereign.

ed; an edict drawn up by his minister Cassiodorus, who retired afterwards to Mount Cassino, and embraced the rule of St. Benedict; an edict to which pope John II. made no difficulty to submit.

When Belisarius came into Italy, and restored the Imperial command in that country, it is well known that he banished pope Silverius; and in so doing he did not exceed the limits of his authority, though he might those of justice. Belisarius, and Narses having rescued Rome from the Gothic yoke, another inundation of barbarians, Gepids, Franks, and Germans, spread themselves over Italy. The whole western empire was laid waste by savages. The Lombards established their dominion in citerior Italy. Albuinus, the founder of that new dynasty, was no more than a savage free-booter; but the conquerors soon adopted the polite manners, the language and religion of the conquered. This was not the case in regard to the Franks, and Burgundians, who carried their barbarous language, and their still more barbarous manners into Gaul. The Lombard nation was composed of Pagans and Arians. Their king Rotharis published an edict towards the year 640, granting liberty of conscience to all religions; so that almost in every town in Italy there were two bishops, a Catholic and an Arian, who suffered the idolaters that were still dispersed among the villages, to live in peace and quiet.

The kingdom of Lombardy extended from Piedmont to Brindisi and the terra d'Otranto: it included Benevento, Tari, Tarento; but it contained neither Apulia, Rome, nor Ravenna. These countries continued to be annexed to the feeble

feeble empire of the east. Thus the church of Rome passed from the dominion of the Goths to that of the Greeks. The city itself was governed by an *exarch* \* appointed by the emperor; but he did not reside in that capital, which was almost deserted. His residence was at Ravenna, from whence he sent his orders to the duke or prefect of Rome, and to the senate who were still called *conscript fathers*. The outward form of municipal government still subsisted in that antient and decayed capital; and the republican sentiments were never extinguished. They were supported by the example of Venice, a republic founded by fear and distress, but soon raised by commerce and bravery. The Venetians were so powerful in the eighth century, as to restore the exarch Scholasticus, who had been chased away from Ravenna.

In what condition then was Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries? It was a poor unhappy city, weakly protected by the exarchs, continually menaced by the Lombards, and still acknowledging the emperor for its master. The popes had increased their influence during the desolation of that capital. They were often the comforters, the fathers of the people; but still they were subjects, and could not be consecrated without the express leave of the exarch. The form in which this leave was asked and granted, is still subsisting. The clergy of Rome wrote to the metropolitan of Ravenna, and desired his beatitude's protection and recommendation to

\* The emperor's viceroy in Italy; it is a Greek word, *ἑξαρχος*, from *ἕξ* and *ἀρχον* to command.

the governor; the pope afterwards sent his profession of faith to this metropolitan.

At length the Lombard king Astolphus seized on the whole exarchate of Ravenna, in 751, and put an end to this Imperial viceroyalty, which had lasted a hundred and eighty three years.

As the dutchy of Rome depended on the exarchate of Ravenna, Astolphus laid claim to Rome by right of conquest. Pope Stephen II. the only defender of the unfortunate Romans, applied to the emperor Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, for succour. All the succour this poor emperor gave, was to send an officer belonging to his court with a letter to the king of the Lombards. This weak situation of the Greek emperors was the origin of the new empire of the west, and of the pontifical grandeur.



## C H A P. VI.

### *Origin of the papal power.*

**R**OME, so often plundered by barbarous nations, abandoned by the emperors, and hard pressed by the Lombards, was incapable either of restoring the antient republic, or of pretending any longer to grandeur. She stood in need of repose, which she would have enjoyed, had she been governed at that time by her bishop, after the manner afterwards established in several cities of Germany; and anarchy would at least have been productive of this advantage. But it was

was not yet a received opinion among Christians, that a bishop could be a sovereign, though the history of the world afforded so many examples of the union between the priesthood and the empire in other religions.

Pope Gregory III. was the first who had recourse to the protection of the Franks against the Lombards and the emperor. His successor Zachary, animated with the same spirit, acknowledged Pepin, the usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovereign. It has been pretended that Pepin who was only prime minister, first sent to ask the pope, which was the true king, he who had only the right and the name, or he who had the authority and merit? And that the pope determined this question by answering that the minister ought to be king. It has never been proved that this farce was really acted: but it is certain that pope Stephen III. called Pepin to his assistance against the Lombards; that he came to France, and that in the church of St. Denis he gave the royal unction to Pepin, the first anointed king in Europe. Not only did this first usurper receive the sacred unction from the pope, after having received it from St. Boniface, who was called the apostle of Germany; but Stephen III. forbade the French, under pain of excommunication, ever to chuse a king of another family. While this bishop expelled from Italy, and forced to be a supplicant in a foreign country, had the courage to give laws; his policy made him assume an authority which secured that of Pepin's: and this prince the better to enjoy what was not his due, left the pope privileges which he had no right to possess.

Hugh Capet in France, and Conrad in Germany, have since shewn that an excommunication of that kind is not a fundamental law.

And yet the prejudice of opinion, which directs the affairs of this world, imprinted such a respect in the minds of the people for the ceremony which the pope performed at St. Denis, that Eginhardus, secretary to Charlemaign, says in express terms, that *king Hilderic was deposed by order of pope Stephen.*

One would think it a contradiction, that this pope should come to France, in order to prostrate himself at Pepin's feet, and afterwards dispose of the crown. But it is far otherwise: those prostrations were looked upon in no other light than as our bows or reverences, at present. This was the antient custom of the east. They saluted the bishops on their knees; and the bishops paid the same compliment to the governors of their dioceses. Charles, the son of Pepin, embraced pope Stephen's feet at St. Maurice in Valais; and Stephen embraced those of Pepin. This was a matter of no consequence: but the popes insensibly assumed to themselves alone this mark of respect. Some pretend that pope Adrian I. was he who insisted on the ceremony of kissing his feet. Kings and emperors submitted afterwards to this kind of homage, which rendered the Roman religion more venerable in the eyes of the people.

We are told that Pepin passed the Alps in 754, that the Lombard king Astolphus, intimidated merely by the presence of the king of the Franks, immediately relinquished the whole exarchate of Ravenna to the pope; that Pepin repassed the moun-

mountains, and that he was hardly returned, when Astolphus, instead of giving Ravenna to the pope, laid siege to Rome. The conduct of the princes of those times is so very irregular, that it is possible Pepin might make a present to the pope, of the exarchate of Ravenna, which did not belong to him; and he might have made this extraordinary donation, without taking any measure to put it into execution. Yet it is not at all probable, that such a man as Pepin, who had dethroned his king, should march with an army into Italy merely to make presents. Nothing is more uncertain than this grant, though cited by such a number of writers. Anastasius the bibliothecarian, who wrote 140 years after Pepin's expedition, is the first that mentions it. I confess, a thousand authors take notice of it; but the fact is now denied by the best civilians in Germany.

At that time there prevailed an odd mixture of policy and simplicity, of awkwardness and cunning, which strongly characterizes the general decay of the times. Stephen feigned a letter from St. Peter, addressed to Pepin and his sons, which deserves to be inserted here, as follows: " Peter called an apostle by  
" Jesus Christ son of the living God, &c. As  
" through me the whole catholic, apostolic, and  
" Roman church, the mother of all other churches,  
" is founded on a rock, and to the end that  
" Stephen bishop of this beloved church of Rome,  
" —and that virtue and power may be granted  
" by our lord to rescue the church of God out of  
" the hands of its persecutors: To you most  
" excellent princes, Pepin, Charles, and Charlo-

E 4

" man,



“ man, and to all the holy bishops and abbots,  
 “ priests and monks, as also to dukes, counts  
 “ and people, I Peter the apostle, &c. I con-  
 “ jure you; and the virgin Mary, who will be  
 “ obliged to you, gives you notice, and com-  
 “ mands you, as do also the thrones, domina-  
 “ tions. . . . If you will not fight for me, I declare  
 “ to you by the holy Trinity, and by my apostle-  
 “ ship, that you shall have no share in heaven.”

This letter had its effect: Pepin passed the Alps a second time, laid siege to Pavia, and concluded a peace once more with Astolphus. But is it at all likely that he should pass the mountains twice, for no other motive than to give away towns to pope Stephen? How comes it that St. Peter in his letter makes no mention of so important a fact? Why does not he complain to Pepin of not being in possession of the exarchate? Why does not he demand it back again in express terms?

As the original title of this donation has never yet appeared, we are obliged to doubt; which is the only resource often left to historians as well as to philosophers. But the holy see does not stand in need of any such equivocal titles; it hath as undoubted a right to its dominions, as the other princes of Europe have to theirs. It is certain that the Roman pontiffs had large patrimonies at that time in more countries than one; that those patrimonies were respected, and free from taxes. They had estates in the Alps, in Tuscany, Spoleto, Gaul, Sicily, and even in Corsica, before the Arabs made themselves masters of that island in the eighth century. It is likely that Pepin made a great addition to this patrimony in the province of Romagna, and that it was called the

patrimony

patrimony of the exarchate. Probably this word *patrimony* was the original cause of the mistake. Posterior authors in times of darkness supposed that the popes had the sovereignty of those countries, where they possessed only some lordships or estates.

If any pope pretended to rank as a sovereign prince towards the end of the eighth century, it seems to have been Adrian I. The money coined in his name (if this coin was really struck in his time) shews that he had the prerogative of sovereignty; and the custom he introduced of making people kiss his feet, corroborates this conjecture. Yet he constantly acknowledged the Greek emperor for his lord and master. He might very well pay an empty homage to that distant sovereign, and claim a real independence supported by the authority of his sacred office.

Before we shew how the translation of the empire produced a total revolution in the west, it will be proper to give a short view of the Eastern church, whose disputes contributed not a little to this great revolution.



## C H A P. VII.

### *State of the Eastern church before Charlemaign.*

**W**HETHER the customs of the Greek and Latin churches were as different as their language; whether their liturgy, their sacerdotal vestments, the ornaments and structure of their churches, and their manner of making  
 E 5 the

the sign of the cross, were the same or not ; whether the Greeks prayed standing, and the Latins kneeling, is not what I am about to examine. These different usages did not set the East and West at variance : they only served to foment the natural aversion between nations that were grown rivals to each other. The Greeks especially, who were always christened by immersion, or by plunging into large baptizing tubs, hated the Latins who, in favour of the northern Christians, had introduced baptism by sprinkling. But these usages were productive of no disturbance.

The eastern churches were strangers to temporal dominion, that perpetual source of discord in the West. The bishops, under the eye of their sovereign, continued to be subjects : but other broils, of no less fatal consequence, were excited by those endless disputes, which sprang up continually in the sophistical brains of the Greeks and their disciples.

The simplicity of the primitive times disappeared amidst the multitude of questions, which were started by human curiosity : for the founder of the Christian religion having wrote nothing, and mankind being impatient to know every thing, each mystery gave rise to different opinions, and each opinion was productive of bloodshed.

It is very extraordinary that out of very near fourscore sects, which had rent the church since its first establishment, not one was founded by a Roman, except Novatianus, who can hardly be considered as an heretic. And of all the bishops of Rome there has been only one, that favoured any of those systems condemned by the church. This was pope Honorius I. who is charged to  
this

this day with having been a monothelift †. By this accusation they think to stigmatize his memory : but whoever will give himself the trouble to peruse his celebrated pastoral letter, wherein he attributes but one will to Jesus Christ, will find him a man of great prudence. *We acknowledge, says he, but one will in Christ. We do not find that either councils, or scripture authorize us to think otherwise : but whether, in consequence of the works of the divine and human nature with which he is invested, we ought to understand one operation or two, I leave to grammarians, and id imports but little to know.*

There is nothing perhaps more valuable in the letters of the popes, than these very expressions. They shew that all the disputes of the Greeks were merely about words ; and that they ought to have silenced those sophistical quarrels, which have been attended with such fatal consequences. Had they left them to grammarians, as this judicious pontif adviseth, the church would have enjoyed a constant peace. But were they to decide the question, whether the Son was consubstantial with the Father ? the Christian world was divided, and one half persecuted the other. Would they know whether the mother of Jesus Christ was the mother of God, or of Jesus ? Whether Christ had two natures and two wills in one and the same person, or two persons and one will, or one will and one person ? All these disputes, which arose in Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, excited seditions : one

† A sect so called from their maintaining that though there are two natures, there is but one will, in Christ. The word is of Greek original from *μόνος*, one, and *θέλημα*, will.

party anathematized the other; and the ruling faction condemned to exile, to prison, to death, and to eternal torments the other faction, which in its turn took revenge by making use of the same weapons.

Such troubles were never known amongst the Pagans: the reason of which is, though they were involved in the grossest errors, they had no settled religious tenets; besides, the idol priests, much less the laity, never assembled in a judicial manner in order to dispute.

In the eighth century it was debated in the eastern church whether religious worship ought to be paid to images: this had been expressly forbidden by the law of Moses, a law that had never been repealed; and moreover the primitive Christians had for two hundred years never suffered them to be placed in their religious assemblies.

By little and little the custom was every where introduced of having crucifixes in private houses; and at last people had pictures, either true, or what were pretended to be so, of martyrs or confessors. There were yet no altars erected to the saints, and no masses celebrated in their name: only at the sight of a crucifix, or of the image of a good man, the heart, which more particularly in those climates stands in need of sensible objects, was excited to virtue.

This custom was introduced in churches: but some bishops refused to adopt it. We find, that in the year 393, St. Epiphanius pulled down an image, in a church in Syria, before which a person was praying: he declared, that the Christian religion did not permit that worship, and yet his severity did not occasion the least schism.

At

At last this pious practice, like all other things, merely human, degenerated into an abuse. The common people, who are ever gross in their ideas, made no distinction between God and the images: they soon proceeded so far as to attribute to them virtues and miracles; each image cured a particular disease: they even used them in superstitious divinations, which have always seduced the credulity of the vulgar; I do not mean the vulgar among the common people only, but those among princes and learned men.

In the year 727, the emperor Leo, the Isaurian, at the desire of some bishops, rooted out this abuse: but he did it by a still greater abuse; he caused all the paintings to be defaced, and all the statues and representations of Christ and his apostles to be broke to pieces. Thus in suddenly removing the objects of their worship, he exasperated the people: they disobeyed his orders; on which he persecuted them, and because he had been imprudent, became a tyrant.

His son Constantine Copronymus caused a civil and ecclesiastical law to be passed for the abolition of images. He held a council at Constantinople composed of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, who unanimously condemned this worship, which had obtained in many churches, and more particularly at Rome.

This emperor thought with the same ease to have abolished the monks whom he held in abhorrence, and whom he never called by any other name but the *Abominables*: however, he did not here meet with success; for these monks, who were already very rich, defended their wealth with more judgment than they had shewn in the protection of the images of their saints. The

The popes Gregory II. and III. and their successors, though secret enemies of the emperors, and avowed adversaries to their doctrine, did not, however, level against them those heavy excommunications, that have since been so frequently employed, even on the slightest occasion: but whether an antient respect for the successors of the Cæsars still restrained the Roman metropolitans, or whether, as is most probable, they saw how greatly those excommunications, interdictions and dispensations of oaths of allegiance, would be despised at Constantinople, where the patriarchal church equalled at least that of Rome, they contented themselves with holding two councils, one in 728, the other in 732, in which it was declared, that all who were enemies to images should be excommunicated, without adding any thing more, or even mentioning the emperor. It seems as if the popes thought more of business than disputing. Gregory II. gained the direction of affairs in Rome, while the people continued in their revolt against the emperor, and ceased to pay him any tribute. Gregory III. conducted himself according to the same principles. Some Greek writers of a later date, in order to render the pontiffs odious, have asserted that Gregory II. excommunicated and deposed the emperor, and that the whole city of Rome acknowledged Gregory II. for their prince. Those Greeks did not reflect that the popes, whom they would fain represent as usurpers, would in that case have been the most rightful sovereigns. They would have held their power by the free choice of the people of Rome. They would have been sovereigns of that capital,  
by

by a much juster title, than a great many emperors. But it is neither probable, nor true, that the Romans, while they were menaced by Leo the Isaurian, and hard pressed by the Lombards, should chuse a bishop for their prince, when they stood in need of a captain. Had the popes at that time acquired so just a right to the Imperial throne, they would never have transferred it to Charlemaign.



## C H A P. VIII.

*Of Charlemaign.*

**T**HE kingdom of Pepin extended from the Rhine to the Pyrenean mountains and the Alps. Charlemaign, his eldest son, inherited all these dominions; for one of his brothers died after they were shared between them, and the other had before embraced a religious life in the monastery of St. Sylvester. A species of piety, agreeable to the barbarism of those times, had confined more than one prince to the cloister: thus Rachis, king of the Lombards; Charloman, the brother of Pepin; and a duke of Aquitain, had taken the habit of the Benedictines, which was then almost the only order in the West. Convents were honourable asylums for those who desired to live a peaceful life: but soon after these asylums became the prisons of dethroned princes.

Pepin,



Pepin, however, was very far from having the direct property of all those states: Aquitain, Bavaria, Provence, and Britany, were countries lately conquered, which rendered homage, and paid tribute.

Two neighbours were capable of being formidable to this vast empire, the northern Germans and the Saracens. England, which had been conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, and divided into seven kingdoms, being always at war with Albania, now called Scotland, and with the Danes, had neither civil polity nor power. Italy being weak and torn in pieces, expected only a new master.

The northern Germans were then called Saxons; a name given to all the nations who dwelt on the banks of the Weser and the Elbe, from Hamburgh to Moravia, and from Mentz to the Baltick sea. They, as well as all the North, were Pagans: their manners and laws were the same as in the times of the antient Romans: each canton was a republic, but they elected a chief when they went to war: their laws were simple as well as their manners: their religion was absurd: in times of imminent danger, they, like many other nations, sacrificed human victims to the Deity: it is the character of Barbarians, that they represent the Deity as a stern malevolent being; for men make God after their own image. The French, though Christians, had this horrible superstition in the reign of Theodebert; for Procopius observes, that they sacrificed human victims in Italy: and even the Jews had sometimes committed these profana-

profanations from a motive of piety. In other respects these people practised justice, and placed their glory and happiness in liberty. These are they, who under the names of the Catti, the Cherusci, and the Brueteri, conquered Varus, and were afterwards defeated by Germanicus.

One part of these people were, towards the fifth century, called over by the Britons to assist them against the Scots; when they subdued Britain, and gave it the name of England. They had been there before in the third century; for in the time of Constantine part of this island was called the Saxon coast.

Charlemaign, the most ambitious, the most politic, and the greatest warrior of his age, carried on a war of thirty years against the Saxons, before he entirely brought them into subjection. Their country had not yet any thing capable of tempting the avarice of conquerors: The rich mines of Goslar and Friedberg, from which such quantities of silver have been drawn, were not then discovered; these were unknown till the reign of Henry the Fowler. They had no riches accumulated by long industry; no city worthy the ambition of an usurper: this conquest could only be designed to make slaves of millions of men, who cultivated the earth under a severe climate, who fed their flocks, and were resolved to have no masters.

The war against the Saxons began with demanding a tribute of three hundred horses, and of some cows which Pepin had required of them; and this war lasted thirty years. What right had the  
Franks

Franks over that nation? The same as the Saxons had heretofore over England.

They were but ill armed; for we find in the capitularies of Charlemaign, a strict prohibition against selling cuirasses to the Saxons. This difference of arms, added to discipline, had made the Romans the conquerors of so many nations; and this at last enabled Charlemaign to triumph over the Saxons.

The general of the greatest part of those people was the famous Witikind, from whom the principal families in the empire are made to descend: he in many respects resembled Arminius, but at last behaved with greater weakness. Charlemaign\* first took the famous village of Eresbourg † 772; for that place did not deserve the name either of a town or fortress. He caused the inhabitants to be murdered: he pillaged, and at last rased the principal temple in the country, originally built for the worship of the God Tanfana, the universal principle, if it could be said that those savages had ever any knowledge of an universal principle. It was then dedicated to the God Irminful; whether this was the god of war, the *Ares* of the Greeks, the *Mars* of the Romans; or whether it was consecrated to the famous Herman Arminius, vanquisher of Varus, and avenger of the Germanic liberty.

The priests were massacred on the ruins of the idol. Charlemaign penetrated to the

\* This war against the Saxons, was resolved upon in the diet of Worms, at the instigation of Sturmio, abbot of Fulda. His resentment was owing to this, that notwithstanding the treaty concluded with Pepin, the Saxons had murdered some of his missionaries.

† In Westphalia.

Weser with his victorious army, and all the cantons submitted. He resolved to bind them to his yoke by Christianity; and while he marched to the other end of his dominions to obtain new conquests, he left missionaries to persuade, and soldiers to force them: thus almost all those who dwelt near the Weser found themselves, within the compass of a year, Christians and slaves.

Witiking retired amongst the Danes, who already trembled for their liberty and their Gods; but returning a few years after, he revived the courage of his countrymen, and assembled them together. He found in Bremen, the capital of the country that bears its name, a bishop, a church, and his distressed Saxons, who were dragged to the new altars: he drove away the bishop, who had time to fly and embark; destroyed Christianity, which the people had been forced to embrace; and marched almost to the Rhine, followed by a multitude of Germans, where he defeated Charlemaign's lieutenants.

This prince made haste and defeated Witiking in his turn; but treated this courageous effort in behalf of liberty, as a revolt: he ordered the trembling Saxons to deliver up their general, and on being informed that they had suffered him to return into Denmark, he massacred four thousand five hundred prisoners on the banks of the little river Aller. If these prisoners had been his rebellious subjects, still such a chastisement would have been an inhuman and horrid act of severity: but his treating thus men, who fought for their liberties and laws, was the action of a barbarian and robber; and yet his remarkable

markable success, and some shining qualities in other respects, gained him the character of a great man.

He was obliged to obtain three victories more before he could make these people submit to his yoke; but at last blood cemented Christianity and slavery: Witikind himself, wearied out by his misfortunes, was obliged to submit to baptism, and to live from thenceforward tributary to his conqueror. The king, the better to secure the possession of these countries, transplanted Saxon colonies even into Italy, and established colonies of Franks in the lands of the conquered; but he added to this wise policy the cruelty of causing those Saxons to be poniarded, who were found disposed to return to their antient worship. Conquerors are hardly ever cruel except in war; for peace introduces regularity of manners and milder laws: but Charlemain, in the midst of peace, made laws that partook of the inhumanity of his conquests.

Having observed how this prince treated the idolatrous Germans, let us see how he behaved with respect to the Mahometans in Spain. The same thing had already happened amongst them, as was soon after seen in Germany, France, and Italy: the governors rendered themselves independent. The emirs\* of Barcelona, and those of Saragosa, put themselves under Pepin's protection: and the emir of Saragosa, in the year 778, came as far as Paderborn to entreat Char-

\* *Emir* among the Turks and other Mahometans signifies a commander or prince. The Saracen Caliphs took the title of *Emir al moumenim*, that is commander of the faithful. See D'Herbelot.

lemain

lemaign to support him against his sovereign; when the French prince espoused the part of the Mussulman, but never thought of making him a Christian. Other interests produced other cares; he entered into an alliance with Saracens against Saracens; but after some advantages obtained on the frontiers of Spain, his rear-guard was defeated at Roncevaux near the Pyrenean mountains, by the Christians themselves of those mountains, in conjunction with the Mussulmen. In this engagement Rowland his nephew perished; a misfortune that was the origin of those fables wrote by a monk in the eleventh century, under the name of the archbishop Turpin\*, and which were afterwards embellished by the imagination of Ariosto. It is not known at what time Charlemaign suffered this disgrace, nor do we find that he revenged it. Contented with securing his frontiers against enemies that were but too well disciplined, he grasped only at what he was capable of keeping, and regulated his ambition by such events as were favourable to it.

\* This archbishop Turpin or Tulpin had been a monk of St. Denis, and was made archbishop of Rheims towards the year 760: he died about the year 800 after enjoying the archiepiscopal see above 40 years. The book attributed to him is intitled *Historia de vita Caroli Magni & Rolandi*: but as Voltaire observes, this story or romance was wrote by a monk in the 11th century.

## C H A P. IX.

*The emperor Charlemain.*

C H A R L E S's ambition made him aspire after Rome and the empire of the West. The power of the kings of Lombardy was the only obstacle: for the church of Rome, and all the churches on which she had an influence; the monks, who were already powerful; and the people who were now governed by them, invited Charlemain to the empire. Pope Adrian, a Roman by birth, and a man of art and abilities, smoothed the road to it: he at first prevailed on him to repudiate the daughter of Desiderius, king of Lombardy.

The customs and laws of that time were not very severe, at least in regard to princes. Charles had married this daughter of the king of Lombardy, when he was said to have another wife. And indeed it was not uncommon to have many or several wives at the same time. Gregory of Tours relates that the kings Gontran, Corbert, Sigebert and Chilperic had more than one wife. Charles repudiates the daughter of Desiderius, without giving any reason for it, and without any formality.

Desiderius, who saw this fatal union between the king and the pope, took a courageous resolution: he determined to surprize Rome, and seize the pope's person; but the artful bishop turned the war into a negotiation. Charlemain sent ambassadors in order to gain time, and at last passed the Alps, when

when a part of Desiderius's army abandoning him, this unhappy king shut himself up in Pavia, his capital, which Charlemaign besieged in the midst of winter. The city being reduced <sup>774.</sup> to extremity, surrendered after a siege of six months; and Desiderius could obtain no other condition than the granting him his life. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those of the emperors. Desiderius, the last of these kings, was carried into France, and confined in a monastery in the city of Corbie, where he lived and died a captive and a monk; while his son applied in vain for assistance to Constantinople, that shadow of the Roman empire, which had in the West been destroyed by his ancestors. It ought to be observed, that Desiderius was not the only prince confined by Charlemaign; for he treated in the same manner the duke of Bavaria and his children.

Charlemaign durst not yet become sovereign of Rome; and therefore he only assumed the title of king of Italy, a title that had been borne by the Lombards. He was crowned, like them, at Pavia with an iron crown, which is still kept in the little town of Monza\*: justice was still administered at Rome in the name of the Grecian emperor: and the popes themselves received from him the confirmation of their election. Charlemaign therefore only took, like Pepin, the title of Patrician, which Theodoric and

\* Situate in the dutchy of Milan on the river Lúmbro, in a great plain, towards the lake of Como, and within ten miles of Milan.

Attila



Attila had also condescended to take: thus the name of emperor, which when first used, only meant the general of an army, still signified the master of the East and West. Vain as this title was, they treated it with respect, feared to usurp it, and only affected to make use of that of Patrician, which formerly meant a Roman senator.

The popes, though they had already a vast power in ecclesiastical affairs, though they were great lords at Rome, and possessed several estates, had notwithstanding only a precarious and tottering authority in that capital. The prefect, the people, and the senate, the shadow of which still subsisted, frequently opposed them; and the enmity between the families who had pretensions to the pontificate, filled the city with confusion.

Adrian's two nephews conspired against Leo III. his successor, who had been elected pope according to custom, by the people and clergy of Rome. They accused him of many crimes, they exasperated the Romans against him, dragged him to prison, and used him most cruelly, who every where but at Rome was treated with the greatest respect. However, he made his escape, and fled to Paderborn, to throw himself on his knees before the patrician Charlemaign. This prince, who had already assumed an absolute authority, sent him back with an escort and commissioners who were to try him, and had orders to find him innocent. In short, Charlemaign, who was as absolute master of Italy as of Germany and France, the judge of the pope, and the arbiter of Europe, went to Rome at the end of the year 799. At that time the Romans began the new year from Christmas.

Leo

Leo III. proclaimed him emperor of the West during the time of mass on Christmas day 800. The people joined the ceremony with the loudest acclamations. Charles pretends to be surprized; yet he asserts the rights annexed to his new dignity. Those rights were well founded, because the voice of a whole nation ever confers the best of rights.

It has been asserted, and there are who still continue to assert it, that Charles, even before he was made emperor, had confirmed the donation of the exarchate of Ravenna, and that he had increased it with the addition of Corsica, Sardinia, Liguria, Parma, Mantua, the dutchies of Spoleto, Benevento, Sicily, and Venice, and that he deposited the act of this donation on the tomb, where the ashes of St. Peter and Paul are pretended to lie buried.

This donation might be ranked with that of Constantine. We cannot find that the popes ever possessed any of those provinces, till the time of Innocent III. If they had been masters of the exarchate, they would have been sovereigns of Ravenna and Rome: but in Charlemaign's will, which we have from Eginhardus, this monarch mentions Rome and Ravenna at the head of the metropolitan towns subject to his dominion, and to which he bequeaths some legacies. He could not give away either Sicily, Corsica, or Sardinia, which were not in his possession; nor the dutchy of Benevento, of which he had hardly the sovereign jurisdiction; much less Venice, which did not acknowledge him as emperor. At that time the duke of Venice for form sake recognized the emperor of the East, from whom he received the

title of Hippatos\*. Pope Adrian's letters make mention of the patrimonies of Spoleto and Benevento; but these patrimonies can mean no more than the estates or lands which the popes possessed in these two dutchies. Gregory VII. himself confesses in some of his letters, that Charlemaign granted a pension of twelve hundred livres to the holy see. Now it is not at all probable that he should grant such an aid to a person who was possessed of so many fair provinces. The holy see did not acquire Benevento till a long time after, by the gift of Henry the Black towards the year 1047. This gift was confined to the town, but did not extend to the dutchy. There was no talk of confirming the donation of Charlemaign.

In the midst of so many uncertainties, the most probable inference we can make, is that in Charlemaign's time, the popes had obtained the full property of the marquifate of Ancona, besides some towns, castles, and villages dispersed in other countries. The foundation I proceed upon, is this. When the western empire was revived in the family of the Othos in the tenth century, Otho III. particularly assigned the marquifate of Ancona to the holy see, confirming all the grants ever made to that church. It seems therefore that Charlemaign had given away this marquifate, and the troubles which afterwards broke out in Italy, had prevented the popes from enjoying the benefit of it. We shall see how they lost the possession of this small country under the emperors of the house of Swabia. Sometimes we shall find them lords of a vast tract of land, and at other times

\* *Ἱππᾶτος*, a Greek word, signifying *supreme*, and given to the Roman consul, *quia penes illum rerum erat summa potestas.*

despoiled

despoiled of almost every possession, like other sovereigns. Let it suffice to know that they enjoy at present the undoubted sovereignty of a country that extends a hundred and fourscore Italian miles in length from the gates of Mantua to the borders of Abruzzo along the Adriatic; and a hundred miles in breadth from Civita Vecchia to Ancona from sea to sea. They have been ever obliged to negotiate, and often to fight, in order to secure the possession of these dominions.

While Charlemaign attained the Imperial dignity in the western world the empress Irene reigned in the East, a princess who had made herself famous by her courage and her crimes, and who had caused her only son to be put to death, after having first put out his eyes. She would have destroyed Charlemaign; but being too weak to make war against him, she resolved to marry him, and thus to reunite the two empires. While this marriage was in agitation, a revolution droyè Irene from the throne, to obtain which she had paid so dearly. Charlemaign had therefore only the empire of the West: his possessions in Spain were very inconsiderable; for the vain homage of some Saracens ought not to be reckoned an inheritance: he possessed nothing on the coast of Africa; but all the rest was under his dominion.

If he had made Rome his capital, if his successors had fixed their principal residence in this city, and especially if the Barbarians had not adhered to the custom of dividing dominions among their children, it is probable that the Roman empire would have been revived. Every thing has since concurred to dismember this vast body, which the valour and fortune of Charlemaign had formed;

but nothing has contributed so much to it as his descendants.

He had no capital; but as he was best pleased with Aix-la-Chapelle, he made it the place of his ordinary residence: he there gave audiences with the greatest pomp to the ambassadors of the caliphs, and to those of Constantinople. Besides, like Charles the fifth, who lived a long time after him, he was almost always either at war, or upon a journey. He divided his dominions like all the kings of that time, even before his decease.

But at last, when of all the sons whom he had appointed to reign, there was none left but Lewis, so well known afterwards by the name of the Debonnair, to whom he had already given the kingdom of Aquitaine, he made him his associate in the empire at Aix-la-Chapelle; commanding him to take the Imperial crown at the altar, to let the world see that this crown was only due to the valour of the father, and the merit of the son; and as if he had foreseen that the time would come when the ministers of the altar would dispose of that diadem.

He had some reason for declaring his son emperor in his life-time; for this dignity, acquired by the fortune of Charlemaign, was not secured to his son by the right of inheritance: but in leaving the empire to Lewis, and in giving Italy to Bernard, his son Pepin's heir, did not he himself rend in pieces that empire, which he was willing to preserve to his posterity? Was not this the natural means of arming his successors the one against the other? Was there any room to presume that the new king of Italy would obey his uncle the emperor, or that the emperor would not desire to become master of Italy? How-

However, Charlemaign died in 814, with the reputation of having been an emperor as happy as Augustus, as warlike as Adrian; but not like the Trajans and Antoninuses, to whom no sovereign was ever worthy to be compared.

There was then in the East a prince that equall-ed him in glory as well as in power: this was the celebrated caliph Aaron Rachid, who greatly sur-passed him in justice, humanity, and learning.

I could almost venture to place next to these two illustrious men, pope Adrian, who in a less elevated rank, with an almost private fortune, and with virtues less heroic, shewed a prudence to which his successors owed their grandeur.

The curiosity of mankind which penetrates in-to the private life of princes, has attempted to dive into the particulars of the life of Charle-maign, even into his secret pleasures; and it has been observed, that he carried his love of women so far as to enjoy it with his own daughters: the same has been said of Augustus; but of what im-portance is the divulging of these weaknesses, which have not the least influence on public affairs, to mankind in general?

I consider his reign in a manner more worthy the attention of a citizen. The countries which at present compose France and Germany as far as the Rhine, enjoyed a state of tranquillity for near fifty years, and Italy during thirteen, from his ac-cession to the empire: there happened no revolution in France, nor no calamity during this half cen-tury; which was a very singular circumstance. So long a state of happiness was not however suf-ficient to restore politeness and the arts: the rust

of barbarism was too great, and the following ages added still to its thickness.



## C H A P. X.

*Manners and customs about the time of Charlemaign.*

**I** STOP at this celebrated æra, to consider the customs, laws, religion, and manners, which then prevailed. The Franks had been always barbarians, and were so still after the death of Charlemaign. His reign produced only a glimmering of politeness, which was probably owing to his journey to Rome, or rather was the effect of his own genius.

His predecessors were famous for their depredations only: they destroyed towns, but built none. The Gauls were fortunate in being conquered by the Romans. Marseilles, Arles, Autun, Lyons, Triers, were flourishing cities, which peaceably enjoyed their municipal laws, subordinate to the sage institutions of the Romans. They were animated by an extensive trade. We find by a letter from a proconsul to Theodosius, that in Autun there were five and twenty thousand heads of families. But as soon as the Burgundians, the Goths, the Franks, invaded Gaul, the great towns were depopulated. The many circuses, and the amphitheatres built by the Romans even as far as the banks of the Rhine, were demolished or suffered to run to decay. If the wicked and unfortunate queen Brunehaut kept up some  
of

of those Roman high roads, which no nation ever imitated, it still occasions our surprize.

What could hinder those new comers from building regular structures after the Roman models? They had stone, marble, and better timber than we. The English and Spanish sheep were covered with fine wool then as now; and yet good cloth was manufactured no where but in Italy. How comes it that the rest of Europe did not traffic in any of the commodities of Asia? How comes it that all those conveniences, which sweeten the bitterness of life, were then unknown? It could be for no other reason, but because the savages who passed the Rhine, made the other people savage. Of this we may judge by the Salic, the Ripuarian, and Burgundian laws, which Charlemaign himself confirmed, when he found he could not abolish them. Those poor and rapacious nations valued the most heinous crimes, as murder, mutilation, rapes, incest, and poisoning, at a fixed price. Whoever had four hundred sous, that is four hundred crowns, to give away, might kill a bishop with impunity. It would cost two hundred sous for the life of a priest, as many for a rape, and as many for poisoning with herbs. A witch that had eaten of human flesh, could escape for two hundred sous; and this shews that witches were not only to be found among the dregs of the people, as in these latter ages, but that those horrid extravagances were practised also by persons of fortune. The right of inheritance, and the validity of a testament, were decided, as we shall see hereafter, by combats, and experiments. Their jurisprudence was the result of barbarity and superstition.



Let us judge of the manners of the people by those of the princes: we do not find one magnanimous action in their whole history. The Christian religion, which should humanize mankind, did not hinder king Clovis from causing the little kings his neighbours to be assassinated. Clodomir's two sons were murdered at Paris in 533 by their uncles Chilperic and Clotharius, who are called kings of France; and Clodoaldo, the brother of those slaughtered innocents, is invoked as a saint by the name of St. Clou, because he was made a monk.

Under Chilperic king of Soissons in 562, the subjects were so enslaved, that they deserted that pretended kingdom, tired of the tyranny of their master, who took their bread and wine, but could not take their money, for they had none. Sigebert and another Chilperic were assassinated. Brunehaut after quitting the Arian sect to embrace the catholic religion, was accused of a thousand murders; and Clotharius II, one as barbarous as herself, ordered her to be dragged after a horse's tail to his camp, till she expired under this new kind of punishment in 616. We have no monuments of those horrid times except the foundation of a few monasteries, and a confused account of misery and depredations.

We must not imagine that those savage chiefs, who commanded in Burgundy, at Soissons, Paris, Mets, and Orleans, were acknowledged as kings by any of the emperors. Never did they give them the title of *Basileus*: they did not even grant it to Dagobert II. who reunited all east and west France, as far as the Weser, under his dominion. Historians talk greatly of the magnificence of this  
Dagobert:

Dagobert : in proof of which they mention the story of the goldsmith Eloy, who appeared at court, it is said, with a girdle set with diamonds ; that is, he sold diamonds, and therefore he carried them about him. They tell us of the magnificent churches which he built. Where are they ? The old church of St. Paul is a poor Gothic structure. All we know of Dagobert is, that he had three wives at once, that he summoned councils, and that he tyrannized over his country.

During his reign, a merchant of Sens, whose name was Samon, went to trade in Germany. Thence he proceeded as far as Slavonia. The savages of that country were so amazed to see a man, that had travelled so far to bring them things which they wanted, that they made him their king. This Samon, it is said, waged war with Dagobert ; and if the king of the Franks had three wives, the new king of Slavonia had fifteen.

It was under this Dagobert that the mayors of the palace began to establish their authority. After him succeeded a race of lazy kings, under the confused, and despotic administration of the mayors. At this same period, in the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs, conquerors of Spain, penetrated as far as Toulouse, made themselves masters of Guienne, ravaged the whole country as far as the Loire, and were very near wresting Gaul intirely from the Franks, as these had wrested it from the Romans. I leave you then to judge, in what state were the people, the church, and the laws at that time.

## C H A P. XI.

*Laws and customs at the time of Charlemaign.*

**C**HARLES Martel, the usurper and support of the supreme power in a large monarchy, conqueror of the warlike Arabs whom he drove back as far as Gascony, is called nevertheless *a little deputy king, subregulus*, by pope Gregory II. who implores his protection against the kings of Lombardy. He prepares to assist the church of Rome, but in the mean time he robs the churches in France, distributes the monastic revenues among his officers, and keeps his king in confinement. We have already seen the feats of his son Pepin, and his grandson Charlemaign.

The great conquests of Charlemaign were owing to his care in maintaining a body of well disciplined troops constantly on foot. These were raised by the dukes who governed the provinces, much in the same manner as the *beglerbegs*\* amongst the Turks do at present. These dukes had been instituted in Italy by Dioclesian. The counts, who, I imagine, were instituted in the time of Theodosius, used to command under the dukes, and assemble troops each in his canton. The farmers, the market towns, and the villages, furnished a number of soldiers proportionable to their strength. Twelve farmers furnished a horseman

\* *Beglerbeg* or *beglerbey*, a governor of one of the principal provinces of the Turkish empire; the word signifies *lord of lords*, for *beg* means a *lord*, and *begler* is the plural.

completely armed, with a helmet and cuirass; the other soldiers did not wear them; but all had a buckler in the form of a long square, a battle-ax, a javelin and sword. Those who made use of arrows were obliged to have at least twelve in their quiver. The province that furnished the militia, distributed corn and necessary provisions for six months; which were supplied by the king the rest of the campaign. They were reviewed either on the first of March or the first of May; for it was commonly at those times that the parliaments were held. In besieging a town they made use of the battering ram \*, the balista †, the testudo ‡, and most of the Roman machines. The lords called barons, or *free rich men*, composed with their followers, the little cavalry that was then found in their armies: but the cavalry of the Mussulmen of Africa and Spain was more numerous.

Charlemaign had naval forces, that is, large boats, in the mouths of all the great rivers in his empire; before his time, they were unknown amongst the barbarians, and after him they were a long time without them. By this means, and by his warlike policy, he put a stop to the inundations of the northern nations, and kept them within their frozen climates; but under his weak descendants they spread all over Europe.

\* A military engine among the Romans, with which they used to batter and beat down the walls of places besieged.

† A military machine used by the antients in besieging cities, to throw large stones, darts, and javelins: it resembled our cross-bows, though much larger and superior in force.

‡ A kind of cover or screen, which the soldiers made themselves of their bucklers, by holding them up over their heads, and standing close to each other.

General affairs were regulated in assemblies composed of the representatives of the nation. In his reign parliaments had no other will, besides that of a master, who knows how to command and persuade.

He made commerce flourish, because he was master of the sea; thus the merchants on the coast of Tuscany, and those of Marseilles, traded at Constantinople with the Christians, and at the port of Alexandria with the Mussulmen, by whom they were received, and from whom they drew the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, since rendered so powerful by their trade, did not then swallow up the riches of other nations; but Venice began to increase in wealth and grandeur. Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles and Tours, had many manufactures of woollen stuffs: they inlaid iron with gold and silver after the manner of Asia: glass was also made; but silk was not wove in any town in the western empire.

The Venetians began to import wrought silks from Constantinople; but it was almost four hundred years after Charlemaign's time, when the Norman princes established a manufacture of silk at Palermo. Linen was very uncommon; St. Boniface, in a letter to a German bishop, desires him to send him cloth with a large nap, to make use of in washing his feet. Probably this want of linen was the cause of all the distases in the skin, known by the name of leprosy, and which were at that time so general; for the hospitals, called Lazarettos, were already very numerous.

Money had nearly the same value as that of the Roman empire after the reign of Constantine.

The

The golden sou was the *solidus Romanus*\*: this golden sou was equal to forty silver *deniers* †; and these deniers, which were sometimes larger and sometimes less, weighed upon an average thirty grains.

The sou of gold is at present, in 1740, worth about fifteen livres, and the silver denier thirty sous of the current money of France.

We ought always when we read history to remember, that besides this real specie in gold and silver, people in calculation made use of money of another denomination; expressing themselves frequently in ideal money, which as with us at present was only a manner of reckoning.

The Asiatics and Greeks counted by *minæ* ‡ and talents §, and the Romans by *sesterces* ¶, without there being any such real money as a great *sesterc* or a talent.

The livre in the time of Charlemaign was supposed to weigh a pound of silver of twelve ounces, and this pound was divided as at present, into twenty parts. They had indeed silver sous like our crowns, each of which weighed the twentieth, the twenty second, or the twenty fourth part of a pound of twelve ounces; and this sou, like ours,

\* The *solidus Romanus* was a piece of gold coin, near the value of our old noble.

† The Roman *denier*, or *denarius*, is in our present money of the value of eight pence halfpenny farthing.

‡ The *mina* in our money is 3 l. 4 s. and 7 d. sterling.

§ The talent consisted of sixty *minæ*, equal to 193 l. 15 s.

¶ The *sestertius* was a coin among the Romans in value two asses and a half, and nearly equal to 2 d. sterling; 1000 of these made the *sestertium* equal to 8 l. 1 s. 5½ d.; and 1000 of the *sestertia* made the *decies sestertium* (the adverb *centies* being always understood) equal to 8072 l. 18 s. 4 d. See Bud. de *asse* *Genov. de sestertius*.

was

was divided into twelve deniers: but Charlemaign having ordered, that the silver sou should be exactly the twentieth part of twelve ounces, they were accustomed to reckon in accounts twenty sous to a pound or livre.

For two centuries money continued on the footing on which Charlemaign had put it; but by degrees the kings in their necessity sometimes mixed it with an alloy, and sometimes lessened the weight; so that by a change, which is a disgrace to almost all the governments in Europe, this sou, which was formerly very near equal to a crown piece, is no more than a light piece of brass with about an eleventh part in silver; and the livre, which is the representative sign of twelve ounces of silver, is no more in France than the representative of twenty of our brass sous. The denier, which was the hundred and twenty fourth part of a pound of silver, is no more than the third of that base money called a *liard*. Suppose then, that a city in France had been bound in Charlemaign's time to pay yearly 120 livres, that is, one thousand four hundred and forty ounces of silver, it would discharge the debt in our days by paying what we call a crown of six livres.

The pound of the English and Dutch has had less variation. A pound sterling in England is worth about twenty two livres of France, and a pound in Holland is worth about twelve livres French: thus the Dutch have deviated less than the French from the original standard, and the English still less.

Whenever history mentions money under the name of livres or pounds, we have nothing to do but to examine what a livre or pound was worth  
at

at the time and in the country spoken of, and to compare it with the value of ours. We ought to make use of the same care in reading the Greek and Roman history. The reader, for example, is greatly perplexed in being obliged to correct in every page, the accounts he finds in the antient history of a celebrated professor of the university of Paris, in Fleury's ecclesiastic history, and in many other useful authors. When they would express talents, minæ, and sesterces in French money, they always use the valuation, which some learned men made before the death of the great Colbert: but the mark of eight ounces, which under this minister was worth twenty six livres, and ten sous, has for a long time been worth forty nine livres, which makes a difference of nearly half. This difference, which has been sometimes more considerable, may be increased or diminished. We must beware of these mistakes; otherwise we shall have a wrong idea of the strength of the antient governments, of their commerce, the pay of their forces, and their civil œconomy.

It appears, that there was then eight times less money in France, in Italy, and towards the Rhine, than there is at present. We can only form a judgment by the price of provisions; and I find that this was eight times less in the time of Charlemain, than it is in our days. Four and twenty loaves of white bread were worth a silver denier, according to the capitularies. This denier was the fortieth part of a gold sou, which was worth about sixteen livres of our money: thus the pound of bread came to about a *liard*, and something over, which is in effect the eighth part of our usual price of bread. In



In the northern countries money was much more scarce, where, for example, the price of an ox was fixed at a fou of gold. We shall see in the sequel how trade and riches extended themselves and followed each other.

The sciences and the polite arts could have but a very feeble beginning, in those vast countries, which were yet uncivilized. We are informed by Eginhardus, secretary to Charlemaign, that this conqueror did not know how to sign his name. And yet by mere strength of genius, he was convinced of the utility of polite learning. He sent to Rome for masters of grammar and rhetoric. From that ruined capital the rude nations of the West drew all their improvements. The celebrated Englishman Alcuinus, and Peter of Pifa who taught Charlemaign a little grammar, had both studied at Rome.

There had been choristers in the churches of France; and it is observable that they were called *Gallic choristers*. The conquering race of Franks never cultivated any arts. The Gauls pretended then, as they do still, to dispute the palm of music with the Romans. The Gregorian song, attributed to St. Gregory the Great, was not without merit, but had something noble in the midst of its simplicity. The Gallic choristers, not being used to the old alphabetic notes, had spoiled this song, which they pretended to embellish. Charlemaign in one of his expeditions into Italy, obliged them to conform to the music of their masters. Pope Adrian gave them books with the notes pricked down; and two Italian musicians were appointed to teach the alphabetic notes, one at Metz, and the other

at

at Soissons. They were likewise obliged to send to Rome for an organ.

There were no clocks in the cities throughout this empire; nor were they introduced till towards the thirteenth century. Thence comes the antient custom, which is still kept up in Germany, Flanders, and England, of hiring persons to cry the hour of the night. The clock which the Caliph Aaron Rachid sent as a present to Charlemaign, was considered as a prodigy. In regard to the sciences, to Philosophy, Physics, Astronomy, and the principles of Medicine, how could they be known in that age of darkness; when they have but just begun to dawn with us?

They computed time by nights, and hence it is that the English still make use of the word *fortnight*, to signify two weeks. The language called *Roman*\* or *Romance*, began to be formed of the mixture of the Latin with the Teutonic. This language was the foundation of the French, Spanish, and Italian. It lasted till about the time of Frederick II. and is still spoken in some villages of the Grisons, and towards Swisserland.

The fashions have been continually changing in the West, ever since the decline of the Roman empire: at that time they dressed in short clothes, except on days of ceremony, when over their coat they wore a mantle frequently lined

\* It was called also *Romana Rustica*: the French and Provençals wrote histories in this language; for originally the name of *Romance* was given to true as well as fabulous histories, and indeed to every composition written in this tongue; which was vulgarly used in France before the 8th century; though in process of time it was applied only to fabulous history. See *Huet origine des Romani*, and Fontanini. *della eloquenza Italiana*.

with

with furs; these they imported, as we do now, from the north, and especially from Russia. The Roman manner of covering the leg and foot was still preserved. It is mentioned that Charlemaign used to cover his legs with fillets twisted in the form of buskins, after the manner of the Scotch Highlanders, the only people, who have preserved the military dress of the Romans.



## C H A P. XII.

### *Of religion at the time of Charlemaign.*

**I**F we turn our eyes at present to the advantages accruing from religion, to the mischiefs which mankind drew upon themselves by rendering it subservient to their passions, to the sacred customs or ceremonies, and to the abuse of those customs; we shall find that the quarrel about image worship is what chiefly deserves our attention.

The empress Irene, the tutorefs of her unhappy son Constantine Porphirogenitus, in order to smooth the way to the government of the empire, ingratiated herself with the monks and common people, who were still pleased with the worship of images, prescribed by so many emperors since the time of Leo Isaurus: and she herself was attached to them, because her husband held them in abhorrence. Irene had been persuaded to believe, that in order to govern her husband, she need only put under his pillow the images of certain female saints: thus the most ridiculous

ridiculous credulity is sometimes indulged by a political genius: but the emperor, her husband, punished the authors. Irene, after the death of her husband, gave a free course to her ambitious desires. For this purpose, in the year 786, she assembled the second council of Nice, and the seventh œcumenical council, which was held at first at Constantinople: upon which occasion she caused a layman, named Tarasus, her secretary of state, to be elected patriarch. There had indeed been formerly some examples of laymen being chosen into a bishopric, without their passing through the other degrees; but at that time this custom did not subsist.

This patriarch opened the council; and here the conduct of pope Adrian was very remarkable: he did not anathematize the secretary of state, who had been made patriarch, but only modestly protested in his letter to Irene against the title of Universal Patriarch, and insisted on her restoring to him his inheritances in Sicily. He demanded with authority that trifling patrimony, while he, as well as his predecessors, enjoyed the important demesnes of all the fine countries which he affirms to have been given by Pepin and Charlemaign. In the mean time the œcumenical council of Nice, in which the legates of the pope presided, as well as the patriarch, re-established the worship of images.

It is acknowledged by all able critics, that the fathers of this council, who were three hundred and fifty in number, quoted the authority of many pieces that are evidently false; and of many miracles, the relation of which would have appeared scandalous in any other age; and  
of

of many apocryphal books. Yet these false pieces did no injury to those that were true, by which they regulated their determinations.

But in what perplexities was the pope involved, when it became necessary to engage Charlemaign and the French bishops to agree to the decisions of this council? Charlemaign had publicly declared against images, and books had by his order been just written, that went by the name of Caroline \*, in which those who adhered to this worship were anathematized. He assembled in the year 794, a council at Francfort, at which he presided according to the custom of other emperors; a council composed of three hundred bishops or abbots, as well Italians as French, who rejected by unanimous consent the service and adoration of images. This equivocal word *adoration* was the source of all these differences; if men would define the terms they make use of, there would be fewer disputes. More than one kingdom has been overthrown by the misinterpretation of a word.

While pope Adrian sent to France the acts of the second council of Nice, he received the Caroline books opposite to this council, and was pressed in Charlemaign's name to declare the emperor of Constantinople and his mother heretics. It is sufficiently plain by this conduct, that Charlemaign was desirous of obtaining a new,

\* This work is in four books; it was published in 1549 from an ancient MS. by M. du Tillet bishop of Meaux, under the fictitious name of *Eli Philii*. There are some who doubt of the genuineness of the Caroline books, and who attribute them to Angultram bishop of Metz, others to Alcuinus: but whoever was their author, there is no doubt of their having been written at the time of Charlemaign. See Du Pin. Bibl. 3 cent.

right

right from the pretended heresy of the emperor, that he might take Rome from him under the colour of justice.

The pope, divided between the council of Nice, whose proceedings he adopted, and Charlemaign, whom he was desirous of pleasing, took, in my opinion, a politic medium, that ought to serve for an example in all those unhappy disputes, by which the Christian world hath been constantly distracted. He explained the Caroline books in such a manner as was favourable to the council of Nice, and by that means refuted the king without displeasing him : at the same time he gave liberty to refuse the worship of images, which was very reasonable with respect to the Germans, who had been just converted from idolatry ; and to the ignorant French, who had few sculptors and painters : but he exhorted them likewise not to demolish these images. Thus he satisfied every body, and left it to time to confirm or abolish a worship that was still doubtful. As he placed his principal attention in keeping fair with mankind, and making religion subservient to his interest, he wrote to Charlemaign in these terms : “ I cannot, after what the council of Nice has done, declare Irene and her son heretics ; but I shall declare them to be such, if they do not restore me my patrimony in Sicily.”

We see this pope act with the same prudence in a dispute of a still more delicate nature, and which alone would in other times have been sufficient to kindle civil wars. It was disputed, whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, or from the Father alone.

In the eastern church there was an early addition made to the first council of Nice, that he proceeded from the Father; after that, they added further in Spain, France, and Germany, that he proceeded from the Father and the Son, and this was the opinion that prevailed almost throughout the whole empire of Charlemaign. These words in the creed, *qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*, were sacred with the French; but the same words had never been adopted at Rome. The pope being pressed by Charlemaign to decide this difference, replied, That he does not condemn the king's opinion, but yet he made no alteration in the Roman creed. Thus he appeased the dispute, without coming to a decision, by leaving every one entirely at liberty. In a word, he treated spiritual affairs like a prince, while too many princes have treated them as if they had been bishops.

From that time the profound policy of the popes established their power by degrees. They trumped up a collection of forged acts, known at present by the name of the *false decretals*; and which are said to have been digested by a Spaniard named *Isidorus mercator*, or *piscator*, or *peccator*. The German bishops, whose sincerity was imposed upon, spread them abroad, and gave them their weight. It is said now that there are indubitable proofs of their having been composed by one Algeram abbot of Senones, and bishop of Metz. They are among the manuscripts of the Vatican library. But what signifies it who is their author? In these false decretals ancient canons are supposed; which ordain, that a single provincial council should not be held without the

the permission of the pope; and that all ecclesiastical causes shall be under his jurisdiction. The words of the immediate successors of the apostles are there quoted, and they are supposed to have left writings behind them. It is true, that all being wrote in the wretched style of the eighth century, and the whole filled with blunders contrary to history and geography, the artifice was extremely gross; but they had none but ignorant men to deceive. These false decretals imposed upon mankind for eight centuries, and at last, though the error was discovered, the customs they established, still subsist in a part of the church: their antiquity supplied the place of truth.

In those times the bishops of the West were temporal lords, and possessed many lands in fee; but none were independent sovereigns. The kings of France nominated to bishoprics: in this instance they were more bold, and acted more agreeably to the rules of policy, than the Grecian emperors, and the kings of the Lombards, who contented themselves with interposing their authority in elections.

The first Christian churches were governed as a republic in the manner of synagogues; those who presided over these assemblies, insensibly took the title of bishop, a name by which the Greeks called those who were appointed governors of their colonies: and the elders of these assemblies called themselves priests, which in Greek signifies old men.

Charlemaign in his old age, granted the bishops a privilege, of which his own son was made the victim. They persuaded this prince, that in the  
code



code digested in the reign of Theodosius, a law expressly mentioned, that if two laymen had a suit depending, and one of them chose a bishop for his judge, the other was obliged to submit to his decision without the power of appeal. This law, which had never been executed, is by all critics in ecclesiastic antiquity esteemed a fiction: it is the last in the Theodosian code, without date, and without a consular name: it insensibly excited a civil war between the courts of justice and the ministers of the sanctuary: but as in those times, every body in the West, except the clergy, were involved in profound ignorance, it is astonishing, that they did not give a still greater power to those, who having obtained a little instruction, seemed the only persons qualified to decide the differences among mankind.

But as the bishops disputed with the laity for authority, the monks began to dispute with the bishops, who, however, were, by the canons, their masters: but these monks were already too rich to shew their obedience. That celebrated formula of Marculfus, "I, for the repose of my soul, and to prevent my being placed after death amongst the goats, give to such a monastery, &c. &c." was already used. In the first century they generally believed that the world was drawing towards an end; and this opinion growing stronger in after ages, people gave their estates to monks, as if this would be a means to preserve them from the general conflagration. Several deeds of donation begin with these words, *Adventante mundi vespero.*

The

The Benedictine abbots were long before Charlemaign so powerful as to revolt; and an abbot of Fontenelle had the presumption to put himself at the head of a party against Charles Martel, and to raise troops: but the hero deprived the monk of his head, a just execution, which contributed not a little to those revelations made to such a number of monks, in regard to the damnation of Charles Martel.

Before these times, we find an abbot of St. Remy in Rheims, and the bishop of that city, carrying on a civil war in the sixth century against Childebert; a crime that could be committed by none but men in power.

The bishops and abbots had many slaves. Alcuin the abbot was reproached with having even twenty thousand: this number is not incredible, since Alcuin had three abbeys, the lands of which might be inhabited by at least twenty thousand men. These slaves, known by the name of *villains*, could neither marry nor change their abode without the abbot's permission, and were obliged to march fifty leagues with their carts whenever he was pleased to order them: they worked for him three days in a week, and he partook of all the fruits of the earth.

Those opulent Benedictines indeed could not be charged with violation of poverty; for they make no such vow. When they are admitted into the order, the only engagement they take upon them, is to obey their abbot. They frequently had donations of waste lands, which they grubbed up with their own hands, and afterwards employed their bondmen to till them. They formed villages, and even built little towns

around their monasteries. They applied themselves to study, and were the only persons that transcribed, and consequently preserved the ancient writings; in short in those barbarous days, when the generality of the people were so miserable, it was a great consolation to find a secure retreat in monasteries, from tyranny and oppression.

In France and Germany more than one bishop led their *villains* to battle. Charlemain, in a letter to one of his wives, named Frastade, mentions a bishop who fought valiantly by his side in a battle against the Avari, a people descended from the Scythians, who dwelt near the country now called Austria. We find in his time fourteen monasteries which were obliged to furnish soldiers; and if an abbot had never so little of the warrior, nothing hindered him from commanding them himself. A parliament, it is true, complained to Charlemain, in the year 803, of the too great number of priests that had been killed in the war; the ministers of the altar were therefore forbid to go to battle, and were not suffered to call themselves clerks without being really so, nor to wear the tonsure without belonging to a bishop. Such clerks were called *acephali*\*, and punished as vagabonds. They at that time had no idea of an order, so common in our days, that is neither secular nor ecclesiastic: for the title of abbot, which signifies father, only belonged to the chiefs of monasteries.

The abbots had then the pastoral staff; the same as that borne by bishops, and which formerly was the mark of the pontifical dignity in pagan Rome.

\* From the Greek word *amiqualos*, without a head.

Such

Such was the power of those abbots over the monks, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel and dreadful torments. They were the first who took the barbarous custom from the Grecian emperors of burning out the eyes; and a council was under the necessity of putting a stop to this wicked practice, which they began to consider as a right.

The mass was then different from what it is at present, and more still from what it was in the first ages of Christianity. It was at first a supper; but afterwards the dignity of the ceremony increasing, together with the number of the faithful, by degrees it became the same kind of liturgy as the present high mass. Till the fifth century there was only one common mass celebrated in each church. The name *synaxis* which it has among the Greeks, and which signifies an *assembly* or *meeting*; the forms also of addressing this assembly which still subsist, all plainly shew that it was long before private masses were introduced. This sacrifice, this meeting, this common prayer, was called *missa* in the Latin church; because, according to some, the penitents who did not receive the communion, were dismissed; or according to others, because the sacrament was sent, *missa erat*, to those who could not come to church.

When the clergy grew more numerous, they were obliged to say private masses. The great lords had their chaplains; and Agobart bishop of Lyons complains of this as an abuse in the ninth century. It is confirmed by Dionysius Exiguus in his collection of canons, and by several others, that the whole congregation received the holy communion at high mass. In his time the people

brought the bread and wine, for the priest to consecrate; and each person took the bread in his hand. This bread was not yet unleavened; it was given even to children. The communion in both kinds was universally received at the time of Charlemaign; this custom was always kept up by the Greeks, and continued among the Latins till the twelfth century. We find even in the thirteenth that it was practised sometimes. The author of the relation of the victory obtained by Charles of Anjou over Manfred in 1264, takes notice that his knights received the sacrament in bread and wine before the battle. The custom of dipping the bread into the wine had obtained before Charlemaign; that of sucking the wine through a metal pipe or crane was not introduced till about two hundred years after, and was soon abolished. All these rites and customs received divers changes, according to the circumstances of the times, and the prudence of spiritual pastors.

The Latin church was the only one that performed divine service in a language not understood by the common people. This had been owing to the inundations of barbarians, who introduced their respective idioms into different parts of Europe. The Latins were likewise the only people that baptized by aspersion only; an indulgence very natural for children born in cold northern climates; and a proper decency in the warm climate of Italy. The ceremonies observed in conferring baptism on adult persons, and on infants were not the same. This difference, nature itself pointed out.

Auricular confession began to be introduced, as it is said, so early as the sixth century: the bishops

shops required that the canons should confess to them twice a year, by an order of the council of Attigny in 763; and this is the first time it was expressly commanded. The abbots obliged their monks to submit to this yoke; and the laity put it on by degrees. Public confession was never in use in the West; for when the Barbarians embraced Christianity, the abuse and scandal with which it was attended, occasioned its being abolished in the East, under the patriarch Nectarius, at the end of the fourth century: but public sinners frequently did public penance in the western churches, especially in Spain, where the invasion of the Saracens redoubled the fervour of the humbled Christians. I cannot trace the form of confession, nor the confession boxes which are fixed in churches, nor the necessity of confessing before receiving the sacrament, higher than the 12th century. In the eighth and ninth centuries they had three lents, and they generally confessed their sins on these solemnities. The commandments of the church, which were not ascertained till after the fourth council of Lateran in 1215, laid an injunction of performing once a year, what before seemed to be a matter of choice.

In the reign of Charlemain, they had confessors in the armies. Charles had one for himself, by particular office: his name was Valdo, and he was abbot of Augi in the neighbourhood of Constance.

It was permitted to confess to a layman, or even to a woman in case of necessity; and this permission lasted a long time. Hence Joinville says he confessed an officer in Africa, and gave

him absolution pursuant to the power in him inherent. *It is not a downright sacrament, says St. Thomas \*, but a kind of sacrament.*

Confession may be looked upon as the greatest check to secret crimes. The sages of antiquity had in some measure embraced this salutary practice. The Egyptians and the Greeks made a confession of sins at their expiations, and almost at every celebration of their mysteries. Marcus Aurelius, assisting at the mysteries of Ceres Eleusina †, confessed to the *Hierophantes* ‡.

\* He means Thomas Aquinas, surnamed the angelical doctor, a famous schoolman who wrote in the thirteenth century. He was born in the castle of Aquino in the kingdom of Naples in 1224, and died in the monastery of Fossanova near Terracina in 1274.

† So called from Eleusis, an ancient city of Attica, which had a famous temple dedicated to the mysteries of this goddess. The origin of this temple and mysteries is said to have been owing to the kind reception which Celeus king of Eleusis gave to Ceres, when she was in search of her daughter Proserpine, and which induced this goddess to teach him agriculture. These mysteries were highly revered by the ancients, and kept with such secrecy, that the disclosing of them was reckoned the most impious action that could be committed. This however did not hinder several writers in the first ages of Christianity from prying into the great secret, and bringing it to light. Tertullian says of it, *tota in adytis divinitas, &c. simulacrum membri virilis revelatur.* Theodoretus says it was, *naturæ muliebris imago.* See Meursius in a work on this subject, intitled *Eleusinia*.

‡ The *Hierophantes* is a name which the Athenians gave to the sacrificers or guardians of sacred things, so called from the Greek word ἱερός, *sacred*, and φαίνω, *to shew*, because they shewed the sacred ornaments. Alexander ab Alexandro, l. 4. c. 17. says that they drank hemlock, to mortify the desires of the flesh, in order to devote themselves intirely to the service of the Gods: *Legimus quoque Hierophantas Atheniensem, postquam in pontificatum evelti erant, ut castissime sanctissimeque sacrum facerent, cicutæ sorbitione castrari.* The same is asserted by St. Jerome in his book against Jovinian.

This

This practice so piously established among Christians, was unfortunately the occasion some time after of horrid abuses, especially during the quarrels between the emperors and the popes, and the factions into which several cities were divided, when the priests would not grant absolution to those who were not of their party. Of this we had an instance in France, in the reign of Henry IV; when almost the whole clergy refused to absolve those who paid allegiance to their king. Such is the deplorable condition of human nature, that the most sovereign remedies are frequently converted into poison.

The Christian religion was not yet extended farther in the north than the conquests of Charlemaign. Scandinavia and Denmark, which were then called the country of the Normans, were plunged in gross idolatry. They worshipped Odin\*, and imagined that after death the happiness of man would consist in drinking beer in the hall of this God out of the skulls of his enemies. We have still some of their ancient songs, which are translated, and express this idea. It was a great deal for them to believe a future state. Poland was neither less barbarous nor less idolatrous. The Muscovites, more savage than the rest of Grand Tartary, scarcely knew enough to be reckoned Pagans: but all these nations enjoyed their ignorance in peace; happy in being unknown to Charlemaign, who sold at so high a price the knowledge of Christianity!

The English began to receive the Christian religion, which had been carried formerly into that

\* *Odin* was the God of the ancient Danes, who presided over battles, along with another God, called *Thor*. See Barthol. Aat. Dan.



island by Constantius Chlorus, the secret protector of Christianity then persecuted: but it did not reign there, idolatry had still the ascendant, and continued so for a long time. Some missionaries from Gaul instructed in a rude and imperfect manner a small number of the inhabitants of that island. The famous Pelagius, too zealous a defender of human nature, was born in England; but he was not educated there, and ought to be reckoned amongst the Romans:

Ireland, then called Scotland, and Scotland known at that time by the name of *Albania*, or the country of the *Picts*, had also received some seeds of Christianity, that were constantly stifled by the idolatry that prevailed. Columbanus the monk was born in Ireland in the sixth century; but it appears by his retreat into France, and the monasteries he founded in Burgundy, that those had little to do, and much to apprehend, who sought in England and Ireland for such rich and peaceful establishments, as were found in other places under the shelter of religion.

After an almost total extinction of Christianity in England, Scotland, and Ireland, it was revived by conjugal tenderness. Ethelbert, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings in the heptarchy, who had his little kingdom in the county of Kent, where the city of Canterbury is situated, proposed to enter into an alliance with a king of France, and married the daughter of Childebert, king of Paris. This Christian princess, who crossed the sea with a bishop of Soissons, disposed her husband to consent to be baptized, as Clotilda had prevailed on Clovis. Pope Gregory the great sent Augustine with other Roman monks, in the year 598: they  
made

made but few converts; for it was at least necessary that they should understand the language of the country, before they could make any change in religion; however, being favoured by the queen, they built a monastery.

It was strictly speaking the queen who converted the little kingdom of Canterbury. Her barbarous subjects, who were destitute of religious opinions, easily followed the example of their sovereigns. This Augustine found no difficulty in obtaining the rank of primate from Gregory the Great; he was even desirous of obtaining the same rank in Gaul; but Gregory wrote him word, that he could not give him any other jurisdiction besides that over England. He was therefore the first archbishop of Canterbury, and the first primate of England. He gave to one of his monks the title of bishop of London, and to another that of Rochester. We cannot compare these bishops better than to those of Antioch and Babylon, who are called bishops *in partibus infidelium*: but the English hierarchy encreased with time. Monasteries especially were very rich in the eighth and ninth centuries; and they put into the catalogue of saints all the great lords who had given them lands; from whence it proceeds, that we find amongst the saints of this time, seven kings, seven queens, eight princes, and sixteen princeesses. Their chronicles inform us, that ten kings and eleven queens ended their days in cloysters: it is probable, that these ten kings and eleven queens only ordered themselves to be clothed at their death in the habits of the religious, and perhaps, carried to a convent in their last sickness;

but not that they really in health gave up all public affairs to lead a monastic life.



### C H A P. XIII.

*A continuation of the customs in the time of Charlemain. Of justice, laws, and singular usages.*

**J**USTICE was commonly distributed by the counts nominated by the king, who had their districts assigned them, and were obliged to be versed in the laws, which were neither so difficult to be understood, nor so numerous as ours. The proceedings were simple, for in France and Germany each pleaded his own cause: but Rome alone, and its territories, still retained many of the laws and formalities of the Roman empire. The laws of the Lombards took place in the rest of upper Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant, called a *viguier*, seven assistants called *scabini*, and a clerk called *notarius*. The counts published in their jurisdictions the order of the marches in time of war, enrolled soldiers under the *centenarii* \*, conducted them to the rendezvous, and left their lieutenants to perform the office of judge.

The kings sent commissaries with letters patent, *missi Dominici*, who examined the conduct of the counts; but neither these commissaries nor the counts hardly ever condemned a person to suf-

\* A commander of a hundred soldiers.

fer death, or corporal punishment : for if we except Saxony, where Charlemaign made sanguinary laws, almost all offences in the rest of his empire were attoned for by money. Rebellion alone was punished with death, and the kings in this case reserved to themselves the power of giving judgment. The Salic or Ripuarian law, and that of the Lombards, had, as we have already observed, set a price in money on most other transgressions.

Their civil law which appeared humane, was in reality more cruel than ours ; for it left the liberty of doing ill to all who were able to pay for it. The mildest law is that which by putting the most terrible constraint on iniquity prevents the multiplication of crimes.

The Salic laws were put in force by Charlemaign. Among these laws we find one that expressly shews in what contempt the Romans were held amongst the barbarous nations. The Frank, who had killed a Roman citizen, paid only one thousand and fifty deniers ; while the Roman paid for the blood of a Frank two thousand five hundred deniers.

In criminal causes that could not be decided, they purged themselves by an oath ; and it was made necessary not only for the party accused to swear, but also to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear with him. When the two parties opposed oath to oath, they were sometimes permitted to decide it by combat, in which they fought to extremity.

These combats, it is well known, were called *the Judgment of God* : and this was also the name

given to one of the most deplorable follies of this barbarous government; by which the accused were put to the ordeal of hot water, cold water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluzius has collected all the antient ceremonies belonging to these ordeals. They began with the mass when the accused received the eucharist: they then blessed the cold water, exorcised it; and at last the accused was thrown, bound with cords, into the water: if he sunk to the bottom he was reputed innocent; but if he arose to the top he was adjudged to be guilty. Mr. de Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, says, that this was a certain method of finding nobody criminal: but I dare believe, that it was a certain method of destroying many innocent persons. There are several men who have their breasts and lungs so large as not to permit them to sink, when a rope tied many times about them, forms in conjunction with their persons, a body lighter than an equal quantity of water. This unhappy custom though since prohibited in great towns, has subsisted till very lately in many provinces, where those suspected of using witchcraft, have often been condemned to it, even by the sentence of the judges; for nothing lasts so long as superstition: and this has cost the lives of more than one unhappy person.

The judgment of God by hot water was executed by plunging the naked arm of the accused person into a great tub of boiling water, where he was obliged to take from the bottom a consecrated ring. The judge, in the presence of the priests and people, enclosed the arm of the patient

in

in a bag, sealed it with his own seal, and if in three days after the arm discovered no mark of a scalding, his innocence was acknowledged.

All the historians relate the example of queen Teutberga, daughter-in-law to the emperor Lotharius, grandson to Charlemaign, accused of having committed incest with her brother, a monk and subdeacon: this princess nominated a champion, who in her stead submitted to the trial of boiling water in the presence of a numerous court, and took out the ring without being scalded. It is certain that there are secrets to bear the action of fire for a few seconds without being hurt: I have seen some instances of it myself: these secrets must at that time have been more common, as there was a greater necessity for them. But no secret whatever can render a man absolutely invulnerable. It is very probable that at those strange judgments, they made the person undergo a more or less severe trial, according as they were inclined to condemn or to acquit him.

This trial of boiling water was designed particularly for the conviction of adultery. These customs were more antient and spread farther than people imagine. The women accused of this crime among the Jews, were obliged by the law of Moses to undergo the trial of the *waters of jealousy*. They drank in the presence of the priests a water which had been mixed with some consecrated ashes. This proved a salutary potion to the innocent, but the guilty were seen to swell and burst upon the spot.

The learned know very well that in the temple of the *Dii Palici* \* in Sicily, they used to write their

\* *Dii Palici*, according to fabulous history, were twins of

their oath in a table book, which they threw into a basin of water, and if it swam upon the surface, the person was acquitted. The temple of Trazena † was famous for trials of that sort. We meet also with the like customs in Japan, customs founded on the simplicity of antient times, and the common superstition of all nations.

The third trial was that of a bar of red hot iron, which the person was to carry in his hand while he walked nine steps. It was more difficult to deceive the people in this trial than in the others; we therefore find nobody in these ignorant ages that ever submitted to it.

of Jupiter and Thalia. Jupiter enjoyed this nymph in Sicily, upon the banks of the river Simethus, now the *Jaretta*, near Catania. Thalia finding herself pregnant, and dreading the resentment of Juno, prayed the earth would swallow her up. Her prayer was heard; the earth received her into her bosom, where she was delivered of two boys; and the earth brought them to light by opening a second time. From this circumstance they took the name of *Palici*, formed of the Greek word *παλις* *palis*, which signifies to come again: because having been conceived above ground, they were swallowed by the earth before they were born; and after their birth, they came again to light. These brothers were worshipped as Gods in Sicily. On the spot where they rose out of the earth, two small lakes are said to have been formed, whose waters were in great veneration, being used, as Voltaire relates, for the conviction of perjurers. The Palic God is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* l. 9. *Placabilis ara Palici.* And by Ovid *Met.* 5.

*Perque lacus altos, et olentia sulphure fontem*

*Stagna Palicorum, rupta ferventia terra.*

The ruins of the temple of the Palic Gods are still extant, not far from the source of the *Jaretta*, and the lake is now called *Naphthia*. See Fazellus de reb. Sic. and Macr. *sat.* l. 5. 19.

† A city of Peloponnesus, known for its fidelity to the Athenians; the modern name is *Pleda*. Plutarch mentions it in the lives of Theseus, Demosthenes, and Themistocles. It was famous for a temple dedicated to *Minerva the Deceitful*, to whom the girls dedicated their girdles, before they married.

In

In regard to the civil laws, what follows appears to me to be the most remarkable. A man who had no children might adopt them. Husbands might repudiate their wives by due course of law, and after the divorce they were suffered to marry another woman. Marculfus gives us a collection of these laws.

But what will, perhaps, appear more astonishing, though it is not less true, is, that in the second book of these formularies of Marculfus, we find that nothing was more readily permitted, nor more common than to derogate from that famous Salic law, by which the daughters were not allowed to inherit. On this occasion, the person led his daughter to the count or his commissary, when he said, " My dear daughter, an antient  
 " and impious custom prevents our giving a share  
 " of our paternal estates to our daughters; but  
 " having considered this impiety, I have found,  
 " that as you have all been equally given to me  
 " by God, I ought to love you all alike; there-  
 " fore, my dear daughter, I desire that you may  
 " inherit an equal share with your brothers of all  
 " my lands. &c."

The Franks, who lived according to the Salic and Ripuarian laws, were entirely unacquainted with the distinction of nobles and plebeians, of nobles *ab avo*, or men living nobly. They had but two orders of citizens, freemen and *villains*, which nearly resembled the present state of the Mahometan and Chinese empires. The word *nobilis* is used but once, to signify the officers, the counts, and the *centenarii*.

The cities of Italy and France were all governed according to their municipal laws. The duties which



which they paid to the sovereign, consisted in *foderum, paratam, mansionaticum, forage, provisions,* and *moveable goods*. Emperors and kings kept their court a long time upon their demesnes, and continued these duties payable in kind whenever they travelled. We have still extant a capitular \* of Charlemaign concerning his farms, where he enters into the minutest parts of that oeconomy. He orders an exact account of his flocks, to be given in to him. We find that one of the most valuable parts of a country stock was their bees. In short by the small, as well as the more important matters of those days, we are made acquainted with the laws, manners, and customs, though there are hardly any vestiges of them to be seen at present.



## C H A P. XIV.

*Lewis the Weak or the Debonnair.*

**T**HE history of the great events of this world is little else besides a register of crimes. I can find no age which the ambition of the laity and of the ecclesiastics has not filled with scenes of horror.

\* *A Capitular* is in general a book divided into several chapters or *capitula*; but in particular it is taken for a collection of civil and canon law, and especially for those laws and regulations which the kings of France made at the public meetings of the bishops and temporal lords, for the government of church and state. Baluzius published an edition of all the capitulars of the kings of France in 1677.

Scarce was Charlemaign in his tomb when a civil war spread desolation both through his family and the empire.

The archbishops of Milan and Cremona lighted the first flames, under the pretence that Bernard, king of Italy, was the chief of the Carlovingian family, being son to Pepin the elder brother of Lewis. We find plainly enough the true reason in that mad propensity to raise commotions, and in that frenzy of ambition, which avails itself even of the laws made to repress it. A bishop of Orleans entered into their intrigues: both the uncle and nephew raised forces, and were ready to come to an engagement at Chalons-sur-Soan; but the emperor's party gained half the Italian army by money and promises. They then entered upon a negotiation; that is, they resolved to deceive each other; when the king was so imprudent as to come to his uncle's camp: on which Lewis, who was called the *Debonnair*, because he was weak, and who was cruel merely from that weakness, caused his nephews eyes to be put out, though he begged for mercy on his knees: the unhappy king died of the torment he suffered in his body and mind, three days after that cruel execution. He was interred at Milan and on his tomb was engraved, *Here lies Bernard of pious memory*. The word *pious* or *saint* at that time seems to have been only an honourable title. Lewis then caused his three brothers\* to be shaven and shut up in a monastery, lest their being of the blood of Charlemaign should entitle them to too much respect, and occasion wars in their favour. But this was not all; the emperor ordered all

\* They were natural sons of Charlemaign.

Bernard's

Bernard's partisans to be arrested, whom that king had discovered, from the hope of obtaining mercy; and they suffered the same punishments as himself: the ecclesiastics, however, were excepted; they were spared who were the authors of the war, and deposition or exile was their only punishment. Lewis desired to keep fair with the church; and the church soon made it evident, that he ought to have behaved with less cruelty and more firmness.

The year 817, Lewis followed his father's bad example in giving kingdoms to his children; and having neither the courage nor the judgment of his father, nor the authority that courage procures, he exposed himself to suffer the effects of ingratitude. While he was a barbarous uncle, and too severe a brother, he was too indulgent a father.

After he had made his eldest son Lotharius his colleague in the government of the empire, given Aquitain to the second named Pepin, and Bavaria to Lewis his third son, there still remained an infant whom he had had by a second wife: this was Charles the Bald, who was afterwards emperor: he resolved after the division not to leave this child, the son of a wife whom he loved, without dominions.

One of the sources of Lewis the Debonnair's misfortunes, and of a number of still greater disasters that have since disturbed Europe, was that abuse which began to arise, of granting power in the world to those who had renounced the world.

This memorable scene was begun by a monk, named Yala, abbot of Corby. He was a man whom zeal, or the spirit of faction, or both together, had rendered furious; one of those party leaders,

leaders, who have been so often observed to do a great deal of mischief while they preach up virtue, and to throw every thing into confusion for the sake of order and rule.

In a parliament held at Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 829; a parliament to which abbots were admitted from their being lords of very large manors, this Vala publicly reproached the emperor for all the disorders in the state: "It is you, said he, that are guilty of them." He afterwards spoke to every member of parliament, even in a more seditious manner. He presumed to accuse the empress Judith of adultery. He strove to hinder the gifts the emperor was desirous of bestowing on the son he had had by this empress: in short, he dishonoured and disturbed the royal family, and consequently the empire, under the pretence of promoting the welfare of the state.

At length the emperor enraged sent Vala to his monastery, where it would have been proper for him to have always remained; and resolving to satisfy his wife, he gave her son a small part of Germany towards the Rhine, which was Switzerland and Franche-Comté.

If the laws of Europe had been founded on paternal authority, and if every mind had been penetrated with the necessity of filial respect, as the first of all duties, which I have observed is the case in China; the three children of the emperor, who had received their crowns from him, would not have revolted against their father, for giving an inheritance to a child by a second marriage.

At first they vented their complaints; presently the abbot of Corby united himself to the abbot of St. Denis, a person of a still more factious disposition,

position, and who having the abbeys of St. Medard, Soissons, and St. Germain-des-prez, was capable of raising forces, and soon after did so. The bishops of Vienne, Lyons, and Amiens, joining these monks, drove the princes to a civil war, declaring that all who were not of their party were rebels to God and the church. In vain did Lewis the Debonnair, instead of raising armies, assemble four councils, in which were made good but unnecessary laws: his three sons had recourse to arms, and, I believe, that this is the first time in which three sons joined in a rebellion against their father. The emperor at last took up arms, and two camps were seen filled with bishops, abbots, and monks: but on the side of the princes there was pope Gregory IV. whose name gave great weight to their party. It was already the interest of the popes to humble the emperors. Already had Stephen, Gregory's predecessor, been installed in the pontifical chair without the consent of Lewis; and the raising disputes between the father and his children, seemed a ready means of aggrandizing themselves on their ruins. Pope Gregory therefore came to France and threatened the emperor with excommunication, a ceremony that did not yet convey the same idea that has been fixed to it since: for nobody dared to pretend that an excommunicated person was deprived of his fortune by excommunication alone: but they thought of rendering a person execrable, and of cutting by this sword all the bands that were capable of attaching mankind to him.

The bishops on the emperor's side however made use of their right, and courageously let the pope know, that *SI EXCOMMUNICATURUS VENIET,*

EXCOM-

EXCOMMUNICATUS ABIBIT; "if he came to excommunicate, he himself should return excommunicated." They wrote boldly to him, treating him indeed like a pope, but at the same time like a brother. "But Gregory, more haughty than they, sent to let them know that the term *brother* expressed too great an equality;" and added, "Adhere to that of pope; acknowledge my superiority, and know that the authority of my chair is above that of Lewis's throne." In short, in this letter he evaded the oath he had taken to the emperor.

In the midst of this war they entered upon negotiations. The pontif set up for arbitrator, and went to meet the emperor in his camp, where he had the same advantage that Lewis formerly had over Bernard: he seduced his troops; and scarce had he left the camp, when that very night half of the Imperial army went over to Lotharius, his son. This desertion happened near Basil, and the plain where the pope carried on this negotiation, is still called *the Field of Lies*. The unhappy monarch then surrendered himself a prisoner to his rebellious children, with his wife Judith, the object of their hatred; he likewise delivered up to them his son Charles, who was only ten years of age, and the innocent pretence for this war. In more barbarous times, as in the reigns of Clovis and his children, or in countries like Constantinople, I should not be surprized, if they had murdered Judith and her son, and even the emperor: but the conquerors contented themselves with causing the empress to be shaved and sent to prison in Lombardy; with shutting up young Charles in the convent of Prum, in the  
midst

midst of the forest of Ardenne; and with dethroning their father. In reading this fond parent's disaster, we must receive, I think, a secret satisfaction, when we find that his sons were not less ungrateful to the abbot Vala, the first author of these troubles, and to the pope, who had so well carried them on. With pleasure we see the pope return to Rome, despised by the conquerors; and Vala confined in a monastery in Italy.

Lotharius, who was so much the more guilty as he had been associated to the empire, dragged his father as a prisoner to Compiègne. There had been at that time a fatal abuse introduced into the church, which forbade the carrying of arms and exercising civil functions during the time of public penance. These penances were seldom practised, and scarcely ever fell on any besides some unhappy persons amongst the dregs of the people; yet it was resolved, that the emperor should submit to this infamous punishment, under the colour of a voluntary Christian humiliation, and to impose upon him a perpetual penance that would degrade him for ever.

Lewis was intimidated, and had the meanness to condescend to this proposal, which they had the boldness to make him. An archbishop of Rheims, named Hebo, who, in spite of the laws, had by Lewis himself been raised from a servile condition to this dignity, deposed his sovereign and benefactor. The sovereign was obliged to make his appearance, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons, and monks, in the church of Notre Dame at Soissons; and Lotharius was present to enjoy the sight of his father's humiliation. A hair-cloth was spread before the altar; and

and the archbishop ordered the emperor to take off his belt, sword and coat, and to prostrate himself on the cloth. Lewis with his face to the earth, asked the public penance, which he too well deserved for submitting to it. The archbishop forced him to read with a loud voice a paper, in which he accused himself of sacrilege and murder; and the unhappy prince read deliberately a list of his crimes, among which it is expressly mentioned, that he had caused his troops to march in Lent, and had called a parliament on Maundy Thursday. A verbal process was prepared of the whole action, which is a monument still subsisting of the extremes of insolence and meanness. In this verbal process they do not condescend to give Lewis the title of emperor: but he is there called **DOMINUS LUDOVICUS**, a nobleman, a venerable person.

Mankind are fond of bringing precedents to defend any extraordinary behaviour. The penance of Lewis the Debonnair, was authorized by the example of a Visigoth king named Vamba, who reigned in Spain in 681: this prince's intellects being impaired, he submitted to a public penance at the council of Toledo, and shut himself up in a cloyster. His successor Hervicus had acknowledged that he held his crown of the bishops. This fact was quoted, as if villainy could be justified by example. They likewise alledged the penance of the emperor Theodosius: but it was a very different case. This prince had caused fifteen thousand citizens of Thessalonica to be massacred, not in a sudden transport of passion, as is falsely asserted every day, but after very mature deliberation. In consequence of this  
premedi-



premeditated crime he might have felt the resentment of the people, who did not chuse him their sovereign, to have their throats cut. St. Ambrose did a noble action in refusing him admittance into the church, and Theodosius acted very prudently in asswaging the hatred of the people, by keeping away from divine service for about eight months; a poor satisfaction for the most barbarous act that ever stained the memory of a sovereign.

Lewis was confined for a year in a cell of the convent of St. Medard at Soissons, cloathed with sackcloth like a penitent, without servants, without consolation, and dead to the rest of the world. If he had had but one son, he would have been lost for ever; but his three sons quarreling about his spoils, their dissensions restored the father to his liberty and crown,

834. He was removed to St. Denis, when two of his sons, Lewis and Pepin, came to re-establish him on the throne, and to restore to his arms his wife and son Charles. The assembly of Soissons was anathematized by another at Thionville; but this cost the archbishop of Rheims only the loss of his see; moreover he was only tried and deposed in the vestry; whereas the emperor had been deposed in public at the foot of the altar. Some other bishops were also deprived of their sees; and this was all the punishment the emperor dared to inflict on them.

Soon after Lewis of Bavaria, one of the same sons that had re-established him on the throne, rebelled again; on which the unhappy father died of vexation in a tent near Mentz, saying, "I forgive Lewis, but let him know that he has been the cause of my death."

June  
20,  
840.

By

By his last will he is said to have confirmed, in a solemn manner, the donation made by Pepin and Charlemaign to the church of Rome.

The same doubts arise in regard to this confirmation, as to the original donation itself. It is difficult to believe that Charlemaign and his son should make a present to the pope, of Venice, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, countries to which they had at farthest only the contested right of sovereign jurisdiction. And when could Lewis have given away Sicily, which belonged to the Greek emperors, and was infested by the continual descents of the Arabs?



C H A P. XV.

*State of Europe after the death of Lewis the Debonnair, or the Weak.*

**A**FTER the death of Charlemaign's son, his empire had the same fate as that of Alexander, or as that which we shall soon see beset the empire of the caliphs. Having been founded with precipitation, it presently shook, and was divided by intestine wars.

It is not at all surprising that princes, who had dethroned their father, should resolve to exterminate one another; each was striving to strip his brother. Lotharius, the emperor, would have all. Charles the Bald, king of France, and Lewis, king of Bavaria, united their forces against him. A grandson to Lewis the Debonnair, the son of Pepin, king of Aquitain, who was king

841. after his father's death, joined Lotharius. These laid the empire waste, and drained it of soldiers. In short, two kings against two kings, three of whom were brothers, and the other their nephew, gave battle at Fontenay in Auxerrois, the horror of which was worthy of a civil war. 842. Many authors assure us, that in this engagement there perished an hundred thousand men. It is true, that these authors were not cotemporaries, and that we ought at least to have the liberty of doubting whether so much blood was spilt. The emperor Lotharius was overcome. He then set the world an example of policy directly opposite to that of Charlemaign.

The conqueror of the Saxons had made them submit to Christianity as a necessary restraint: their having sometimes revolted, and frequently returned to the antient worship, was a mark of their aversion to a religion, which they considered as a punishment: but Lotharius, in order to engage them to embrace his interest, gave them an entire liberty of conscience, on which half of the country returned to idolatry, but continued faithful to the king. This conduct, and that of Charlemaign his grandfather, let people see by what different methods princes make religion subservient to their own interest.

842. The disgraces of Lotharius furnished another example of it: his two brothers, Charles the Bald, and Lewis of Bavaria, assembled a council of bishops and abbots at Aix-la-Chapelle: these prelates by common consent declared Lotharius deprived of his right to the crown, and his subjects released from their oath of fidelity. "Do you promise to govern better than he has done?"

“ done ?” said they to the two brothers Charles and Lewis : “ We promise it,” the two kings replied ; “ And we,” said the bishop, who sat as president, “ we, by divine authority, permit “ and command you to reign in his place.”

When we see bishops thus disposing of crowns, we deceive ourselves if we imagine that they were then, what the electors of the empire are now. They were powerful, indeed, but none of them were sovereigns. The authority of their character, and the respect paid them by the people, were the instruments which kings made use of at pleasure. There was much more weakness than grandeur in these ecclesiastics thus deciding the right of kings, according to the orders they received from those who had the greatest strength.

We ought not to be surprized, that some years after an archbishop of Sens, with twenty<sup>859</sup> other bishops, presumed in a like conjuncture to depose Charles the Bald, king of France: an action done to please Lewis of Bavaria. These monarchs, who were as wicked kings as they were unnatural brothers, not being able to effect their mutual destruction, caused each other to be anathematized by turns ; but it is most surprizing, that this same Charles the Bald should say in a letter he condescended to publish against the archbishop of Sens, “ At least that archbishop “ ought not to have deposed me, before I had “ made my appearance before the bishops who “ consecrated me king: it was fit that I should “ have first submitted to their judgment, having “ been always ready to resign myself to their “ paternal correction and chastisement.” When

the race of Charlemaign was reduced to speak thus, it was visibly hurrying to its ruin.

I return to Lotharius, who had always a large party in Germany, and was quiet possessor of Italy. He passed the Alps, caused his son Lewis to be crowned, who went to try pope Sergius II. at Rome. The pontif made his appearance, answered in a formal manner the accusations of a bishop of Mentz, justified himself, and at last took the oath of fidelity to the same Lotharius that was deposed by the bishops. Lotharius also made that celebrated and useless decree, that to avoid the seditions, which too frequently arose, *the pope should be no longer elected by the people*; and that an information should be sent to the emperor whenever the holy see was vacant.

We are surprized to see the emperor sometimes so humble, and at other times so haughty: but he had an army in the neighbourhood of Rome, when the pope swore allegiance to him; and he had none at Aix-la-Chapelle, when he was dethroned by the bishops.

Their sentence was but one scandal more added to the desolations of Europe; the provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer knew who they were to obey: towns every day changed their tyrants: countries were ravaged by different parties one after another: nothing was heard of but battles; and in these battles there were always monks, abbots, and bishops, who died sword in hand. Hugh, one of Charlemaign's sons, formerly forced to turn monk, and since abbot of St. Quintin, was killed before Toulouse, with the abbot of Ferriere; and two bishops were there made prisoners.

This

This civil combustion stopped for a moment, only to begin again with fresh fury. The three brothers, Lotharius, Charles, and Lewis, made a new division, which occasioned only new subjects of discontent and war.

The emperor Lotharius, after having turned Europe upside down, without cause, and without obtaining glory, on feeling an inward decay, became a monk in the abbey of Prum: but he did not wear the habit above six days, and died a fool, after having lived a tyrant.

At the death of this third emperor of the West there arose new kingdoms in Europe, like heaps of earth after the shocks of a great earthquake.

Another Lotharius, son of that emperor, gave his name to a pretty large country, since by contraction called *Lorrain*, situated between the Rhine, the Scheld, the Maese, and the sea. Brabant was called *Lower Lorrain*, the rest was *Upper Lorrain*. At present none of this Upper Lorrain goes by that name, but a small province lately swallowed up in the kingdom of France.

A second son of the emperor Lotharius, named Charles, had Savoy, Dauphiné, and a part of Lyonois, Provence, and Languedoc. This state composed the kingdom of Arles, so called from the name of its capital, once an opulent city, and embellished by the Romans, but at that time a poor little place, as were all the cities on this side the Alps.

A barbarian named Solomon, became soon after king of Britany, a part of which was still pagan; but all these kingdoms fell as quickly as they were raised.

The shadow of the Roman empire still subsisted. Lewis, second son of Lotharius, who had received a part of Italy for his share, was proclaimed emperor by Sergius II. in the year 855. He did not reside at Rome; nor did he possess a ninth part of the empire of Charlemaign: he had only in Italy an authority contested by the popes and the dukes of Benevento, who then possessed a considerable territory.

After his death, which happened in the year 875, if the Salic law had taken effect with respect to the family of Charlemaign, the empire would have belonged to the eldest of that house; and Lewis of Germany, Charlemaign's eldest descendant, would have succeeded his nephew, who died without children; but troops and money constituted the right of Charles the Bald: this prince shut up the passages of the Alps against his brother, and hastened to Rome with some troops. Reginus, and the annals of Metz and Fuld assure us, that he bought the empire of pope John VIII. The pope not only made him pay for this honour, but taking advantage of that conjuncture, gave him the empire as his sovereign; and Charles received it as his vassal, protesting that he held it of the pope, as he had before in France, in the year 859, protested that he ought to submit to the judgment of the bishops. Thus he always suffered his dignity to be degraded in order to enjoy it.

Under his reign the Roman empire was composed only of France and Italy. It is said that he was poisoned by his physician, a Jew, named Sedecias; but nobody has ever said for what reason his physician committed this crime. What could

could he get by poisoning his master? With whom could he enjoy a better fortune? Besides, as no author mentions any punishment inflicted on the physician, we ought to question the truth of this prince's being poisoned, and only reflect that the Christians in Europe were so ignorant, that kings were obliged to search for physicians amongst the Jews and Arabians.

This shadow of the Roman empire continued still the object of ambition; and Lewis the Stammerer, king of France, the son of Charles the Bald, disputed it with the other descendants of Charlemaign. They always asked it of the pope. A duke of Spoleto, and a marquis of Tuscany, invested with these states by Charles the Bald, seized the person of pope John VIII. and plundered a part of Rome, to force him, it is said, to give the empire to Carloman, king of Bavaria, the eldest of the race of Charlemaign. Pope John VIII. was not only thus persecuted in Rome by the Italians, but was obliged in 877, to pay twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver to the Mahometans, the possessors of Sicily and the Neapolitan coast. This was the money with which Charles the Bald had purchased the empire. It passed soon after out of the hands of the pope into those of the Saracens, and the pope even signed an authentic treaty, by which he engaged to pay them annually the same sum.

However this pontif, who was tributary to the Mahometans, and a prisoner in Rome, escaped, embarked and got into France, where he crowned Lewis the Stammerer in the city of Troyes, after the example of Leo III. of Adrian



and Stephen III. who were persecuted at home, and bestowed crowns abroad.

Under Charles the Fat, emperor and king of France, the misery of Europe was redoubled. The farther the blood of Charlemaign ran from its source, the more it degenerated. This Charles the Fat was declared incapable of reigning by an assembly of French and German lords, who deposed him near Mentz, in a diet called by himself. These were not bishops, who taking advantage of a prince's passions, seemed to dispose of a crown; but the leading persons of the nation, who believed that they had a right to nominate him that was to govern them, and to command at their head. It is said, that the intellects of Charles the Fat grew weak; and there is no doubt of it; since he suffered himself to be dethroned without resistance, and thus to lose Germany, France, and Italy, and to be deprived of all other means of subsistence, besides the charity of the archbishop of Mentz, who condescended to allow him a maintenance. It seems very plain, that the order of succession was then entirely disregarded, since Arnolph, the bastard of Carloman, son of Lewis the Stammerer, was declared emperor, and Eudes, or Odo, count of Paris, was king of France. There was at that time neither the right of birth, nor the acknowledged right of election: Europe was a chaos in which the strongest rose upon the ruins of the weakest, in order to be at length thrown down by others.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Of the Normans towards the ninth century.*

EUROPE being thus divided, every state was weak and unhappy. This confusion opened a passage to the people of Scandinavia, and the inhabitants on the coasts of the Baltick. Those savages becoming too numerous, having only an ungrateful soil to cultivate, wanting manufactures, and being deprived of arts, thought of nothing but of spreading themselves far from their native country. Robbery and piracy were as necessary for their subsistence, as carnage for beasts of prey. In Germany they were called Normans, or *Men of the North*, without distinction, just as we still say in general, the *Corsairs of Barbary*. So early as the fourth century they joined the fleets of the other Barbarians, who carried desolation even as far as Rome and Africa; yet under Charlemaign we have seen that they confined themselves within their own bounds, for fear of slavery. In the time of Lewis the Debonnair they renewed their cruises. The forests with which these countries were overgrown, furnished them with wood for building their barks, which were navigated with two sails and a number of oars, and would contain about an hundred men with their stores, beer, sea-biscuit, salt meat and cheese. They sailed along the coast, landed where they found no resistance, and returned home with their booty, which they at length divided according to the laws of piracy, as now in use at Tunis. In the year 843, they entered France at the mouth of the river Seine, and

H 5

pillaged

pillaged the city of Rouen. Another fleet sailed up the Loire, and laid the whole country waste as far as Touraine: they carried the men into slavery, divided the women and girls amongst themselves, and even took the children to bring them up to the trade of piracy: in short, cattle, furniture, and every thing were carried off, and they sometimes sold on one coast what they had pillaged on another. Their first success excited the avarice of their indigent countrymen, and these were joined by the inhabitants on the coasts of Germany and Gaul, just as the renegadoes of Provence and Sicily have served on board the vessels of Algiers.

In 844 they covered the sea with vessels, and landed almost at one and the same time in England, France, and Spain. It is evident, that the governments of France and England were worse administered than that of the Mahometans who reigned in Spain; for no measures were taken by the French and English to prevent these irruptions; but the Arabians in Spain guarded their coasts, and at last repulsed the pirates.

In 845 the Normans plundered Hamburg, and penetrated into Germany. They were no longer a disorderly multitude of Corsairs; but a fleet of six hundred vessels that had a regular army on board, with Erick a king of Denmark at their head, who gained two battles before he reembarked. This king of the pirates after his return home with the spoils of the Germans, sent to France one of the admirals of the Corsairs, to whom history gives the name of Regnier, who went up the Seine with an hundred and twenty sail. To all appearance these hundred and twenty vessels did

did not carry ten thousand men; yet with a number probably still inferior, he pillaged Rouen a second time, and proceeded even to Paris. In such invasions, when the weakness of an administration has provided no remedy, the terror of the people encreases the danger, and the greatest number flies before the smallest. The Parisians, who at other times defended themselves with much bravery, abandoned their city, and the Normans found nothing there but wooden houses, which they burnt. The unhappy king, Charles the Bald, entrenched himself at St. Denis with a few troops, instead of opposing these Barbarians, and purchased with fourteen thousand marks of silver the retreat they condescended to make. One is provoked at reading in our authors, that many of these Barbarians were punished with sudden death for having pillaged the church of St. Germain-des-prez. Neither the people nor their saints made any defence; but the conquered always had the shameful consolation of supposing miracles performed against their enemies.

Charles the Bald in thus purchasing the peace, only gave these pirates new means of making war, and took from himself that of supporting it. The Normans made use of this money in carrying on the siege of Bourdeaux, which they plundered; and what gave the finishing stroke to the horror and humiliation of the French, Pepin, king of Aquitain, who was descended from Charlemaign, not being able to resist, joined with them; and then France, about the year 858, was entirely ravaged. The Normans strengthened by these allies for a long time, laid waste Germany, Flanders, and England. We have lately seen armies

of a hundred thousand men scarce able, after very signal victories, to take two towns; so much has the art of fortification, and taking proper precautions against a siege, been brought to perfection: but at that time Barbarians fighting against other Barbarians who were at variance amongst themselves, found, after the first success, scarcely any thing to stop their career; and when they were sometimes defeated, they soon returned with fresh forces.

888. Frotho, king of Denmark, to whom Charles the Fat at length yielded a part of Holland in the year 882, penetrated from thence into Flanders, when his Normans passed from the Somme to the Oise without resistance, took and burnt Pontoise, and arrived by land and water at Paris.

The Parisians, who then expected an irruption of Barbarians, did not, as formerly, abandon the capital. The count of Paris, Odo, or Eudes, whose valour afterwards raised him to the throne of France, made such regulations in the city, as animated their courage, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroy, who commanded the Normans, pressed the siege with an obstinate fury, not destitute of art. They made use of battering rams, effected a breach, and gave three assaults, which the Parisians sustained with unshaken courage. They had at their head not only count Eudes, but also Goslin their bishop, who every day, after he had bestowed his benedictions on the people, repaired to the breach, with a helmet on his head, a quiver of arrows on his back, and an ax at his girdle, and having planted the cross on a rampart, fought with it in his fight. This bishop appears to have had at  
least

least as much authority in the city as count Eudes; since Sigefroy first addressed himself to him, to obtain permission to enter Paris: however, the good prelate died of fatigue in the midst of the siege, leaving a memory equally dear and respectable; for though he armed those hands which religion reserved solely for the service of the altar, yet he armed them for that altar itself, and for his fellow citizens, in the justest cause, a necessary defence, which is ever superior to all laws. His brethren had only armed themselves in civil wars, and against Christians: but if an apotheosis is due to any man, this prelate who fought and died for his country, had perhaps a much better right to a place in heaven, than such numbers of obscure persons, whose virtue, if they had any, was generally of no service to the world.

The Normans blocked up the city a year and a half, during which time the Parisians experienced all the horrors that attend a long siege, such as famine and pestilence, and yet remained unshaken. At length the emperor Charles the Fat, king of France, appeared on the Mount of Mars, now called Montmartre; but not daring to attack the Normans, he only came to purchase another shameful truce. These Barbarians left Paris to go and besiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy; while Charles went to Mentz, to assemble the parliament that deprived him of a throne he was so unworthy to possess.

The Normans continued their devastations; but though they were enemies to the Christian name, they never attempted to force any one to renounce Christianity. They nearly resembled the Franks, the Goths, the Alans, the Huns, and

and the Heruli, who in the fourth century, fought for new settlements, and were so far from imposing a religion on the Romans, that they easily accommodated themselves to theirs: thus the Turks, in plundering the empire of the caliphs, submitted to the Mahometan religion.

At length Rollo, or Raoul, the most illustrious of these northern robbers, after being driven from Denmark, assembled in Scandinavia all those that were willing to attach themselves to his fortune; and founding the hopes of his future grandeur on the weakness of Europe, he attempted new adventures. He landed first in England, where his countrymen were already established; but after two useless victories, he steered his course towards France, which other Normans had ruined, but had not been able to enslave:

Rollo was the only person amongst those Barbarians who ceased to deserve that name, in seeking for a fixed establishment. Having without difficulty made himself master of Rouen, instead of destroying that city, he repaired its walls and towers. Rouen became his arsenal, from whence he went in quest of plunder, sometimes to England, and sometimes in France, making war with as much policy as fury. France was then expiring under the reign of Charles the Simple, a king only in name, and whose monarchy was even more dismembered by the dukes, counts, and barons, his subjects, than by the Normans. Charles the Fat had given only gold to the Barbarians; but Charles the Simple offered to Rollo his daughter and his provinces.

912. Rollo at first demanded Normandy, and Charles thought himself happy in getting off so cheap. He

He afterwards demanded Britany; this was disputed, but Charles was obliged to give up this too with certain clauses, which the strongest always explains to his own advantage. Thus Britany, which a little before had been a kingdom, was made a fief to Neustria; and Neustria, afterwards called Normandy from the name of the conquerors, became a separate state, the dukes of which paid a vain and empty homage to the crown of France.

The archbishop of Rouen prevailed on Rollo to turn Christian; and this prince readily embraced a religion that confirmed his power.

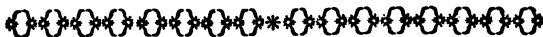
True conquerors are those who know how to make laws: their power is stable; the others are torrents that pass away. Rollo grew peaceable, and was the only legislator of his time on the Christian continent. It is well known with what inflexibility he administered justice. He abolished theft and robbery amongst his Danes, who had hitherto lived only on rapine; and for a long time after his decease, the sole pronouncing of his name was an order to the officers of justice to run to suppress any act of violence: from thence comes the custom of calling *Haro*, so well known in Normandy\*. The blood of the Danes and

\* This is the *clameur de Haro*, the cry of Haro, by virtue of which the person who meets his adverse party, obliges him to go before the judge, who decides the difference between them at least provisionally. It is derived from *Raoul*, the French name for *Rollo*, because this prince having administered justice with such exactness, those who were injured, used even after his death to cry out *A Raoul!* Others say that in this prince's life time they used to cry *A Raoul*, as much as to say, I summon you to appear before *Raoul*, because he administered justice himself in person. See *De Cange Glossarium Latinitatis*.

Franks,



Franks was mingled together, and at last produced those heroes, whom we shall see conquering England, Naples and Sicily.



## C H A P. XVII.

### *Of England towards the ninth century.*

**T**HE English, a nation grown famous for commerce and war, for a passionate attachment to their laws, and for the love of liberty which consists in being governed only by laws, were not near so powerful then as they are at present.

No sooner had they got rid of the Roman yoke, than they fell a prey to the Saxons, who after making the conquest of England towards the sixth century, were in the eighth subdued by Charlemain. These usurpers divided the country into seven provinces called kingdoms; which were at length reunited under king Egbert of the Saxon line, when the Normans came to ravage England as well as France. It is pretended, that in the year 852, they sailed up the Thames with three hundred vessels, when the English did not defend themselves much better than the Franks had done; but like them paid their conquerors. A king named Ethelbert followed the unhappy example of Charles the Bald: he gave them money; and the same fault had the same punishment: for the pirates made use of this money in providing the means to subdue the country. They brought one half of England under subjection. As the English

lish are naturally brave, and defended by their situation, there must have been very essential defects in their government, since they were generally subdued even by people who ought not to have invaded them with impunity. The accounts of the dreadful devastations committed in this island, exceed even the horrid scenes we have just now seen in France. It seems as if there were particular periods in which the whole earth is destined to be a scene of slaughter, and these periods are but too frequent.

I think it an agreeable respite, when amidst such horrors, I see a great man arise, who rescues his country from slavery, and governs it like a good king.

I question whether there ever was a man upon earth more deserving of the regard of posterity than Alfred the Great, who did such signal services to his country; *upon a supposition that all which is said of him be true.*

He succeeded his brother Ethelred I. who left <sup>872.</sup> him only a contested right to the crown of England, divided more than ever into petty sovereignties, several of which were in the possession of the Danes. Almost every year there was an inundation of new pirates, who disputed the few remaining spoils with the first usurpers.

Alfred having only a single province in the West that stood firm to his interest, was soon vanquished by those Barbarians in a pitched battle. And though he was deserted by every body, yet he did not retire to an English college at Rome, like his uncle Butred, who had been king of a small province, from which he was expelled by the Danes; but alone and unassisted he resolved  
to

to perish or to revenge his country's cause. He concealed himself during the space of six months in a cottage \* surrounded with a morass; and the earl of Devon alone †, who still defended a weak castle ‡ against the usurpers, was in the secret. At length this earl having assembled a few troops; Alfred disguised in a shepherd's tattered dress, ventured to appear in the midst of the Danish army, playing upon the harp: here he perceived the situation and defects of their camp. Being informed of a festival which the Barbarians were shortly to celebrate, he returns with all expedition to the earl of Devon, whose troops were ready; and marching against the Danes with this small but resolute body of forces, he surprized the enemy, and gained a complete victory. The Danes were then torn with intestine divisions; and as Alfred knew how to negotiate as well as fight, by a surprizing turn both the English and the Danes unanimously acknowledged him for their king. He now had nothing more to do than to make himself master of London, which he took, and after having fortified this city, he improved it with good buildings: he then fitted out fleets, kept the English Danes in awe, and hindered the others from making a descent; after which he employed himself, during a peaceable reign of twelve years, in civilizing his country. His laws were mild, but strictly executed. It was he who first established juries; who divided England into

\* At a neat-herd's, in the isle of Athelney near Taunton in Somersetshire. Rapin.

† Odda. See Dugdale's baronage p. 12.

‡ This was *Kimwith castle*, which stood on the river Tau below Raleigh. There are at present no remains of it. Camd.

shires or counties, and who first encouraged his subjects to trade. He is said to have lent ships and money to prudent adventurers, who went as far as Alexandria, and from thence passing the isthmus of Suez, extended their commerce to the Persian gulf. He regulated the militia, erected several councils, and diffused regularity, and peace its natural attendant, through every part of his kingdom.

It appears to me, that there never was really a great man, who was not a friend to learning. Alfred founded the university of Oxford, and sent for books to Rome; for England was so barbarous a country as to have scarce any at that time. He used to complain that there was not one English priest who even understood Latin: yet for his part he was no stranger to this language; he was even a tolerable geometrician, considering the time he lived in, and was well versed in history. It is also said that he composed verses in the Anglo-Saxon language; for what little time he could spare from the administration of public affairs, he consecrated to study. By means of a prudent oeconomy he had it in his power to be liberal. We find that he rebuilt several churches, but not one monastery. Doubtless he was of opinion, that in a ravaged state, which he was under a necessity of re-peopling, he would have done no service to his country, in giving too much encouragement to those immense families, which without parents or children perpetuate themselves at the expence of the nation. Hence he was never ranked in the catalogue of saints; but history, which accuses him neither of vice, nor weakness, places him in the first rank of those heroes so useful

ful to mankind, who, were it not for such extraordinary personages, would have still resembled nothing better than savage beasts.



## C H A P. XVIII.

*Of Spain and the Mussulmen in the eighth and ninth centuries.*

**I**N Spain I behold misfortunes and revolutions of another kind, which merit our particular attention. But we must briefly ascend to the source, and remember that the Goths, usurpers of this kingdom, after they became Christians, still remained Barbarians, and were expelled in the eighth century by the Mussulmen of Africa. It is my opinion, that the imbecillity of king Bamba, who was shut up in a cloyster, was the cause of the decline of this kingdom: and the madness of his successors was owing to his weakness. Vititza, a prince of still greater stupidity than Bamba, because he was cruel, disarmed his subjects whom he dreaded, and by this step put it out of their power to assist him.

Roderick, whose father he had assassinated, served him in the like manner in his turn, and surpassed him in all manner of wickedness. Here we find the cause of the superiority of the Mahometans in Spain. I am not certain of its being a real fact, that Roderick ravished Florinda, called *Cava*, or the *bad*, the unfortunately celebrated daughter of count Julian; and whether it was to  
revenge

revenge her honour that this count called in the Moors. Perhaps the adventure of *Cava* is partly copied from that of *Lucretia*, and neither of them seems to me to be properly supported by authentic proofs. One would think that to call in the Africans there was no occasion for the pretext of a rape, which is generally as difficult to prove as to commit. For before that time under king *Bamba*, count *Ervigius*, afterwards king, had brought over an army of Moors. *Opas*, archbishop of *Seville*, the principal instrument of this great revolution, had more important interests to support than those of a lady's chastity. This bishop, the son of the usurper *Vititza*, dethroned and assassinated by the usurper *Roderick*, was the person whose ambition invited the Moors the second time. Count *Julian*, the son-in-law of *Vititza*, derived from this alliance sufficient reasons for rising against the tyrant. Another bishop, named *Torizo*, joined in the conspiracy with *Opas* and the count. Is it likely that two bishops would have confederated in this manner with the enemies of Christianity, upon no other account than that of revenging the honour of an injured lady?

Be that as it may, the Mahometans were then, as they still are, masters of all that part of Africa formerly subject to the Romans, and had lately founded the city of *Morocco* in the neighbourhood of mount *Atlas*. The caliph *Valid Almanzor*, sovereign of that fruitful part of the world, resided at *Damascus* in *Syria*. His viceroy *Muzza*, who was governor of Africa, made the conquest of all Spain by the means of one of his lieutenants. He sent thither at first a general officer, named *Tariff*, who in 714 won that memorable battle in

in which Roderick lost his life. It is pretended that the Saracens did not keep their word with Julian, whom they certainly mistrusted. But the archbishop Opas had more reason to be satisfied with them; for he swore allegiance to the Mahometans, and under their protection he preserved a considerable authority over the Christian churches, which were tolerated by the conquerors.

As to king Roderick, he was so little regretted, that his widow Egilona publicly married young Abdalis, son of the conqueror Muzza, whose arms had been the destruction of her husband, and had reduced her country and religion to a state of slavery.

Spain in fourteen months was brought under subjection to the empire of the caliphs, excepting the caverns and rocks of Asturia. A Goth named Pelagius Teudomer, who was a relation of the last king Roderick, concealed himself, and preserved his liberty. I know not how they came to give the name of king to this prince, though he was really worthy of that dignity; since his whole royalty consisted in not being a captive. The Spanish historians, and those who have copied after them, pretend he obtained very signal victories, imagine miracles in his favour, establish a court for him, and mention his son Faviia, and his son-in-law Alfonso, as peaceable successors to this pretended kingdom. But is it likely that the Mahometans, who under Abderamen towards the year 734, had subdued one half of France, should permit this kingdom of Asturia to subsist behind the Pyrenees? It was a great point for the Christians to be able to take shelter in those mountains, and to live there by their incursions,

ursions, paying tribute to the Mahometans. It was not till towards 759 that the Christians began to make head against their conquerors, who had been weakened by the victories of Charles Martel and their own intestine divisions: but the Christians became still more divided among themselves than the Mahometans, insomuch that they soon relapsed under the former yoke. Mauregat, whom the historians have been pleased to honour with the title of king, was suffered to govern Asturia and some other neighbouring territories, <sup>783.</sup> upon condition of paying homage and tribute. He even submitted to furnish a hundred beautiful damsels every year for Abderamen's seraglio.

As successor to this Mauregat they mention a deacon, named Veremond, chief of those highland refugees, who yielded the same homage, and paid the same tribute of beautiful virgins. Is this a kingdom, and can such as these be called kings?

After the decease of Abderamen, the emirs of the Spanish provinces wanted to be independent. We have seen in the article of Charlemaign, that one of them, whose name was Ibna Larabi, had the imprudence to call in this conqueror to his assistance. If at that time there had been really a Christian kingdom in Spain, would not Charles have protected this kingdom by his arms, rather than join his forces to the Mahometans? He took this emir under his protection, and made him yield homage for the lands situate between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, which the Mahometans then possessed. We find in the year 794, that the Moor Abutar paid homage to Lewis the Debonnair, who governed Aquitain under his father with the title of king. Some



Some time afterwards the divisions began to increase among the Moors of Spain; and the council of Lewis the Debonnair made a proper use of this conjuncture: for his troops laid siege two whole years to Barcelona, and in 796 Lewis himself entered the city in triumph. From this period we must date the decline of the Moors. Those conquerors were no longer supported by the Africans and by the caliphs, whose yoke they had shaken off. The successors of Abderamen having established their royal residence at Cordova, were but indifferently obeyed by the governors of the other provinces.

Under this happy conjuncture, Alfonso of the race of Pelagius, began to render the name of those Spanish Christians considerable, who had retired into the mountains of Asturia. He refused to pay the usual tribute to masters whom he was now able to fight; and after a few victories he saw himself in peaceable possession of Asturia and Leon in the beginning of the ninth century.

It is this prince that properly revived the succession of Christian kings in Spain. He was artful and cruel; they gave him the name of the *chaste*, for being the first that refused to pay the tribute of the hundred virgins. People do not reflect that he did not engage in this war merely because he had refused the payment of this tribute; but because as he was determined to throw off the Moorish yoke, and to be no longer tributary, it was incumbent upon him to refuse the hundred damsels, as well as every other acknowledgment of subjection.

Alfonso's success, notwithstanding the many hardships he struggled with, encouraged the Christians

ftians of Navarre to give themselves a king. The inhabitants of Arragon likewise took up arms under a certain count; so that towards the end of Lewis the Debonnair's reign, neither the Moors nor the French had a foot of ground left in those barren provinces: the rest of Spain was still subject to Mahometan kings. Then it was that the Normans ravaged the coast of Spain; but meeting with a repulse, they turned back and plundered France and England.

It is no wonder that the Spaniards of Asturia, Leon, and Arragon, were at that time in a state of barbarism. The military life, which succeeded their servitude, was far from polishing their manners. They lived in such profound ignorance, that Alfonso, surnamed the Great, king of Leon and Asturia, was obliged to commit his son to the care of Mahometan preceptors.

I cannot help being surpris'd at the profusion with which historians lavish away titles on kings. This Alfonso, whom they stile the Great, put out the eyes of his four brothers; and his whole life was one continued series of cruelty and deceit. He closed the scene with forcing his subjects to revolt, and he was obliged to resign his little kingdom to his son about the year 910.

In the mean time the Mahometans who had lost that part of Spain which borders on France, were extending their arms in every other part. If I consider their religion, I find it embraced all over India, and upon the eastern coasts of Africa to which they traded. If I look upon their conquests, I find that the caliph Aaron Rachild, at first imposes a yearly tribute of seventy thousand crowns upon the empress Irene. The em-

peror Nicephorus having refused to pay this tribute, Aaron takes the isle of Cyprus, and ravages Greece. Almamon, his grandson, a prince in other respects so celebrated for his learning, makes himself master of the isle of Crete in 826, by the means of his generals: here the Mahometans built the city of Candia which they retook in our times.

In the year 828, the same Africans who had subdued Spain, made incursions into the fruitful island of Sicily, encouraged by a Sicilian, whose name was Euphemius: this man having followed the emperor Michael's example in marrying a nun, and being prosecuted by the laws, whose authority the emperor had evaded, acted very near the same tragedy in Sicily as count Julian had done before in Spain.

Neither the Greek, nor western emperors, were then able to drive the Mahometans out of Sicily; such was the male administration that prevailed at that time in both empires. These conquerors would have made themselves masters of Italy, if they had been united; but their dissensions saved Rome, as it had been saved in former times by those of the Carthaginians. They set sail from Sicily in 846, with a numerous fleet, entered the mouth of the Tiber, and finding the country almost all depopulated, they went and laid siege to Rome. They made themselves masters of the suburbs, and after plundering the rich church of St. Peter that stood without the walls, they raised the siege in order to give battle to a French army, which was marching to the relief of Rome, under the command of one of the emperor Lotharius's generals. The French army was beaten, but the  
city

city being revictualled was saved; so that this expedition, which in all probability would have ended in a conquest, by their own misunderstandings proved no better than an incursion of Barbarians. They returned soon after with a formidable army, which seemed to threaten the destruction of Italy, and to turn the capital of Christendom into a Mahometan town. In this critical conjuncture pope Leo IV. assuming an authority, which the emperor Lotharius's generals seemed to abandon, shewed himself in defending Rome, worthy of being its sovereign. He employed the treasures of the church in repairing the walls, raising towers, and stretching iron chains cross the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaeta to come and defend the coasts and port of Ostia, without neglecting the prudent precaution of taking hostages of them, knowing perfectly well that those who have sufficient strength to assist, are frequently powerful enough to hurt. He visited every post himself, and received the Saracens at their descent, not in a military equipage, as Goslin, bishop of Paris, had done on a more pressing occasion, but as a pontif that exhorted a Christian people, and as a king that watched over the security of his subjects. He was a Roman by birth; and the courage of the early ages of the republic, seemed to be revived in him, at a time of cowardice and corruption; like <sup>849.</sup> one of the beautiful monuments of antient Rome, which are sometimes found in the ruins of the modern city. His courage and care were seconded by his people; they gave a warm reception to the Saracens upon their landing; and one half of their ships having been dispersed by a tempest, a part of

those invaders who had escaped shipwreck, were made slaves. The pope rendered his victory the more useful, by employing those very barbarians, that were come to demolish the walls of Rome, in repairing the fortifications and improving the public edifices of the city. Yet the Mahometans still continued in possession of part of the coast, between Capua and Gaieta, but rather as a nest of independent Corsairs, than in the quality of disciplined conquerors.

In the ninth century therefore, I behold the Mahometans grown formidable at the same time to Rome and to Constantinople, masters of Persia, Syria, and Arabia, of the whole coast of Africa, so far as mount Atlas, and of three fourths of Spain. But these conquerors did not constitute one nation, as the Romans, who in extending their arms almost as far, still composed only one people.

Under the famous caliph Almamon, about the year 815, a little after the death of Charlemain, Egypt became independent, and another caliph fixed his residence at Grand Cairo. The prince of Mauritania Tingitana, under the title of *Miramolin* \*, was absolute sovereign of the empire of Morocco. Nubia and Lybia were subject to another *caliph*. The Abderamens, who had founded the kingdom of Cordova, could not hinder the rest of the Moors from erecting that of Toledo. All these new dynasties paid a re-

\* *Miramolin* is a name given to the kings of Africa, of the race of the Almoravides. It was Abu-Techisien, king of Morocco, that first took the name of *Amir-el-Mumenim*, that is, commander or prince of the faithful, whence by corruption has been formed the name of *Miramolin*.

spect to the caliph as the successor of their prophet. Thus as the Christians crowded in pilgrimage to Rome, the Mahometans from all parts of the world flocked to Mecca, which was governed by a *cherif*\*, whom the caliph appointed; and it was principally on account of this pilgrimage that the caliph, as master of Mecca, was revered by all the princes of his persuasion. But these princes, by distinguishing their religion from their political interests, divested the caliph of his power at the same time that they affected to pay him homage.



C H A P. XIX.

*Of the empire of Constantinople in the eighth and ninth centuries.*

**W**HILE the empire of Charlemaign was falling to pieces, and the western world was laid waste by the inundations of the Saracens and the Normans, the empire of Constantinople subsisted like a large tree, still vigorous, though old and stripped of some of its branches, and assailed on every side by violent storms. This empire had nothing left in Africa, and had lost Syria with part of Asia Minor. It still defended its frontiers against the Mahometans towards the eastern coast of the Black Sea; and fighting with alternate success it might at least have maintained its ground, by being always inured to war. But it was ravaged by other enemies towards the Danube and on the western coast of the Black

\* An Arabic word, signifying *high in birth or dignity.*

Sea. A Scythian nation, called Abari, or Avari, the Bulgarians likewise, another tribe of Scythians, from whom Bulgaria has taken its name, laid the fruitful province of Romania waste, in which Adrian and Trajan had built so many fine cities, and those high roads of which there are only a few causeways now remaining.

The Abari, who were dispersed in Hungary and in Austria, at one time made incursions into the eastern empire, and at other times invaded that of Charlemaign. Thus from the borders of Persia to those of France, the earth was exposed to almost continual incursions.

While the frontiers of the Greek empire were daily straightened and ravaged, the capital was a theatre of revolutions and all manner of crimes. The reigning character at court consisted of a mixture of Greek cunning and Thracian ferocity. In a word, what a sad spectacle does Constantinople exhibit to our view? Maurice and his five children massacred: Phocas assassinated in punishment for his murders and incests: Constantine poisoned by the empress Martina, whose tongue is plucked out while they cut off the nose of her son Heracleonas: Constans killed by his domestics in a bath: Constantine Pogonatus putting out the eyes of both his brothers: his son Justinian II. who was very near acting the same scene at Constantinople as that of Theodosius at Thessalonica, seized, mutilated, and laid in irons by Leontius, at the very moment he was going to massacre the principal citizens: Leontius soon after treated in the same manner as he had used Justinian II: this  
Justinian

Justinian reinstated, feasting his eyes with the blood of his enemies in the public forum, and dying at length by the hands of an executioner: Philip Bardanes dethroned and condemned to lose his sight: Leo Isaurus, and Constantine Copronymus dying indeed in their beds, but after a sanguinary reign, equally disgraceful to the prince, and fatal to the subjects: the empress Irene, the first woman that ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and the first that murdered her son for the ambition of reigning: Nicephorus her successor, detested by his subjects, taken prisoner by the Bulgarians, beheaded, his body exposed in prey to the wild beasts, and his skull converted into a cup for his conqueror: in fine, the emperor Michael Curopalatus, cotemporary of Charlemagne, confined in a monastery, and dying less cruelly indeed, but more ignominiously than his predecessors. Thus the empire was governed during the space of 200 years. Where is there a history or account of banditti publicly executed for their crimes, that can be more horrid and more distasteful?

Yet we must proceed: in the ninth century, we see Leo the Armenian, a brave warrior, but an enemy to images, assassinated at mass while he was singing an anthem: his murderers, proud of having destroyed an heretic, repair to the public jail to release an officer named Michael the Stammerer, who had been condemned to death by the senate, but instead of being executed, was invested with the Imperial diadem. This was the prince, who falling in love with a nun, caused the senate to intreat him to marry her, which was done without the opposition of any one



bishop. The fact is so much the more deserving of our attention, as almost at the same time we have an instance of Euphemius in Sicily, severely prosecuted for a marriage of the same sort ; and as some time after, the legitimate marriage of the emperor Leo the philosopher was condemned at Constantinople. Where is the country then that could boast of laws and manners ? None surely in our western part of the world.

The antient dispute about images still disturbed the empire. The court sometimes favoured, and sometimes opposed the worship of them, according to the general bent of the people. Michael the Stammerer began with the consecration of images, and closed his reign with their demolition.

His successor Theophilus, who reigned about 12 years, from 829 to 842 declared against this worship. It has been reported, that he did not believe the resurrection, and that he denied the divinity of Christ. It is possible that an emperor might have been of such a way of thinking : but are we to take the character, I will not say of princes, but even of private men, upon the evidence of their enemies, who without producing proof of any one fact, decry the religion and morals of men that happen to differ from them in opinion ?

This Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was almost the only emperor who had peaceably succeeded his father for two centuries. Under him the image worshippers were more persecuted than ever. By these long persecutions it is easy to conclude, that the sentiments of the people were divided.

It

It is observable, that two women were the restorers of images. One was the empress Irene, widow of Leo IV. and the other the empress Theodora, widow of Theophilus.

Theodora, mistress of the eastern empire during the minority of her son Michael, persecuted the enemies of image worship in her turn: she even carried her zeal or policy to a greater length. There were still in Asia Minor a great number of Manicheans who lived quietly, because the fury of enthusiasm, which rages seldom but among new sects, was then spent. These people had enriched themselves by commerce; and whether their opinions or their estates were aimed at, this is certain, that the court published severe edicts against them, which were executed with the utmost cruelty. Their original fanaticism returned with the persecution; so that many thousands of them died under torments, and the rest growing desperate, took up arms and revolted. Above 40,000 of them went over <sup>846.</sup> to the Mahometans. Thus these Manicheans, who before that time had been such peaceable subjects, became implacable enemies of the empire, and joining with the Saracens ravaged all Asia Minor up to the very gates of the Imperial city, which had been depopulated by a dreadful pestilence in 842, so as to be an object of pity.

The plague, strictly so called, is, as well as the small-pox, of the growth of Africa; and from thence it is always communicated by merchant ships. It would certainly ravage all Europe, were it not for the wise precautions that are taken in our ports; and probably it was through want

of attention in the government, that this contagion reached the Imperial city.

This very inattention exposed the empire to another scourge. The Rossi or Ruffi embarked at the port, now called Asoph, and ravaged all the coasts of the Euxine sea. On the other hand, the Arabs pushed their conquests beyond Armenia, and as far as Asia Minor. At length Michael the Young, after a cruel and unfortunate reign, was assassinated by Basilus, whom he had raised from a very mean station, and made his associate in the empire.

Basilus's administration was not much happier. This reign is the æra of the great schism, which separated the Greek from the Latin church.

The grievances of the empire were not much redressed under Leo, called the Philosopher; he had this title given him, not that he was an Antoninus, a Marcus Aurelius, a Julian, an Aaron Rachild, an Alfred, but because of his learning. He is said to have been the first that opened the way for the Turks, who a long time afterwards made themselves masters of Constantinople.

It is a question, whether the Turks, who afterwards fought against the Saracens, but uniting at length with that nation, became their chief support, and subverted the Greek empire; whether the Turks, I say, had sent colonies already into those countries that border upon the Danube? We have scarce any true history of these emigrations of barbarians.

In all likelihood this is the manner of life that mankind led for many successions of ages. Scarce had a country received a little cultivation, but it

was invaded by a hungry people, who were driven from thence in their turn by some other nation. Did not the Gauls make a descent upon Italy? and did not they penetrate as far as Asia Minor? And have not twenty different swarms come from Great Tartary in search of new lands?

But notwithstanding so many disasters, Constantinople still for a long time continued, of all the cities in Christendom, the most opulent, the most populous, and the most celebrated for the polite arts. Its very situation by which it has the command of two seas, necessarily rendered it a place of trade. The plague in 842, though so greatly destructive, was not a lasting scourge. Cities where commerce flourishes, and a court resides, are easily re-peopled from the neighbouring provinces. Neither the mechanic nor the liberal arts are in danger of being lost in a great metropolis, where the wealth of the nation generally centers.

These sudden revolutions of state, and the barbarities of so many emperors massacred by one another, are storms which seldom fall on men in retirement, who quietly cultivate such professions as do not attract the envy of the great.

The riches of the empire were not exhausted: it is said, that in 857, Theodora, mother of the emperor Michael, on being deposed against her will from the regency, and treated very near in the same manner by her son, as Mary of Medicis was in our days by Lewis XIII. gave the emperor to understand, that there was in the exchequer a hundred and nine thousand pounds weight of gold, and three hundred thousand pounds of silver.

A prudent administration might therefore have still been able to support the empire. It was contracted, but not dismembered, and though frequently changing emperors, yet always united under the person invested with the purple. In short, it was richer, had more internal resources, and greater power than that of Germany; yet it is no more, and the German empire still subsists.



## C H A P. XX.

*Of Italy and the popes with the divorce of Lotharius king of Lorrain, and the rest of the affairs of the church in the eighth and ninth centuries.*

**L**EST we should lose the thread of our history in such a multitude of events, let us remember, how prudently the popes conducted themselves under Pepin and Charlemaign, how dexterously they stifled all religious quarrels, and in what manner each of them insensibly established the foundations of the pontifical grandeur.

Their power was already grown very considerable, since Gregory IV. repaired the port of Ostia, and Leo IV. fortified Rome at their own expences. But every pope could not be a great man, nor could every conjuncture be favourable to their views. Each vacancy of the papal see produced almost as many commotions as the election of a king does in Poland. The pope elect was obliged at the same time to keep fair with the Roman senate, with the people, and the emperor. The Roman nobility had a great share in

in the government; for they elected two consuls every year, and created a prefect, who was a kind of tribune of the people. They had a court of twelve senators, who named the principal officers of the dutchy of Rome. This municipal government had sometimes more, and at other times less authority. The popes were possessed rather of a high degree of credit, than of a legislative power.

Though they were not sovereigns of Rome, yet they lost no opportunity of acting as sovereigns of the western church. The bishops pretended to pronounce judgment on kings, and the pope on bishops. This clashing of authority, this insufficiency of the laws, this mixture of religion, superstition, weakness, and vice, triumphant in all the courts of Europe, cannot be represented in stronger colours than by a narrative of the marriage and divorce of Lotharius king of Lorrain, nephew of Charles the Bald.

Charlemaign had repudiated one of his wives, and married another not only with the approbation, but at the earnest request of pope Stephen. The kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, and Dagobert, had had several wives living at the same time; and yet no body complained: if it was a scandal, it was such a one as created no uneasiness. But time makes great alterations: Lotharius, who had married Teutberga, daughter of a duke of Burgundia Transjurana, pretends to repudiate her for being guilty of incest with her brother, and to marry his mistress Valrade. This whole transaction is attended with most extraordinary circumstances. First of all, Queen Teutberga clears herself by the trial of boiling water.

water. Her advocate thrusts his hand into a vessel, and picks up a consecrated ring without being hurt. The king complains of foul play on this occasion. It is beyond all doubt that if the trial was really performed, the advocate must have been acquainted with the secret of preparing the skin; to resist the action of boiling water: the whole secret is said to consist in rubbing ones self a long time with the spirit of vitriol, and allum, together with the juice of an onion. None of the academies of sciences in our days, have attempted to verify by experiments a truth well known to quacks and mountebanks.

The success of this trial was reckoned a miracle, and the judgment of God himself; yet Teutberga, though cleared by heaven, acknowledges to several bishops, and in the presence of her father confessor, that she is guilty of the charge. It is not at all likely, that a king, who wanted to part from his wife upon an accusation of adultery, should think of charging her with committing incest with her brother, unless the fact was public. He would hardly go to forge a crime, so unnatural, so extraordinary, and so difficult to prove: besides in those days they must have been utterly insensible of what we call honour. Both the king and queen covered themselves with infamy, the former by his accusation, the latter by her confession. Two national councils were assembled, which permitted the divorce.

Pope Nicholas I. annuls the resolution of the two councils; and deposes Gontier, archbishop of Cologne, who had been the most active in the affair of the divorce. Gontier immediately writes to

to all the churches, " Though lord Nicholas, " who is called pope, and who looks upon him- " self as pope and emperor, hath excommuni- " cated us, yet we have withstood his folly," and afterwards addressing his discourse to the pope himself, " We do not acquiesce, he says, to " your cursed sentence, we despise it, we even cast " you out of our communion, being satisfied " with that of our brethren the bishops whom " you contemn, &c."

A brother of the archbishop of Cologne carried this protest himself to Rome, and laid it upon St. Peter's tomb, sword in hand. But the political state of affairs having changed soon afterwards, the bishop changed also. He came to mount Cassino to prostrate himself before pope Adrian, successor to Nicholas. " I declare, said he, be- " fore God, and before his saints, and to you, " lord Adrian, sovereign pontif, as well as to " the bishops subject to your jurisdiction, and to " the whole assembly, that I humbly submit to " the sentence of deposition canonically denoun- " ced against me by pope Nicholas, &c." It is easy to see what an accession of strength an example of this kind must have given to the pretensions of the church of Rome; especially as the conjunctures of the times rendered these examples frequent.

The same Nicholas I. excommunicated the second wife of Lotharius, and commands this prince to take his first wife again to his bed. All Europe was involved in the quarrel. And first of all, the emperor Lewis II. brother of Charles the Bald, and uncle to Lotharius, declares violently in favour of his nephew against the pope.

This



869.

This emperor residing at that time in Italy, threatens Nicholas I.; some blood is spilt on the occasion, and Italy is alarmed. They negotiate, they cabal on both sides. Teutberga goes to plead her cause at Rome; her rival Valrade undertakes the journey, but dares not finish it. The excommunicated Lotharius sets out for the same city, and submits to ask pardon of Adrian II. successor to Nicholas I. apprehending lest his uncle Charles the Bald, who was in arms against him in behalf of the church, should seize on his kingdom of Lorrain. Adrian II. upon admitting him to the holy communion at Rome, makes him swear that he has not bedded with Valrade, since the orders he had received from pope Nicholas to forbear any further concern with her. Lotharius makes oath accordingly, receives the sacrament, and dies a short while after. All historians agree in observing that his death was a punishment for his crime; and that his servants who forswore themselves at the same time, died within the year.

The right which Nicholas I. and Adrian II. exercised on this occasion, was founded on the false decretals, which were already considered as an universal code. As the civil contract which unites the married pair, had been made a sacrament, it was consequently subject to the decision of the church.

This is the first scandalous affair in regard to the marriage of crowned heads in the West. Since that time, there were instances of excommunications pronounced by the pope against Robert, Philip I. and Philip Augustus, all three kings of France, for nearly the same cause,

or

or for marriages contracted between very distant relations. Long had the bishops of the kingdom claimed the privilege of deciding these causes; the supreme pontiffs always evoked them to Rome.

We do not pretend to examine whether these new institutes be useful or dangerous; we do not write either as a civilian, or a controvertist; but this we can aver, that every country in Christendom hath been disturbed with these scandalous disputes. In this respect the antient Romans, and the oriental nations were far more happy. Neither the rights of fathers of families, nor the secrets of marriage beds, were ever exposed to public curiosity. They never heard of any such law suits about marriage or divorce.

This descendant of Charlemain was the first that went to plead before a foreign judge, three hundred miles from home, to know which woman he ought to love. The people had like to have been ruined by this dispute. Lewis the Debonnair was the first instance of the power of bishops over the emperors. Lotharius of Lorrain was the first example of the power of popes over bishops. From the history of those days it follows plainly that there were hardly any established rules of society among western nations, that the laity had but few laws, and that the church would fain have the legislative power.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Of Photius, and the schism between the eastern and western churches.*

**T**HE weightiest affair the church had then upon her hands, and which is still to this very day of the greatest importance to her, was the origin of the total separation of the Greeks from the Latins. As the patriarchal see of Constantinople was, like the throne, the object of ambition, it was subject to the same revolutions. The emperor Michael III. dissatisfied with Ignatius the patriarch, obliged him to sign his own degradation, and substituted in his place Photius, eunuch of the palace, a person of noble birth, a vast genius, and a man of universal learning. He was master of the horse and minister of state. In order to ordain him patriarch, the bishops made him pass in six days through all the degrees. The first day he was made monk, because the monks were considered at that time as constituting part of the hierarchy; the second he was made lecturer; the third subdeacon, afterwards deacon, priest, and at length patriarch on Christmas-day, in the year 858.

Pope Nicholas sided with Ignatius, and excommunicated Photius. He condemned him chiefly for having passed from a layman's state to that of a bishop with such rapidity: but Photius justly answered, that St. Ambrose, governor of Milan, and scarce a Christian, had with still greater rapidity joined the episcopal dignity to that of governor; he likewise excommunicated the pope in his turn, and declared him deposed. He then

then assumed the title of œcumenical patriarch, and loudly accused the western bishops of heresy for communicating with the pope. The greatest objection he brought against them, was their believing the procession from the Father and the Son. *Men*, says he in one of his letters, *who are the offspring of western darkness, have ruined every thing by their ignorance. To complete their impiety, they have added some words to the sacred symbol which has been authorized by all the councils, by saying that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Father only, but likewise from the Son, which is renouncing Christianity.*

By this and a great many other passages, we see what superiority the Greeks at that time affected over the Latins. They pretended that Rome was indebted for every thing to the Greek church, even for the names of customs, ceremonies, mysteries, and dignities. *Baptism, eucharist, liturgy, diocese, parish, bishop, priest, deacon, monk, ecclesiastic*, are all of Greek derivation. In short, they looked upon the Latins as ignorant scholars, who had rebelled against their masters.

The other subjects of anathema were, that the Latins made use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, that they eat eggs and cheese in Lent, and their priests did not shave their beards. Very odd reasons for creating such a breach between the eastern and western churches!

But every impartial judge must acknowledge, that Photius was not only the most learned man in the church, but moreover a very great bishop. He behaved just as St. Ambrose had done, when Basil, the murderer of the emperor Michael, appeared in the church of St. Sophia: *You are unworthy*, 867.

said he, with a loud voice, *to approach the sacred mysteries, you whose hands are still imbrued in the blood of your benefactor.* Photius did not find another Theodosius in Basil: this tyrant did an act of justice purely out of revenge; he restored Ignatius to the patriarchal see, and banished Photius. Rome availed herself of this conjuncture to call the eighth general council at Constantinople, composed of three hundred bishops. The legates presided there, but did not understand a word of Greek, and very few of the other bishops understood Latin. Photius was by the whole assembly condemned as an intruder, and obliged to do public penance. The five patriarchs signed before the popes legates; which is very extraordinary; for since the legates had the first place, they ought to have signed the first. But during the whole session, the questions which divided the eastern and western churches were not canvassed; all their aim was to depose Photius.

Some time after, upon the death of the legitimate patriarch Ignatius, Photius had the address to prevail upon the emperor Basilus, to reinstate him. Pope John VIII. received him into his communion, acknowledged him as patriarch, corresponded with him; and notwithstanding this eighth œcumenical council, which had anathematized the patriarch, the pope sent his legates to another council, at Constantinople, in which Photius was declared innocent by four hundred bishops, three hundred of whom had before signed his condemnation. The very legates of this same see of Rome, who had formerly anathematized him, were instrumental in annulling this eighth œcumenical council. How changeable

is the mind of man! How often is falsity transformed into truth! The legates of John VIII. loudly declared in full council: *Whosoever will not acknowledge Photius, let his portion be with Judas.* The council declares, *long live the patriarchs Photius and John.*

In a word, we find in the acts of this council, a letter from the pope to this learned patriarch, wherein he tells him; *we think as you do; those who have added to the Constantinopolitan creed, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, are by us considered as transgressors of the word of God, and we rank them with Judas; but we think at the same time that we ought to treat them with lenity, and exhort them to renounce this blasphemous doctrine.*

It is therefore evident that the Roman and Greek churches thought differently at that time from what they do at present. Rome happened afterwards to adopt the procession from the Father and the Son; and it happened also in 1274, that the Greek emperor Michael Paleologus, wanting the assistance of a new crusade against the Turks, sent his patriarch and chancellor to the second council of Lyons, where they joined with the council in singing in Latin, *qui ex patre filioque procedit.* But the Greek church returned again to her old opinion, which she seemed once more to abandon, on occasion of the reunion with Eugene IV. which proved but of very short duration. Let mankind learn from hence to bear with one another: here they may see variations and disputes on a fundamental point, which raised no disturbances, filled no prisons, and lighted no faggots.

This condescension of pope John VIII. to the patriarch

patriarch Photius has been severely censured, but without reflecting that the pontif at that time stood greatly in need of the emperor Basilus. A king of Bulgaria, named Bogbris, yielding to the solicitations of his wife who was a Christian, embraced this religion after the example of Clovis and king Egbert. The question was then to know on which patriarchate this new Christian province should depend; the dispute was between Constantinople and Rome; and the emperor Basilus was to decide. This is in part the motive of the indulgence and condescension which the bishop of Rome shewed to the bishop of Constantinople.

We must not forget to mention that there were *cardinals* in this as well as in the preceding council: this was a title then given to priests and deacons, who assisted the metropolitans with their advice. There were some of them at Rome as well as in other churches; and though they made a figure even at that time, yet they signed after the bishops and the abbots.

The pope both in his letters and by his legates gave the title of *holiness* to the patriarch Photius: the other patriarchs are likewise in this council called *popes*. This is a Greek appellation, which was common at first to all priests, but by degrees it became the distinguishing title of the metropolitan of Rome.

John VIII. seems to have managed his affairs with great dexterity and prudence: but his successors having quarrelled with the Greek empire, they adopted the eighth general council of 869, and rejected the other, which had acquitted Photius; a step that broke the peace established by  
John

John VIII. Photius then exclaimed against the church of Rome, and charged it with heresy in regard to the article *filiusque procedit*, to eating eggs in Lent, to using unleavened bread in the sacrament, and several other customs. But the grand point of separation was the supremacy. Photius and his successors wanted to be the first bishops in Christendom; and could not endure that the bishop of Rome, a city which they looked upon at that time as barbarous, separated from the empire by its rebellion, and exposed as a prey to the first invader, should dispute the precedence with the bishop of the Imperial city. At that time the patriarch of Constantinople had all the dioceses of Sicily and Apulia under his jurisdiction; while the holy see having fallen under a foreign dominion, had been despoiled of its patrimony in those provinces, and at the same time of its metropolitan rights. The Greek church held that of Rome in contempt. Learning flourished at Constantinople; but at Rome all literature, and even the Latin tongue was fallen to decline: and though they knew somewhat more in this capital than in the other parts of the West, still that little knowledge had a tincture of those calamitous times. The Greeks took ample revenge of that superiority, which the Latins had had over them, from the time of Lucretius and Cicero down to Cornelius Tacitus. They no longer mentioned the Romans but with a strain of irony. The bishop Luitprandus, who was sent on an embassy to Constantinople by the Othos, takes notice that the Greeks called Gregory the Great by no other name than that of Gregory the Dialogist; because indeed his dialogues shew him to have been a  
man



man of too much simplicity. But time has produced a total change. The pope is now a great sovereign; Rome is grown the seat of the polite arts; and the Latin church is famed for learning: while the patriarch of Constantinople is no more than a slave, and the pastor of a servile flock.

Photius, whose life was a scene of more adversity than glory, was deposed by court intrigues, and died miserable; yet his successors adhered to his pretensions, and maintained them with vigour.

Pope John VIII. made still a more miserable end: the annals of Fulda take notice that he was knocked on the head with a hammer. In succeeding times we shall often behold the pontifical see imbrued in blood; while Rome continued the object of foreign ambition, and general pity.

The western church was not yet troubled with dogmatic disputes; there is little more than the bare mention made of a trifling theological contest started in 814, by one John Godescalcus, concerning predestination and grace. I should not take notice of an epidemical folly, with which the people of Dijon were seized in 844, on occasion of the convulsions caused by St. Benignus in the people, while they were praying over his tomb: I should not, I say, take notice of this popular superstition, if it had not been furiously revived in our times under almost the same circumstances. It seems as if a kind of fate had determined, that the same follies should from time to time make their appearance on this great stage of the world: but good sense is also the same in all times; and there has been nothing so judiciously advanced concerning the modern miracles of St. Medard at Paris, as what a bishop of Lyons said in 844 in regard

regard to those of Dijon : “ This is a strange sort  
“ of saint indeed, that maims those who pay their  
“ addresses to him : I should think that miracles  
“ ought to be performed rather for the curing,  
“ than for the inflicting of maladies.”

These trifles did not disturb the peace of the West ; for Rome did not busy herself then about theological quarrels, her whole aim was the increase of her temporal dominion. They made more noise in the East, because the clergy had no temporal power in that part of the world, and therefore endeavoured to make a figure by paper wars. There is yet another cause to be assigned of the theological tranquillity of the West, namely, the great ignorance of that age, which produced this good however, among an infinite number of evils.



## C H A P. XXII.

*State of the western empire towards the end of the ninth century.*

**T**HE empire of the West subsisted only in name. Arnold, or Arnolf, a bastard son of Carloman, made himself master of Germany : but Italy was divided between two lords, both of the blood of Charlemaign by the females : one<sup>888.</sup> was a duke of Spoleto, named Guy ; the other Berenger, duke of Friuli ; both invested with these duchies by Charles the Bald, and both pretenders to the empire as well as to the kingdom of France. Arnold, in quality of Emperor, looked

VOL. I.

K

upon

upon France as belonging to him of right, while this kingdom, severed from the empire, was divided betwixt Charles the Simple, who was losing it, and king Eudes, great uncle of Hugh Capet, who was usurping it.

804. One Bozo, king of Arles, also disputed the empire. Formosus, bishop of the unfortunate city of Rome, had so little weight at that time, that he was obliged to give the sacred unction to the strongest. He crowned this Guy of Spoleto; the following year he crowned Berenger who happened to be conqueror; and at length he was forced to crown this Arnold, who besieged Rome, and took it by storm. The equivocal oath which the Romans took to Arnold, shews that the popes already pretended to the sovereignty of Rome. It was couched in these words: "I swear by the holy mysteries, " that without prejudice to my honour, the laws " of my country, and my fealty to his lordship " pope Formosus, I shall be faithful to the empe- " ror Arnold."

The popes at that time in some measure resembled the caliphs of Bagdat, who were revered by all Mahometan states as the heads of their religion, and yet had no other privilege than that of granting investitures of kingdoms to those who demanded them with sword in hand: but there was this difference between these caliphs and those popes, that the caliphs were upon their decline, and the popes were rising.

In reality the empire no longer subsisted, neither in right nor in fact. The Romans, who with a general acclamation had submitted themselves to Charlemagne, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty

reignty of bastards, foreigners, and persons who were hardly masters of a small part of Germany.

In spite of their humiliation, and their intermixture with such a number of foreigners, they still preserved, as they do to this day, a secret kind of haughtiness in consequence of their former grandeur. They could not bear that the Bructeri, the Catti, the Marcomanni, should call themselves successors of the Cæsars, and that the banks of the Mein, and the Hercynian forest, should be the center of the empire of Titus and Trajan.

They were struck with indignation, and at the same time they contemptuously sneered, upon hearing, that after the death of Arnold, his son Hiludovic, whom the French call Lewis, had been <sup>900.</sup> created emperor of the Romans at three or four years of age in a barbarous village, named Forcheim, by some German lords and bishops. This infant was never reckoned in the list of emperors; and yet the Germans looked upon him as one who was to succeed to Charlemaign and the Cæsars. Indeed this was a strange sort of Roman empire, a government that neither possessed the countries between the Rhine and the Maese, nor France, nor Burgundy, nor Spain, nor any part of Italy, nor even so much as a house in Rome that could be said to belong to the emperor.

From the time of this Lewis, the last German prince of the bastard blood of Charlemaign, and who died in 912, the empire being confined to Germany, was in the same condition as France, a country depopulated by civil and foreign wars; under a prince tumultuously elected and ill obeyed.

All governments are subject to revolutions: it was an amazing one to see part of those savage Saxons, who were treated by Charlemaign as the Helotes by the Lacedæmonians; to see them, I say, in the space of 112 years, bestowing and assuming the Imperial dignity, which was no longer in the family of their conqueror. Otho, duke of Saxony, after the death of Lewis, by his credit and interest put the German crown, as it is said, on the head of Conrad, duke of Franconia; and after the death of Conrad, Henry the Fowler, son of duke Otho of Saxony, was elected emperor. These elections were made by those who were grown hereditary princes in Germany, in conjunction with the bishops; and sometimes the principal inhabitants of the several cities were also desired to give their votes.



## C H A P. XXIII.

*Of feudal tenures, and the empire.*

**F**ORCE, which directs every thing in this world, had rendered the Romans masters of Italy and Gaul. Barbarous nations rose up, and usurped their conquests. Charlemaign's father usurped Gaul from the kings of the Franks. Under Charlemaign's descendants, the governors of provinces usurped all they could. The kings of the Lombards had already established the feudal tenures in Italy: and this was the plan by which the dukes and counts, after the reign of Charles the Bald, were directed. By degrees their governments

vernments became hereditary. The bishops of several considerable sees, already powerful by their dignity, had only one step further to take in order to become princes; and this step was soon taken. From thence arises the temporal power of the bishops of Mentz, Cologne, Triers, Wurtzburg, and of so many others in Germany and France. The archbishops of Rheims, Lyons, Beauvais, Langres, and Laon, usurped the royal prerogatives. But this power of the dignified clergy did not last long in France; though in Germany it has been for many years confirmed. In short, even abbots themselves became princes, such as the abbots of Fulda, St. Gal, Kempten, Corbie, &c. They were now petty kings in a country, where fourscore years before they and their monks manured some lands, which had been bestowed upon them by the charitable proprietors. All these lords, dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, yielded homage to the sovereign. The origin of this feudal government has been long the subject of inquiry: in all probability it is derived from no other source than the ancient custom of all nations, of imposing homage and tribute on the weaker side. It is known that the Roman emperors gave away lands in perpetuity to their veterans on certain conditions; of this we have instances in the lives of Alexander Severus and Probus. The Lombards were the first who erected duchies to be held as fiefs of their kingdom: Spoleto and Benevento were hereditary dukedoms under the kings of Lombardy.

Before the time of Charlemaign, Tassillo was possessed of the dukedom of Bavaria on condition of homage; and this dukedom would have de-

scended to his posterity, if Charlemaign, after having subdued this prince, had not dispossessed both the father and his children.

There were no free towns at that time in Germany, consequently there was no trade nor opulence. The cities were not even surrounded with walls. This state, which might have been so formidable, was rendered so impotent by the number and division of its several petty princes, that the emperor Conrad was obliged to promise an annual tribute to the Hungarians, Huns, or Pannonians, a people who had been awed by Charlemaign, and who were afterwards so greatly humbled by the emperors of the house of Austria. But at that period of time they seemed to be just the same nation as they had been under Attila. They ravaged Germany and the frontiers of France; they made incursions into Italy through Tirol, after plundering Bavaria; and then returned to their own country, loaded with the spoils of so many nations.

It was in the reign of Henry the Fowler, that Germany became in some measure a more orderly state. Its limits were then the river Oder, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, the banks of the Rhine, the Scheld, the Moselle, the Maese; and Pomerania and Holstein were its barriers towards the north.

920. Henry the Fowler was very deserving of the Imperial crown. Under him the lords of Germany, who had been so divided, were reunited. The first fruit of this reunion was the abolition of the tribute paid to the Hungarians, in consequence of a signal victory obtained over this formidable nation. He caused most of the cities of Germany to be walled round;

round; and established a militia. He is supposed to be the inventor of some military games, which gave the first idea of tournaments. In short, Germany began to recover herself, but did not seem to pretend to the Roman empire. Henry the Fowler had been consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz; at which ceremony neither the pope's legate, nor any deputy from the people of Rome, were present. It seems as if Germany during this whole reign had lost sight of Italy.

But the case was different under Otho the Great, whom the German princes, the bishops and abbots, unanimously elected emperor after the death of his father. The undisputed heir of a potent prince, who has been the founder or restorer of a state, is generally more powerful than his father, unless he is deficient in courage; for he enters upon a career already opened to him, and he begins where his predecessors finished. Thus Alexander went farther than Philip, Charlemaign farther than Pepin, and Otho the Great far excelled Henry the Fowler.



## C H A P. XXIV.

### *Of Otho the Great in the tenth century.*

**O**THO having partly restored the empire of Charlemaign, followed the example of that prince in extending the Christian religion in Germany by force of arms. He compelled the Danes to pay tribute to him, and to submit to  
K 4 baptism,



baptism, which had been preached to them a century before, but the memory of which was now almost intirely abolished.

948. These Danes or Normans, after conquering Neustria and England, and ravaging France and Germany, were obliged to yield to Otho. He appointed bishops in Denmark, who at first were subject to the archbishop of Hamburg, metropolitan of the churches of those Barbarians, which had been founded lately in Holstein, Sweden, and Denmark: the whole of their Christianity consisted in making the sign of the cross. After an obstinate war he subdued Bohemia: it is since his time that this last kingdom, and even Denmark, were considered as provinces of the empire; but the Danes soon shook off the yoke.

Otho was now the most powerful sovereign in the West, and the umpire of princes. So great was his authority, and so deplorable at that time was the state of France, that *Lewis d'outremer*, or *Lewis from beyond sea*, son of Charles the Simple, and a descendant of Charlemaign, repaired in person in 948 to a council of bishops held by Otho in the neighbourhood of Mentz, where this king of France delivered himself in these very words, as recorded in the acts: "I have been  
 " acknowledged as king, and crowned, by the  
 " votes of all the lords and nobility of France.  
 " Yet Hugh has chased me away, after taking  
 " me prisoner in a fraudulent manner, and con-  
 " fining me a whole year; nor could I obtain  
 " my liberty, without surrendering to him the  
 " town of Laon, the only place left to queen  
 " Gerberga, to keep her court together with my  
 " servants. If he pretends that I have commit-  
 " ted

“ ted any crime to deserve such treatment, I am  
 “ ready to abide by the judgment of a council of  
 “ bishops, and according to the orders of king  
 “ Otho, or to decide the affair by single combat.”

This important speech proves several points ; viz. the power of Otho, the weakness of France, the custom of single combats, and in short the practice lately introduced of conferring the crown not by right of blood, but by the votes of the nobility, a practice soon abolished in France.

Such was the power of Otho the Great, when he was invited to pass the Alps by the Italians themselves : by the Italians, a people ever factious and feeble, who could neither submit to be governed by their countrymen, nor recover their freedom, nor defend themselves against the Saracens, and Hungarians, who still infested Italy by their incursions.

Yet Italy, even in its ruinous state, was still the richest and most flourishing country in the West : it was weakened by the divisions of petty tyrants ; but in those divisions Rome took always the lead of the other cities. They who are acquainted with the state of Paris during the minority of Lewis XIV. and much more so under Charles the *Mad*, as also with the distracted condition of England under Charles I. may be able to form an idea of Rome in the tenth century. The holy see was oppressed, disgraced, and imbrued in blood ; the papal elections being conducted in such a manner, as is absolutely unparalleled in history.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Of the Popedom in the tenth century, before Otto the Great made himself master of Rome.*

**S**UCH scandal and divisions, as those with which the see of Rome was disgraced in the tenth century, and which continued for a long time after, neither happened under the Greek or Latin emperors, nor under the Gothic kings, nor under the kings of the Lombards, nor in the reign of Charlemaign. They are the plain consequence of anarchy; and this very anarchy was owing to the measures which the popes had taken to prevent it, to their policy in calling the Franks into Italy. Had the bishops of Rome been really possessed of all the lands, which Charlemaign is said to have given them, they would have been princes of greater power than they are even at this day. Order and regularity would have prevailed at their elections, and in their government, as it does at present. But Italy was ever the object of foreign ambition; and the fate of Rome was always uncertain. We must never forget, that the grand design of the Romans was to restore the antient republic; that petty tyrants had started up in Italy and in Rome; that the elections were scarce ever free; and that every thing was governed by factions.

At the time when pope Formosus, son of Leo the priest, was bishop of Porto, he had headed a faction against John VIII. and was twice excommunicated by this pope; but these excommunications, which soon became so terrible to crown-  
ed

ed heads, were so little regarded by Formosus, that he had interest sufficient to procure himself to be elected to the papal dignity in 890.

Stephen VI. or VII. also son of a priest, successor of Formosus, was a man in whom the spirit of fanaticism was joined to that of faction: having all his life hated Formosus, he ordered his body, which had been embalmed, to be dug up, and dressing him in his pontifical habit, summoned him before a council that had been called to pass sentence on the memory of the deceased. The dead pope had counsel allowed him, and his trial having been carried on in form, the corpse was found guilty of having changed sees, and of having quitted the bishopric of Porto for that of Rome: in punishment of this crime, the head was separated from the body by the hands of the public executioner, three of his fingers were cut off, and the body was thrown into the Tiber.

Pope Stephen VI. rendered himself so odious by this horrid and foolish farce, that the friends of Formosus having stirred up the citizens, loaded him with irons, and afterwards strangled him in prison.

The faction opposite to this Stephen caused the body of Formosus to be fished up again, and to be interred a second time with all the pontifical ceremonies.

The minds of the people were inflamed with these disputes: Sergius III. who had filled all Rome with his intrigues to get himself elected pope, was banished by his rival John IX. a friend of Formosus; but being acknowledged supreme pontif after the death of John IX. he condemned Formosus a second time. During these troubles

Theodora, mother of Marozia, whom she afterwards married to the marquis of Tuscany, and of another Theodora, all three famous for their amours, bore the principal sway at Rome. Sergius owed his election intirely to the intrigues of Theodora the mother. While he was pope, he had a son by Marozia, whom he publicly educated in his palace: but he does not appear to have been hated by the Romans, who being naturally a voluptuous people, were more ready to follow than to censure his example.

912. After his decease the two sisters Marozia and Theodora procured the chair of St. Peter for one of their favourites, named Lando; but upon Lando's decease, the young Theodora made interest for her lover John X. bishop of Bologna, and afterwards of Ravenna, and caused him to be elected pope. His having been transferred to different sees, was not alledged as a crime against him, as it had been against Formosus. These popes, though condemned by posterity as wicked bishops, were not bad princes. Far from it: this John X. who owed his election to an amour, was a man of genius and courage; he did more than all his predecessors were able to compass, by driving the Saracens from that part of Italy between Capua and Gaeta.

In order to render this expedition successful, he had the cunning to prevail on the emperor of Constantinople to lend him troops, though this emperor had as much reason to complain of the rebellious Romans as of the Saracens. He made the count of Capua arm his vassals, and got the militia of Tuscany to join him; he then put himself at the head of this army, taking with him a  
young

young son of Marozia and of the marquis Adalbert. After having driven the Mahometans from the neighbourhood of Rome, he wanted also to deliver Italy from the Germans and other foreigners.

Italy was invaded almost at the same time by the Berengers, by a king of Burgundy, and by a king of Arles: but he hindered them all from having any command in Rome. However, after some years were elapsed, Guy, brother by the same venter of Hugh king of Arles, and tyrant of Italy, having married Marozia, who was all powerful at Rome; this very Marozia conspired against the pope, who had been for so long a time her sister's gallant: upon which he was seized, imprisoned, and smothered between two mattresses.

Marozia, now mistress of Rome, caused a person named Leo to be elected pope, whom she murdered in prison at the end of a few months. <sup>929.</sup> Having afterwards given the see of Rome to an obscure fellow, who enjoyed it but two years; at length she conferred the pontifical dignity on John XI. her own son, the fruit of her adulterous commerce with Sergius III.

John XI. was only 24 years of age when his <sup>931.</sup> mother made him pope; she invested him with this dignity merely on condition that he should confine himself entirely to his episcopal functions, and act in the capacity of his mother's chaplain.

It is said, that Marozia poisoned at that time her husband Guy, marquis of Toscanella. This, however, is certain, that she married her husband's brother Hugh, king of Lombardy, and put

put him in possession of Rome, flattering herself, that in conjunction with him she should enjoy the Imperial dignity. But a son of Marozia by a former marriage sided with the Romans against his own mother, and putting himself at their head, drove Hugh out of Rome, and confined Marozia and the pope her son in Adrian's mausoleum, now called the castle of St. Angelo. It is pretended, that John XI. was poisoned in his imprisonment.

Stephen VIII. by birth a German, was chosen in 939; but on the account of his country he proved so odious to the Romans, that a sedition happening to arise, the people slashed his face in such a manner, that he never afterwards could appear in public.

Some time after this, a grandson of Marozia, named Octavianus *Sporco*, was by the interest of his family elected pope at the age of eighteen. He took the name of John XII. out of regard to the memory of his uncle John XI. and is the first pope that changed his name upon his accession to the pontificate. He was not in orders when his family made him pope. This John was a Roman patrician; so that being invested with the same dignity as Charlemaign, by the pontifical see he united both powers, which founded the most legitimate right. But he was young, debauched, and far from being a potent prince.

It is a subject of amazement to many, that under such a number of scandalous and insignificant popes, the see of Rome did not lose either its prerogatives or pretensions; but the reason is, almost every other see was governed at that time in the same manner. The clergy of Italy might despise such popes,

popes, but they respected the popedom, especially as they aspired to that station themselves; in fine, in the public opinion, the dignity was sacred, how execrable soever the person.

While Rome and the church were thus rent in pieces, Berenger, surnamed the *Young*, disputed the government of Italy with Hugh of Arles. The Italians, as Luitprandus, a cotemporary writer expresses himself, always wanted two masters, in order to be really subject to none; a false and unhappy policy, which produced only a continual change of tyrants, as well as of public calamities. Such was the deplorable state of this fine country, when Otho the Great was invited thither by the solicitations and complaints of almost all the Italian cities, and even by this young pope John XII. who was reduced to the necessity of calling in the Germans, a nation so odious to him.



## C H A P. XXVI.

*The reign of the emperor Otho, and the state of Italy continued.*

**O**THO entered Italy, and conducted himself there in the same manner as Charlemain. He overcame Berenger, who aimed at the sovereignty of that country; he obliged John XII. to consecrate and crown him emperor of the Romans, and took the name of Cæsar and Augustus: this pontif was likewise compelled to swear allegiance to him upon the



the tomb where St. Peter's body is said to lye interred. An authentic instrument of this solemn act was drawn up: the clergy and nobility of Rome bound themselves never to chuse a pope, except in the presence of the emperor's commissioners. In this act Otho confirms the donations of Pepin, Charlemaign, and Lewis the Debonnair, but does not specify these disputed donations: "Without prejudice, he says, to our power, nor to that of our son and his descendants." This instrument written in golden letters, and signed by seven bishops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and several Italian prelates, is still preserved in the castle of St. Angelo; the date is the 13th of February 962.

It is affirmed by some, and among the rest by Mezeray, that Lotharius, king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, assisted at this coronation. The kings of France were indeed so weak at that time, that they might serve as an ornament to the coronation of an emperor; but neither Lotharius nor Hugh Capet's names are to be met with among those who signed the instrument.

The pope having thus given himself a master, when he wanted only a protector, was not long faithful to his engagement. He entered into a confederacy against the emperor with that very Berenger, who had taken shelter among the Mahometans lately settled on the coasts of Provence. He invited Berenger's son to Rome, while Otho was at Pavia; he sent likewise to the Hungarians, solliciting them to make an incursion into Germany; but he was not strong enough

enough to support this bold step, and the emperor had power sufficient to punish him.

Otho therefore returned from Pavia to Rome, and having secured the city, he held a council, in which he brought the pope to an account. Instead of trying him by a military law, he convened several German and Roman lords, forty bishops, and seventeen cardinals, in the church of St. Peter; and there, in the presence of the whole people, the holy father was accused of having lain with several women, and especially one Etiennette, who died in child-bed. The other heads of accusation were, that he had ordained a child of ten years bishop of Todi; that he had made a sale of ordinations and benefices; that he had plucked out his godfather's eyes; that he had castrated a cardinal, and afterwards put him to death; in fine, that he did not believe in Jesus Christ, and had invoked the devil: two things which seem to contradict each other. Thus, as it generally happens, they mixed false and true accusations together; but they did not mention a word of the only motive for which this council was assembled. The emperor doubtless was afraid of reviving that revolt and conspiracy, in which even the pope's accusers had been concerned. This young pope, who was then twenty-seven years of age, seemed to have been deposed for his incestuous and scandalous life; but the real cause of his degradation, was the strong desire he and all the Romans had of abolishing the German power in Rome.

Otho could not seize on the person of this pope, or if he could, he committed a great mistake in permitting him to enjoy his liberty. For  
scarce

scarce had he caused Leo VIII. to be elected bishop of Rome, who, if we are willing to believe Arnold bishop of Orleans, was neither a clergyman nor a Christian; scarce had he received homage from this Leo, and quitted Rome, where he ought rather to have resided, when John XII. had the courage to stir up the Romans to revolt, and setting up council against council, they deposed Leo VIII. It was here ordained, *that no inferior could ever degrade his superior.*

By this decision, the pope not only meant, that the bishops and cardinals should never depose the supreme pontif; but he aimed also at the emperor, whom the bishops of Rome always looked upon as a layman, of whom the church had a right to demand that homage and fealty which he required of her. The cardinal, named John, who wrote and read the accusations against the pope, had his right hand cut off. They plucked out the tongue, and cut off the nose and two fingers of the person, who acted as register to the deposing council.

And yet in all these councils, which were animated by the spirit of faction and revenge, they constantly quoted the gospels and the fathers, they implored the light of the Divine Spirit, they pretended to speak in his name, and established some useful regulations: and whoever was to read these acts, without knowing the history, would imagine he was reading the acts of saints.

All these transactions passed almost within sight of the emperor; and who can tell how far this revolution might have been carried by the courage and resentment of the young pontif, by the revolt of the Romans in his favour, and by the aversion  
of

of the other towns in Italy to the Germans? But pope John XII. was murdered within three <sup>964</sup> months after, in the arms of a married woman, whose husband with his own hands revenged the injury done him. He died of his wounds in eight days; and it is said, that not believing in the religion of which he was supreme pontif, he refused to receive the sacrament at his death.

This pope, or rather patrician, had inspired the Romans with such courage, that they ventured, even after his decease, to maintain a siege, and not to surrender but at the last extremity. Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, was master of Italy as well as of Germany.

Pope Leo, created by Otho, together with the senate, the heads of the people, and the clergy of Rome, assembled in a solemn manner in the church of St. John Lateran, confirmed the emperor's right of chusing a successor to the kingdom of Italy, of ratifying the pope's election, and of giving the investiture to bishops. After so many treaties, and oaths, the effects of fear, the emperors ought to have remained at Rome to see them observed.

Scarce was the emperor Otho returned to Germany, when the Romans resolved to regain their freedom: they sent their new pope, who was one of the emperor's creatures, to prison; and the prefect of Rome, the tribunes and senate, took the resolution to revive the antient laws: but what in one time is an heroic enterprize, is considered at another time as a seditious revolt. Otho flew back to Italy, caused a part of the senate to be hanged, and the prefect of Rome, who had resolved to be another Brutus, to be publicly whipped,

whipped, led about naked upon an ass, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died of hunger.



## C H A P. XXVII.

*Of the emperors Otho II. and III. and of Rome.*

**T**HIS was nearly the state of Rome under Otho the Great; Otho II. and Otho III. The Germans held the Romans in subjection, and the Romans broke their chains, as often as they were able.

A pope elected by the emperor's order, or of his nomination, was sure to be detested by the Romans. They had still a notion of restoring the commonwealth; yet this noble ambition was productive of nothing but misery and horror.

Otho II. marches to Rome against his father. What a government! what an empire! what a pontificate! a consul, named Crescentius, son of pope John X. and of the famous Marozia, receiving with this title a hatred to royalty, armed Rome against Otho II. and caused Benedict VI. who was devoted to the emperor, to die in prison: but the authority of Otho, though he himself was at a distance, having, amidst these troubles, given the Roman chair to the chancellor of the empire in Italy, who was made pope under the name of John XIV; this unhappy prelate was a new victim sacrificed by the Roman party. Pope Boniface VI. a creature of the consul Crescentius, already stained with the blood of  
Benedict

Benedict VI. brought John XIV. to his grave. The times of Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius, did not produce more deplorable disasters, nor greater instances of barbarity: but the horrid actions and the calamities of those popes are as obscure as themselves. These bloody tragedies were indeed acted on the Roman stage; but it was when Rome was small and in ruins; those of the Cæsars had for their theatre all the known world.

During these transactions, Otho II. marches to Rome in 981. The popes had heretofore invited the Franks into Italy, and shaken off the yoke of the eastern emperors. What measures do they take now? They strive in appearance to return to their old masters, and having imprudently called in the Saxon emperors, they wanted to drive them out again. This very Boniface VII. went to Constantinople, to solicit the emperors Basil and Constantine, that they would restore the Imperial throne in Italy. Rome was ignorant of her state, ignorant whom she belonged to. The consul Crescentius and the senate would fain re-establish the republic: the pope would have neither a republic nor a master. Otho II. wanted to be sovereign: he therefore enters Rome, and having invited the principal senators, and the consul's adherents to dinner, he caused them all to be murdered, if we can believe Jeffery of Viterbo, in the midst of the entertainment. Thus the pope, by means of his very enemy, got rid of his republican senators; but now he must get rid also of this tyrant. It was not enough for him to have called the Greek emperor's troops into Apulia; he likewise invited the Saracens.

If

If the massacre of the senators at this bloody entertainment, as mentioned by Jeffery, be true, it was doubtless far better to have the Mahometans for his protectors, than this bloody Saxon for his master. Otho was defeated by the Greeks and Saracens; the latter took him prisoner, but he made his escape, and taking advantage of the divisions of his enemies, he returned to Rome, where he died in 983.

After his decease the consul Crescentius for some time maintained the shadow of the Roman republic. He drove Gregory IV. nephew to the emperor Otho III. from the pontifical chair: but at last Rome was besieged and taken; Crescentius having been drawn out of the castle of St. Angelo by the hope of an accommodation, and the promises and oaths of the emperor, had his head cut off, and his body hung up by the feet; while the new pope elected by the Romans, under the name of John XV. had his eyes put out, his nose cut off, and in this condition was thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo.

The Romans then renewed to Otho III. the oaths sworn to Otho I. and Charlemaign: and he assigned the lands belonging to the marquisate of Ancona to support the pontifical dignity.

After the three Othos, this struggle for the German sovereignty, and the liberty of Italy, remained for a long time on the same terms. Under the emperors Henry II. of Bavaria, and Conrad II. named the Salic, as soon as the emperor was employed in Germany, there arose a party in Italy. Henry II. went thither as the Othos had done, to disperse factions, to confirm to the popes the donations of the emperors, and to receive the same ho-  
mage.

mage. In the mean time, the popedom was put up to sale, as well as almost all the other bishoprics.

Benedict VIII. and John XIX. bought it publicly one after the other: these were brothers of the family of the marquifs of Toscanella, which had been very powerful at Rome ever since the time of Marozia and Theodora.

After their death, in order to perpetuate the pontificate in their house; it was purchased for a child of twelve years of age. This was Benedict IX. who had the bishopric of Rome in the same manner that we still see many families purchase, though privately, benefices for their children.

This disorder had no bounds. In the popedom of Benedict IX. two other popes, who were elected by the force of money, reciprocally excommunicated each other; but an happy agreement prevented a civil war, so that these three popes mutually consented to divide the revenues of the church among them, and to live in peace each with his mistress.

This pacific and singular triumvirate lasted no longer than their money; and at last, when they had none left, each sold his part of the popedom to Gratian, the deacon, a man of quality, who was very rich: but as young Benedict had been elected long before the other two, they left him, by a solemn agreement, the enjoyment of the tribute paid by England to Rome, called *Peter's pense*, which a Saxon king of England, whose name was Ethelwulph, had submitted to in 852\*.

\* This was in 855. Ethelwulph himself being then at Rome, It was originally a charity, called Rome-scot, or tribute of Rome, a penny collected yearly of every family for the maintenance of an English college, founded in 727 by Ina king of the West Saxons. Some time after Offa king of Mercia imposed the same tax on his subjects; and Ethelwulph extended it to all England.

This



This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and had the reputation of behaving with great wisdom, enjoyed the pontificate very peaceably till the emperor Henry III. the son of Conrad the  
 1046. Salic, went to Rome.

Never did any emperor shew more authority. He deposed Gregory VI. who was beloved by the Romans, and nominated in his room Suiger, his chancellor, bishop of Bamberg, without any one's daring to murmur at it.

1048. After the death of this German, who in the rank of popes is called Clement II. the emperor, who was in Germany, created Poppo, a Bavarian, his successor: this was Damasus II. he went with the emperor's brief to Rome, where he was acknowledged pope in spite of the abovementioned Benedict IX. who was desirous of getting again into the pontifical chair, notwithstanding his having sold it.

This Bavarian dying twenty-three days after his taking possession of his office, the emperor gave the popedom to his cousin Bruno, of the house of Lorrain, whom he translated from the bishopric of Toul to that of Rome, by his absolute authority. Had this authority of the emperors continued, the popes would have been no more than their chaplains, and Italy would have been enslaved.

This pontif took the name of Leo IX, and is ranked in the catalogue of saints. We shall see him presently at the head of an army, fighting against the Norman founder of the kingdom of Naples, who takes him prisoner.

Could the emperors have fixed their residence at Rome, it is evident, by the weakness of the  
 Romans,

Romans, by the divisions of Italy, and by the power of Germany, that they would have been ever sovereigns of that capital, and of course there would have been really a Roman empire. But those elective kings of Germany could not reside at Rome so far distant from the German princes, who were grown too formidable to their masters. The neighbouring nations were ever ready to invade their frontiers. Sometimes they were obliged to oppose the Danes, at other times the Poles and Hungarians. This is what preserved Italy for a while from the German yoke.



## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Of France towards the time of Hugh Capet.*

**W**HILE Germany thus began to take a new form of administration, and Rome and Italy had none, France became, like Germany, entirely a feudal government.

This kingdom extended from the countries on the Scheld and the Mæse, to the English channel, and from the Pyrenean mountains to the Rhone. These were at that time its bounds; for though so many historians pretend that this great sief of France extended beyond the Pyrenean mountains, even to the Ebro, it does not at all appear, that the Spaniards in those provinces between the Ebro and the Pyrenean mountains, were subject to the feeble government of France, when they fought against the Mahometans.

France, in which neither Dauphiné nor Provence were comprehended, was a kingdom of a tolerable extent; but the king of France was far from being a great sovereign. Lewis, the last of the descendants of Charlemaign, had no other demesnes besides the city of Laon, Soissons, and some territories that were disputed with him. The homage paid by Normandy, only served to make a royal vassal, who was able to keep his master in pay. Every province had either its counts or its hereditary dukes: he who could only seize two or three villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and he who had only a castle paid tribute to him who had taken possession of a city. All this produced a monstrous assemblage of members, without constituting one body.

Time and necessity established it as a custom, that the lords of great fiefs should march with their troops to the assistance of the king. One lord owed him forty days service, another twenty-five, and the rear-vassals marched at the orders of their immediate lords. But while these lords served the state for some days, they made war against one another almost all the year round. In vain did the councils, which in those guilty times often enacted good laws, decree that nobody should fight from Thursday till Monday at break of day, nor in the time of Lent, nor at other solemnities; these regulations not being supported by any coercive power, were without effect. Each castle was the capital of a small district of robbers, and each monastery was in arms: their advocates, who had been instituted in the early ages to present their petitions to the prince and manage their affairs, were the generals of their troops: their  
corn

corn was either burnt, or cut down before it was ripe, or defended sword in hand: thus the cities were almost reduced to solitude, and the country depopulated by long famines.

One would have imagined, that this kingdom, without a head, without government, and without order, must have fallen a prey to a foreign power: but an anarchy nearly of the same nature in almost all countries, constituted its safety; and when under the Othos Germany was most to be dreaded, its intestine wars employed its troops.

From these barbarous times we derive the custom of paying homage for a house and a hamlet to a lord of another village. A lawyer, or a merchant, who possesses an antient fief, receives fealty and homage from another burgher, or from a peer of the realm, who has bought a meise tenure in his manor. The laws of fiefs no longer subsist; but these old dependences of one fee upon another, these homages and duties still subsist: in almost all our courts of justice this maxim is admitted, *No land without a lord*; as if it was not enough to belong to our country.

When France, Italy, and Germany, were thus divided, and under the dominion of a multitude of little tyrants, the armies, the principal strength of which in the reign of Charlemagne, as well as under the antient Romans, was the infantry, were reduced to cavalry. They knew no other troops besides the *gens d'armes* \*; and the foot were not allowed this name, because in comparison of the horsemen they were not armed.

The *gens d'armes* were so called from being completely clad in armour.

The possessors of the smallest manors did not enter the field without bringing as many horse as they could possibly raise; and their ostentation then consisted in being attended by squires, who were called *vassets*, from the word *vassalet*, a little vassal. The point of honour being then to fight only on horseback, the custom obtained of wearing a complete suit of iron armour, which would have loaded a man on foot with its weight: and the brasslets and cuisses † were a part of the dress. It is pretended that Charlemain had them, but it was about the year one thousand when they were brought into common use.

Whoever was rich became almost invulnerable in war: and more particularly at that time they made use of clubs to knock down those knights, whom they could not wound with the points of their lances. The principal articles in trade were cuirasses, bucklers, and helmets, adorned with plumes of feathers.

The peasants whom they dragged to war, were both exposed and despised, and served for pioneers rather than for combatants. The horses, who were held in greater esteem than the common people, were barbed, and their heads covered with armour.

There were then scarcely any other laws besides those made by the most powerful for the service of the fiefs. All other points of distributive justice were left to the caprice of the stewards, and of the provosts and bailiffs nominated by the possessors of the lands.

The senate of those towns, which under Charlemain and the Romans had enjoyed a municipal

† *Erassets* were for the arms, and *cuisses* for the thighs.

govern-

government, were almost every where abolished. The title *senior*, *seigneur*, or lord, for a long time peculiar to the principal persons in the senate of towns, was no longer given to any but the possessors of fiefs.

The term *peer* began to be introduced into the Gallo-German language, which was then used in France. It came from the Latin word *par*, equal or fellow, and it was only made use of in this sense in the first and second race of the kings of France. The sons of Lewis the Debonnair called themselves *peers* in one of their interviews in the year 851; and long before Dagobert gave the name of *peers* to monks. Godegrand, bishop of Metz, in the time of Charlemain, called the bishops and abbots *peers*, as the learned Du-Cange observes. The vassals of the same lord then accustomed themselves to call each other *peers*.

Alfred the Great had established juries in England; these were peers in each profession, and a man on his trial might chuse twelve men of his own profession to be his judges. Some vassals in France had also the same privilege, but the number was not always limited to twelve. There were in each fief as many as there were barons, who held of the same lord, and who were peers amongst themselves, but not peers with their feudal lord.

The princes who paid immediate homage to the crown, such as the dukes of Guienne, Normandy, and Burgundy, with the counts of Flanders and Toulouse, were therefore in reality peers of France.

Hugh Capet was not the least powerful: he had possessed for a long time the dutchy of France,

which extended even to Touraine: he was count of Paris; and his vast demesnes in Picardy and Champagne gave him also great authority in those provinces. His brother had what at present is the dutchy of Burgundy. His grandfather Robert the Strong, and his great uncle Eudes, or Odo, both wore the crown in the time of Charles the Simple. Hugh, his father, surnamed the Abbot, on account of his possessing the abbeys of St. Denis, St. Martin de Tours, St. Germain-des-prez, and many others, had shaken and governed France: it may therefore be said, that from the year 888, in which king Eudes began his reign, his family governed without interruption; and if we except Hugh the abbot, who would not take the royal crown, it forms a series of sovereigns that has lasted above 850 years, a succession which no other kingdom can produce.

It is well known how Hugh Capet, duke of France, and count of Paris, usurped the crown from duke Charles, uncle to the last king, Lewis V. If the suffrages had been free, the blood of Charlemaign respected, and the right of succession as sacred as it is at present, Charles would have been king of France: it was not a national parliament that deprived him of the rights enjoyed by his ancestors; but that which makes and unmakes kings, force joined to prudence.

987. While Lewis, the last king of the blood of Charlemaign, was drawing near the close of his obscure life by a slow decay at the age of twenty-three, Hugh Capet assembled his forces; and was so far from having recourse to the authority of a parliament, that he dispersed one that was held at Compeign to secure the succession to

to Charles. Of this the letter wrote by Gerbert, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, and pope under the name of Sylvester II. published by Duchesne, is an authentic testimony.

Charles, duke of Brabant and Hainault, states that composed the Lower Lorrain, was obliged to yield to a rival more powerful and more fortunate than himself: being betrayed by the bishop of Laon, and unexpectedly seized and delivered to Hugh Capet, he died a prisoner in the tower of Orleans, leaving behind him two children who were the last princes of the male line of Charlemagne, and who could not revenge his death, though one of them succeeded to Lower Lorrain. Yet Hugh Capet on his becoming king of his peers, did not acquire any increase of territory.



## C H A P. XXIX.

*The state of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries.*

**F**RANCE was dismembered, and continued languishing under secret disorders from the reign of Charles the Fat to Philip the first, great grandson to Hugh Capet, near a hundred and fifty years; and we shall see whether the crusades, which signalized the reign of Philip I. at the end of the eleventh century, rendered it more flourishing. In the space of time I am mentioning, there was nothing but confusion, tyranny, barbarism, and poverty. Every lord, who had

L 4

a tolerable



a tolerable estate, coined money; while it was every body's business to debase it. The fine manufactures were in Greece and Italy; for the French could not imitate them in towns that had no privileges, and in a country intirely disunited.

998. Of all the events of these times, that which is most worthy our attention, is the excommunication of king Robert. He had married Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage in itself lawful, and moreover necessary for the welfare of the state. We have seen in our days, private persons marry their nieces, and purchase at the ordinary price, the dispensations of Rome, as if Rome had any thing to do with the marriages solemnised at Paris: but the king of France did not meet with the same indulgence. The Roman church, amidst the contempt and scandal into which it was sunk, dared to impose on the king a penance of seven years, enjoined him to quit his wife, and excommunicated him in case of refusal. The pope interdicted all the bishops who had assisted at this marriage; and ordered them to repair to Rome to beg his pardon. Such audacity appears incredible; but the ignorant superstition of those times might have suffered it; and it might have been caused by policy. Gregory V. who thundered out this excommunication, was a German and governed by Gerbert, formerly archbishop of Rheims, and enemy of the house of France. The emperor Otho III. who was no friend to Robert, assisted in person at the council, where the excommunication was pronounced: all these particulars render it probable, that reasons of state had as great a share in this base proceeding, as fanaticism.

Historians

Historians inform us, that this excommunication had such an effect in France, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domestics; and that there staid with him only two servants, who threw into the fire what he left at his meals, from the horror they felt at what had been touched by an excommunicated person. Degraded as human nature was at that time, yet there is no probability that the absurdity could be carried so far. The first author who mentions this stupidity of the court of France, is cardinal Peter Damian, who did not write his account till sixty-four years after: and he relates, that as a punishment of this pretended incest, the queen was brought to bed of a monster; but there is nothing monstrous in this whole affair, except the assurance of the pope, and the weakness of the king, who separated from his wife.

Excommunications and interdictions are thunder-bolts that never set a state on fire, except they meet with combustible materials. There were none at that time, but Robert perhaps might fear that some would be formed.

King Robert's condescension emboldened the popes to such a degree, that his grandson, Philip I. was excommunicated as he had been. The famous Gregory VII. in the year 1075, threatened to depose him, if he did not clear himself from the crime of simony before his nuncios. Another pope actually excommunicated him. Philip disliked his queen, and was in love with Bertha, the wife of the count of Anjou; he therefore made use of the laws to annul his marriage, under the pretence of kindred: and Bertha his mistress got her union with the count of Anjou dissolved on the same pretence.

L 5

The

The king and his mistress were at last solemnly married by the bishop of Bayeux. They were worthy of censure, but they had at least shewn such respect to the laws, as to make use of them to cover their faults. However that be, one pope had excommunicated Robert, for having married his relation; and another pope excommunicated Philip, for having repudiated his relation. What appears most singular is, that pope Urban II. pronounced this sentence in the king's own dominions, at Clermont in Auvergne, where he came to seek for shelter, and in the same council in which he preached the crusade.

However, it does not appear that Philip on his being excommunicated was held in abhorrence by his subjects; and this may give us reason to doubt of Robert's having been so generally abandoned.

1044. It is pretty remarkable, that king Henry, Philip's father, was married to a Muscovite princess. The Muscovites, or Russians, began to profess the Christian religion, but they had no communication with the rest of Europe; they dwelt beyond Poland, which had yet scarce embraced Christianity, and had not the least correspondence with France. However, king Henry sent into Russia to demand the sovereign's daughter, to whom the other Europeans gave the title of duke, as well as to the chief of Poland. The Russians called him in their language *tzaar*, of which we have since formed the word *czar*. It is pretended, that king Henry resolved on this marriage, from the fear of being engaged in some ecclesiastical quarrel. Of all the superstitions of those times, this was not the least prejudicial to the welfare of states; that people were not permitted to marry  
• a cousin

a cousin of the seventh degree : for almost all the sovereigns in Europe were Henry's relations. However, Anne, daughter of Jaraslau, czar of Muscovy, was queen of France ; and it is remarkable, that after the death of her husband, <sup>1060.</sup> she did not enjoy the regency, nor ever made the least pretence to it. Laws change according to the times : the count of Flanders, one of the vassals of the kingdom, was regent, and the queen married a count of Crepi. These things would appear singular at present, though they were not so then.

Neither Henry, nor Philip I. did any thing remarkable ; but in their time their vassals, and under vassals conquered kingdoms.

We shall see presently in what manner a few adventurers of the province of Normandy, without either estates, or lands, and almost without troops, founded nevertheless the kingdom of the two Sicilies, which proved afterwards a bone of contention, between the emperors of the dynasty of Swabia and the popes, between the families of Anjou and Arragon, and between the houses of Austria and France.



### C H A P. XXX.

*The conquest of Naples and Sicily by a few gentlemen of Normandy.*

**W**HEN Charlemaign took the title of emperor, it gave him no more than he could secure by his arms. He pretended to be  
L 6
supreme:

supreme lord of the dutchy of Benevento, which at that time constituted great part of the present kingdom of Naples. The dukes of Benevento more fortunate than the kings of Lombardy, stood their ground against him, and his successors. Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, were exposed to the depredations of the Saracens. In vain did the Greek and Latin emperors dispute the sovereignty of those countries. A great many private lords shared the spoils with the Arabs. The people did not know who they belonged to, nor whether they were of the Roman, Greek, or Mahometan communion. The emperor Otho I. having the longest sword, exercised his authority in those parts; and erected Capua into a principality. Otho II. had not such good fortune, but was beaten by the combined army of Greeks and Arabs. The emperors of the East remained then in possession of Apulia and Calabria, which they governed by a deputy called *Catapan* \*. Salerno was usurped by private lords. The princes of Benevento and Capua, encroached as much as possible on the Catapan's territories, and the latter did them all the mischief he could in his turn. Naples and Cajeta were petty republics, like Sienna and Lucca; the Mahometans were quartered in several castles, from whence they plundered the Greeks and Latins both alike: the churches belonging to the Catapan's jurisdiction, were subject to the metropolitan of Constantino-

\* Some derive the origin of this word from *κατεπάων*, which the Byzantine writers make use of, to denote a *person in power*: and others think it is an abbreviation of *κατὰ παντοκράτορα*, next to the emperor, or the emperor's lieutenant. Be that as it may, the authors of the Byzantine history, and the writers of the middle age frequently make use of it. See Du Cange Gloss. Lat.

ple,

ple, and the rest to Rome. Their manners were such as might be expected from a mixture of people, governments, and religion. The inhabitants shewed not the least mark of their natural wit and vivacity. It seemed no longer the country that had given birth to Horace and Cicero, and that was one day to produce a Tasso. Such was the state of this fruitful country in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from Gaeta and the Garigliano \* as far as Otranto.

Pilgrimages and knight errantry, were the prevailing passion of those days. The times of anarchy are apt to produce the most heroic flights, which are checked under regular governments. About fifty or sixty Frenchmen sailed from Normandy for Palestine in 983; and returning by the sea of Naples, landed at Salerno at the time when the Mahometans were besieging this city, and the inhabitants had agreed to ransom their liberties. They found the townsmen busy in collecting the money, and the victorious Mussulmen in their camp, securely rioting in brutal debauchery. This handful of strangers reproached the besieged with their pusillanimous behaviour; then sallying out with great intrepidity in the middle of the night, and followed by a few of the inhabitants who dared to imitate their example, they fell unawares upon the Saracen camp, put the enemy to flight, obliged them to re-embark in the greatest confusion, and not only saved the treasure of Salerno, but likewise increased it with the spoils of the enemy.

The prince of Salerno, greatly surprized, would fain have rewarded them with magnificent pre-

\* The antient *Liris*.

sents,

sents, but was still more surprized at their refusal : they were a long time treated at Salerno in such a manner as heroes and deliverers of a nation richly deserved : in short they were prevailed upon to promise to return. The honour which followed so strange an adventure, soon induced a great many of their countrymen to visit Benevento and Salerno ; so that at length the Normans resumed their antient custom of crossing the seas, in search of an enemy. Sometimes they served the Greek emperor, sometimes the princes of the country, and at other times they enlisted under the pope's banners. Little did they mind in what prince's cause they signalized their prowess, provided they reaped the fruit of their labour. At Naples there started up a duke, who had enslaved the infant republic. This duke of Naples thought himself very happy in concluding an alliance with a handful of Normans, who lent him their assistance against the duke of Benevento. Between the two territories they founded the city of Aversa towards the year 1030, and this was the first sovereignty acquired by their valour.

Not long after, arrived the three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, from the territory of Coutance : their names were William surnamed *Fier-a-bras*\*, Drogo, and Humphrey. Nothing bears a greater resemblance to the fabulous times. These three brothers, with the Normans of Aversa, attend the Catapan into Sicily ; William Fier-a-bras slays the Saracen general, and determines the victory in favour of the Greeks, who would have been once more in possession of Sicily, had not they been ungrateful. But the Catapan was

\* It signifies the same as *arm-strong*, and from thence the English name *Firebrace* seems to be derived.

afraid

afraid of his French auxiliaries; he did them injustice, and incurred their displeasure. They turned their arms against him; and three or four hundred Normans made themselves masters of almost all Apulia. The fact seems incredible: but they were joined by adventurers of the <sup>1041.</sup> country, who learnt the military art under such expert masters: the Calabrese who wanted to make their fortunes by the sword, seemed to rival the Normans in courage. William *Fier-a-bras* assumed the title of count of Apulia, without consulting either the emperor, the pope, or the neighbouring lords: he consulted none but his soldiers, after the example of the first kings of all countries. Each Norman captain had a town or a village to his share.

After the decease of *Fier-a-bras*, his brother <sup>1046.</sup> Drogo was chosen sovereign of Apulia. Then it was that Robert Guiscard and his two younger brothers set out from Coutance in order to partake of such good fortune. Old Tancred was amazed to see himself the father of a race of conquerors. The Norman name filled all the neighbourhood of Apulia, and even Rome itself with terror. Robert Guiscard and his brother, together with a great number of their countrymen, went in pilgrimage to Rome in small parties. They walked incognito with the pilgrim's staff in hand, and arrived at length in Apulia.

Though the emperor Henry III. had power enough at that time to lord it over Rome, yet he was not able to oppose these conquerors. He solemnly granted them the investiture of what <sup>1047.</sup> they had invaded. At that time they were possessed of all Apulia, the county of Aversa, and a moiety of the dutchy of Benevento. Thus



Thus did this family, which soon after rose to the regal dignity, and founded the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, become feudatories of the empire. But how happened it that this portion of the empire should be lopped off so very soon, and be made a fief of the holy see, at a time when the popes were scarce possessed of any territory, when they were not yet masters of Rome, and not so much as acknowledged as sovereigns in the marquisate of Ancona, which had been bestowed upon them by Otho the Great? This transaction is as surprizing as the conquests of the Norman gentlemen. The ænigma however is thus explained. Pope Leo IX. was desirous to have the city of Benevento, which had belonged to the princes of the Lombard race, who were dispossessed by Charlemaign. Accordingly the emperor Henry III. gave him this city, in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany: and the supreme pontifs are masters of Benevento to this day by virtue of that donation. The new Norman princes were dangerous neighbours: no conquests were ever made without committing great injustice and oppression: the Normans were guilty of acts of this kind; and the emperor would have been glad to have less powerful vassals. Leo IX. having excommunicated them first, prepared to fight them with an army of Germans, which Henry III. sent to his assistance. Historians do not inform us in what manner the spoils were to be divided: they only tell us that the army was numerous, that the pope joined them with Italian troops, who insisted with as much eagerness as if it was a holy war, and that among the officers there were a great many bishops. The  
 Normans,

Normans, who had been always victorious in small numbers, were not above a fourth part so numerous as the pope's troops; but they were inured to war. Robert Guiscard, with his brother Humphrey, and Richard count of Averfa, each at the head of a well disciplined corps, cut the German army in pieces, and put the Italians to flight. The pope retired to *Civitade* \* in the Capitanata † near the field of battle; the Normans pursued him, took him prisoner, and carried him to that very city of Benevento, which had been the first cause of this quarrel.

Rome has made a saint of this pope Leo IX. probably because he repented his having been the cause of such effusion of blood, and having led such a number of ecclesiastics to battle. It is very certain he repented what he had done, especially when he saw with what respect his conquerors treated him, and how inflexible they were in detaining him prisoner a whole year. They restored Benevento to the Lombard princes, and it was not till after the extinction of this family that the popes took possession of this city.

We may easily imagine that the Normans were more incensed against the emperor, who had sent a formidable army to crush them, than against the pope who commanded it. They found their only way was to get rid of the pretensions or rights of the two emperors, who pressed them on each side. They continued their conquests, and made themselves masters of Calabria and Capua during the minority of Henry IV. and while the

\* This, I suppose, is *Civita a mare*.

† A province of the kingdom of Naples.

Greeks

Greeks were under a government still weaker than a minority.

It was the sons of Tancred of Hauteville that subdued Calabria; and it was the descendants of the first deliverers that conquered Capua. These two victorious dynasties had none of those disputes, by which the arms of conquerors are so often weakened and divided. The use of history calls upon me here to observe, that Richard of Aversa, who conquered Capua, caused himself to be crowned with the same ceremonies of consecration and the holy oil, as were practised at the coronation of Clovis. The dukes of Benevento were always crowned in that manner; and Richard's successors took care to have the same ceremony performed. Nothing can be a stronger proof that every prince establishes customs according to his own fancy.

Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, Richard count of Aversa and Capua, both possessed of their sovereignties by the right of conquest, would fain be intirely independent of the emperors: for this end they had recourse to a measure, which private persons used frequently to take in those times of confusion and rapine, in order to preserve their estates; this was to give them to the church by way of an offering, after which they enjoyed them in peace, only paying a small duty or acknowledgment. Such was the resource of the weak in the tempestuous governments of Italy. The Normans, though powerful princes, made use of this as a safeguard against the emperors, whose power might possibly increase. Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua, when excommunicated by pope Leo IX, detained him

in

in confinement; and these very conquerors, when excommunicated by Nicholas II. thought fit to pay him homage.

The two princes therefore resolved to put under <sup>1059.</sup> the protection of the church, not only all they had hitherto taken or conquered, but whatever they might take or conquer hereafter. Duke Robert did homage to Nicholas II. for Sicily, which was not yet in his possession: he declared himself a feudatory of the holy see for all his dominions, and promised a duty of twelve deniers for each plough, which was a great deal. This homage was an act of political devotion, and might be looked upon in the same light as the St. Peter's pence, which England used to pay to the holy see, or as the two pounds of gold paid to the same see by the first kings of Portugal, or in short as the voluntary submission of so many other kingdoms to the church.

According to all the feudal laws established in Europe, those princes being vassals of the empire, could not chuse another lord paramount. This would be rendering them guilty of rebellion towards the emperor, and giving him a just cause to confiscate their estates. But the quarrels which ensued between the church and the empire, and especially the great power of the Norman princes, prevented the emperors from exercising their prerogatives. These conquerors at the same time that they made themselves the pope's vassals, were become protectors and oftentimes masters of their new lord paramount. Duke Robert from an enemy of the church being grown its defender, received a standard from the pope, and crossed over to Sicily with his brother  
Roger:

Roger: they soon wrested this island from the Greeks and the Arabs, between whom it had been divided; and both nations made their submission  
1067. to the two brothers, on condition of being suffered to retain their customs and religion.

Their aim was now to complete the conquest of all that country, which now constitutes the kingdom of Naples. There still remained the princes of Salerno, descendants of those who had first invited the Normans to that country. Duke Robert at length dispossessed these also; he took Salerno from them; and they sheltered themselves at Rome under the protection of Gregory VII. that same pope, who used to make the emperors tremble. Robert, vassal, and defender of the church, pursued them thither: Gregory VII. excommunicates him: the fruit of the excommunication is the conquest of the whole duchy of Benevento, which Robert seizes after the decease of the last duke of the Lombard race.

Gregory VII. whom we shall see behave with such haughtiness and pride to emperors and kings, was all complaisance to the excommunicated Robert.  
1077. He granted him absolution, and in return he received the city of Benevento, which has ever since continued in possession of the holy see.

Soon after broke out the violent quarrels betwixt the emperor Henry IV. and Gregory VII. of which we shall take more particular notice  
1084. hereafter. Henry had made himself master of Rome, and was besieging the castle, since called by the name of St. Angelo, to which the pope was retired. Robert hurries away from Dalmatia, where he was making new conquests, raises the  
siege

siege of the castle St. Angelo in spite of the Germans and Romans both united, makes himself master of the pope's person, and carries him with him to Salerno, where this pope, who had deposed so many kings, died the captive of a Norman gentleman, who was at the same time his protector.

We must not be at all surprized at such a number of romances, in which we are told of knight errants, who rose to be potent sovereigns by their exploits, and married into Imperial families. This was exactly the case of Robert Guiscard, and what happened more than once, as we shall see, at the time of the Crusades. Robert married his daughter to Constantine, son of Michael Ducas emperor of Constantinople. This did not prove a happy marriage. Michael being soon after deposed, Robert was determined to avenge the cause of his daughter and son-in-law, and to dethrone the new emperor of the East, after he had humbled the emperor of the West.

The court of Constantinople seemed to be agitated by continual storms. Michael Ducas was cast from the throne by Nicephorus surnamed Botoniates: and Constantine, Robert's son-in-law, was made an eunuch. At length Alexius Comnenus, who had afterwards so much reason to complain of the crusaders, ascended the throne. During these revolutions Robert was advancing through Dalmatia and Macedonia, and had already filled Constantinople with terror: Bohemond, his son by his first wife, and who was afterwards a celebrated crusader, attended him in this expedition, to conquer an empire. By this it appears that Alexius Comnenus had good reason to be afraid of the crusaders, since Bohemond began his exploits with attempting to dethrone him. The

The death of Robert in the isle of Corfu, put an end to his schemes. Princess Anna Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexius, and who wrote part of this history, looks upon Robert in no better light than a free booter, and expresses great indignation at his presuming to marry his daughter to an emperor's son. She ought to have remembered that even the Imperial history abounded with examples of extraordinary elevations of fortune, and that every thing in this world must yield to force and power.



## C H A P. XXXI.

*Of Sicily in particular and the Legatine power in that island.*

THE notion of conquering the empire of Constantinople, vanished together with Robert: but his family were more firmly settled in their possessions in Italy. His brother, count Roger, remained master of Sicily: and his son, duke Roger, continued in possession of almost all that country, which now goes by the name of the kingdom of Naples. Bohemond, his other son, went afterwards to conquer Antioch, after he had in vain endeavoured to divide the dominions of his brother duke Roger.

But how comes it that neither count Roger sovereign of Sicily, nor his nephew Roger duke of Apulia, took upon them the title of kings? There must be time for every thing. Robert Guiscard the first conqueror had been invested as  
duke

duke by pope Nicholas II. and his brother Roger had received the investiture of Robert Guiscard as count of Sicily. These ceremonies conferred no more than a bare title, and made no addition of power. But this count of Sicily acquired a right, which is still preserved, and which no king in Europe ever enjoyed: he was pope of that island.

The bishops of Rome had been in possession of sending ministers to every part of Christendom, who were called *Legates a latere*\*, and exercised jurisdiction over all the churches, exacting *tenths*, conferring benefices, and extending the pontifical power, as far as conjunctures and the interests of kings would permit. Temporal concerns, generally intermixt with spiritualities, were subject to their jurisdiction; and they even went so far as to take cognizance of civil causes. Provided there was but the least spiritual mixture in any worldly affair, as in marriages, wills, and promises by oath, it was sure to belong to their court. They were proconsuls, whom the ecclesiastical emperor of Christendom, sent to every part of the western world. It was by this policy, that Rome though impotent, though rent by perpetual factions, enslaved by the Germans, and exposed to all the scourges that afflict mankind, continued neverthe-

\* This word originally signified a person who waited on the pope, and whom he sent to any part upon some particular commission: in the same sense almost as the persons deputed by the kings of France to visit the provinces, were called *Laterales* or *de Latere missi*, because they were singled out from the officers belonging to the household. But now the title of *Legate a latere* is given only to cardinals, who are sent by the pope as ambassadors extraordinary to crowned heads.



less the mistress of the world. Hence the history of Rome is the history of all nations.

As soon as Roger had wrested Sicily from the Mahometans and Greeks, and established the Latin church, Urban II. sent a legate to that island. This of all countries seemed to stand the most in need of a legate, who should settle the hierarchy among a people, one half of whom were Mussulmen, and the other half of the Greek communion. Yet this proved the only province, from whence the legates were proscribed. Count Roger the benefactor of the Latin Church, while he restored Sicily to her communion, could not bear to have a king sent, under the name of a legate, into an island subdued by his arms.

Pope Urban II. intent upon the scheme of the crusades, and willing to keep fair with a family of heroes, whose assistance would be serviceable in this enterprize, granted a bull in 1098, the last year of his life, to count Roger, whereby he recalled his legate, and created Roger and his successors hereditary legates of the holy see in Sicily, investing them with all the rights and privileges of that dignity, which was at the same time both spiritual and temporal. Such is the famous prerogative called the *Sicilian monarchy*, a prerogative annexed to that kingdom, and which succeeding popes have attempted to abolish, but the kings of Sicily have resolutely maintained. If a privilege of this kind is inconsistent with the Christian hierarchy, it is evident that Urban had no authority to grant it: if it be a point of discipline no way contrary to religion, it is further evident, that every kingdom has a right to claim it. In the main this privilege is

I

nothing

nothing more than the right which Constantine and all emperors had to direct the civil administration of their dominions; yet of all the Catholic powers in Europe, there was only one little Norman prince, that dared to assert this right at the gates of Rome.

The son of this count Roger succeeded to the whole inheritance of the Norman family; he was crowned king of Sicily and Apulia. Naples, 1130. which at that time was but a small town, did not belong to him, therefore could not give a name to the kingdom. It had long maintained itself in the form of a republic, under a duke who paid homage to the emperors of Constantinople; and hitherto this duke had, by means of presents, escaped the ambition of the conquering family of the Normans.

This first king Roger did homage to the holy see. At that time there were two popes, one the son of a Jew named Leon, who took the name of Anacletus, and whom St. Bernard calls *Judaicum sibiolum*, a Jewish breed; the other was called Innocent II. King Roger acknowledged Anacletus, because the emperor Lotharius II. acknowledged Innocent; and it was to this Anacletus that he paid his empty homage.

The emperors considered these Norman conquerors in no other light than as usurpers. Hence St. Bernard, who was concerned in all the public affairs of popes and kings, wrote against Roger as well as against this son of a Jew, who had obtained the tiara by bribery; *the one*, says he, *has usurped the chair of St. Peter, the other has usurped Sicily, and it is Cæsar's business to punish him.*

King Roger supported Anacletus, who was still acknowledged at Rome. Lotharius availing himself of this opportunity to despoil the Normans of their conquests, marches towards Apulia along with pope Innocent II. It seems that the Normans had good reason not to depend on the emperors, but to settle a barrier between them. Roger had scarce ascended the throne, when he was in danger of being stripped of all his dominions. He had laid siege to Naples, when the emperor advanced towards him: they fought different battles; Roger was defeated, and lost almost all his possessions on the continent. Innocent II. excommunicated him, and joined  
 1137. in the pursuit. St. Bernard, who accompanied the emperor and the pope, in vain endeavoured to compromise matters; Roger was obliged to retire into Sicily. In the mean time the emperor died, which produced a total change of affairs. King Roger and his son recovered their dominions. Pope Innocent II. having been at length recognized at Rome, entered into a league with the princes, on whom Lotharius had bestowed those dominions; and continuing the implacable enemy of king Roger he put himself, like Leo IX. at the head of an army, but was defeated and taken  
 1139. prisoner like that very same Leo. In this situation how is he to act? Just like his predecessors; he grants absolutions and investitures, and after he had called the emperor to his aid against the Norman family, he now engages this very family to defend him against the empire.

Soon after this transaction, the king made himself master of Naples, and of whatever little territory was still remaining to render his kingdom,

*and the Legatine power in that island.*

dom, from Gaieta to Brindisi, quite complete. Thus the monarchy was established in its proper form; Naples quietly became the capital of the kingdom, and the liberal arts began to take the measure to revive once more in these several provinces.

After having shewn in what manner a few gentlemen of Coutance founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, we now come to a peer of France, the duke of Normandy, who made the conquest of England. It is amazing to think of this vast multitude of invasions and emigrations, which continued from the end of the fourth century to the beginning of the fourteenth, and ended with the Crusades. There has been a mixture of nations all over Europe, and there is hardly a country that has not had its usurpers.



## C H A P. XXXII.

*The conquest of England by William duke of Normandy.*

**W**HILE the sons of Tancred of Hauteville founded kingdoms at such a distance, their lords the dukes of Normandy acquired one that is become more considerable than the two Sicilies. The Britons notwithstanding their bravery were destined to be constantly governed by foreigners. After the death of Alfred, which happened in the year 900, England relapsed into confusion and barbarism. The antient Anglo-Saxons, its former

conquerors, and the Danes its new usurpers, constantly disputed the possession of the kingdom; and fresh Danish pirates frequently came to partake of the spoils. These pirates continued so formidable, and the English so weak, that about the year 1000, the latter had no other way of getting rid of the former, but by paying them forty-eight thousand pounds sterling: and to raise this sum, a tax was imposed, which lasted for a long time in England; like most other taxes which continue to be raised, after the occasion ceases for which they were first imposed. This humbling tribute was called *Danegelt*, or Danish money.

Canute king of Denmark, who was surnamed the Great, though he only distinguished himself by acts of great cruelty, reduced both Denmark and England under his dominion in the year 1017. The native English were then treated like slaves; and the authors of those times confess, that when an Englishman met a Dane, he was obliged to stop till the Dane had passed by.

The family of Canute being extinct in the year 1041, the states of the kingdom recovered their liberty, and conferred the crown on Edward, a descendant of the Anglo-Saxons, who was called the Saint and Confessor. One of the great faults, or great misfortunes of this king, was his having no children by his wife Editha, daughter of the most powerful lord in the kingdom: he hated his wife, as well as his own mother, for reasons of state, and removed them both from his court. The barrenness of this marriage contributed to his cannonization: for it was pretended that he had made a vow of chastity;

chastity; a vow rash in a husband, and absurd in a king who wanted heirs; and this vow, if real, prepared new chains for England.

You still perceive that the manners and customs of those times had not the least resemblance to ours. William duke of Normandy, was so far from having any right to that kingdom, that he had not even any to Normandy, if a right is constituted by birth; for his father, duke Robert, who was never married, had him by the daughter of a skinner of Falaise, whom history calls *Arlot*, or *Harlot*, a word that signified then, and still signifies in the English language, *concubine*, or *mistress*. This bastard, who was acknowledged in his father's life-time as the lawful heir, maintained himself by his dexterity and valour against all those who disputed his dutchy: he reigned peaceably in Normandy, and received homage from Britany; when Edward the Confessor dying, he laid claim to the kingdom of England. The right of succession was not then established in any state in Europe: the crown of Germany was elective; Spain was divided between the Christians and Mussulmen; Lombardy every day changed its master; and the race of Charlemain dethroned in France, made it evident what force could do against the right of blood. Edward the Confessor had not enjoyed the throne by inheritance; and Harold his successor was not of the same family; but he had the most indisputable of all rights, that of the suffrages of the whole nation. William the Bastard had neither the right of election, nor that of inheritance, nor was he supported by any party in England. He pretended, that in a former voyage he had made to this

island, king Edward had devised the crown to him by a will; which, however, nobody had seen. He also pretended, that he had formerly delivered Harold from prison, and that this prince had yielded up to him his right to the crown of England. These weak reasons were, however, supported by a strong army.

The barons of Normandy, who assembled in the form of a diet, refused to grant their duke money for this expedition; because, if he should not succeed, Normandy would be impoverished; and his success would render it a province to England: yet many Normans hazarded their fortune with the duke. One single nobleman, named Fitz-Osborn, equipped forty vessels at his own expence; the earl of Flanders, William's father-in-law, assisted him with money; even the pope engaged in his interest, and excommunicated all who opposed his designs. In short, he set out from St. Valery with a numerous fleet; but the exact number of the vessels and soldiers is not known. He landed on the coast of Suffex, and soon after was fought in that county the famous battle of Hastings, which alone decided the fate of England. The English with king Harold at their head, and the Normans under the conduct of their duke, engaged for twelve hours together. The cavalry who fought in armour, and began every where else to be looked upon as the strength of an army, do not appear to have been employed in this battle. The chiefs themselves were on foot; and Harold and his two brothers being slain in the engagement, the conqueror marched towards London with a banner, consecrated by the pope, carried before him. Under this standard  
all

Oa.

14,

1006.

all the bishops met, and united in his favour: they came to the gates, attended by the magistrates of the city, and offered him the crown, which they could not refuse to the conqueror.

William knew as well how to govern as to conquer: several rebellions extinguished, Danish invasions frustrated, and rigorous laws severely executed, signalized his reign. The antient Britons, Danes, and Anglo-Saxons, were all involved in the same slavery. The Normans, who had helped him to obtain the victory, shared the lands of the conquered; and from hence came all the Norman families, whose descendants, or at least their names, still subsist in England. He caused an exact inventory to be taken of all the goods belonging to his subjects, of what nature soever they were; and it is pretended, that from thence he took advantage to raise in England a revenue of four hundred thousand pounds sterling; which at present would make about five millions sterling, and is above a hundred millions of French livres. It is evident that the historians must, in this instance, be mistaken; for England, Scotland, and Ireland, do not at present raise so large a revenue, if we deduct what is levied for the payment of the debts of the nation. This is however certain, that William abolished all the laws of the country, in order to introduce those of Normandy. He ordered that the lawyers should plead in the Norman tongue; and all the public acts were wrote in that language, till the reign of Edward the third. He was resolved, that the language of the conquerors should be that of the country, and schools were established to teach it in all the cities and borough towns in the kingdom. This language



was French, mixed with a little Danish; a barbarous dialect, that had not the least advantage above that spoken in England. It is said, that he not only treated the conquered nation with severity, but also affected a capricious and whimsical kind of tyranny: and they mention as an example of it, the law called *couvre-feu*, or *curfeu*; by which the people were obliged, at the sound of a bell, to extinguish their fires at eight o'clock in the evening. But this law, so far from being tyrannical, was only an antient regulation, established in almost all the towns of the north; and which has been long observed in monasteries. The houses were built with wood, and the fear of fire was then one of the most important objects of the concern of the magistrates.

He is also reproached with having destroyed all the villages, within the compass of fifteen leagues, to make a forest, in which he might enjoy the pleasure of hunting. Such an action is too absurd to be probable. Historians do not consider, that a new plantation would require, at least, twenty years to render it a forest fit for hunting. It is said, that this forest was planted in the year 1080; when he was sixty years old; what probability is there then, that a man of sense should at that age, destroy villages, to sow a tract of land of fifteen leagues in circumference with acorns, in hopes of one day hunting there?

The conqueror of England was the terror of Philip I. king of France; who, when it was too late, strove to humble a vassal grown so powerful, and invaded Maine, which at that time depended on Normandy; but William crossed the sea, retook Maine, and obliged the king of France to sue for a peace. The

The pretensions of the court of Rome never appeared in a more singular manner, than in its behaviour to this prince. Pope Gregory VII. took advantage of the time in which he was engaged in a war with France, to demand his paying him homage for the kingdom of England. This homage was founded on the ancient Peter-pence, which a part of England paid to the church of Rome, amounting to about three French livres, or two shillings and ninepence of the present English money, for each house: too large an alms for the pope not to consider it as a tribute. William the conqueror caused the pope to be told, that he might possibly continue the alms; but instead of paying homage, he would forbid his people in England to acknowledge any other pope than whom he should approve. Thus Gregory the seventh's proposal became ridiculous, by its being too presumptuous. This is the same Gregory VII. who overturned Europe, to raise the sacerdotal dignity above that of the empire: but before we mention that memorable quarrel, and the crusades which began at the same time, it is necessary to give a short view of the state of the other countries of Europe.



## C H A P. XXXIII.

*State of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries.*

**R**USSIA had embraced Christianity at the end of the eighth century. The women were:

were destined to convert kingdoms: a sister of the emperors Basilius and Constantine married the father of the czar Jaraslau, whom I have already mentioned, and prevailed on her husband to be baptized. The Russians, who were slaves to their prince, imitated his example; but they adopted nothing from the Greek church except its superstitions.

About the same time, a woman also brought Poland to embrace Christianity; Micislas, duke of Poland, being converted by his wife, who was sister to the duke of Bohemia. I have already observed, that the Bulgarians received the faith in the same manner. Giselle, sister to the emperor Henry, converted her husband, the king of Hungary, in the first year of the eleventh century. Thus it is a certain truth, that half of Europe owes its Christianity to women.

The Swedes, to whom it was preached in the ninth century, were again become idolaters: Bohemia and all the country on the north of the Elbe renounced Christianity in the year 1013: all the eastern coast of the Baltic sea was inhabited by pagans: in 1047, Hungary returned to paganism: but all these nations were even much farther from being polished and civilized than they were from being Christians.

Sweden, which was probably for a long time exhausted of its inhabitants by its antient emigrations, with which Europe had been overflowed, appeared in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, in a manner buried in barbarism; and being unengaged in war, and without any commerce with its neighbours, it had no share in any great event, and on this account was probably the more happy.

Poland,

Poland, which was much more barbarous than it was Christian, preserved till the thirteenth century all the customs of the antient Sarmatians; for they killed the children that were born imperfect, and the old men that were past their labour. From this account we may form a judgment of the rest of the North.

The empire of Constantinople was neither more nor less extended than we have seen it in the ninth century. In the West it defended itself against the Bulgarians, and on the East, North, and South against the Turks and Arabians.

We have seen in general the state of Italy: private lords enjoyed all the country from Rome to the Calabrian sea; and the Normans had the greatest part. Florence, Milan, and Pavia, were governed by their magistrates, under the counts or dukes nominated by the emperors: Bologna indeed enjoyed a state of greater freedom.

The house of Maurienne, from which the dukes of Savoy, now kings of Sardinia, are descended, began to make a figure. It possessed, as a fief of the empire, the hereditary county of Savoy and Maurienne, ever since Humbert *with the white hands*, the stock of this family, had obtained, in the year 888, that small part of the kingdom of Burgundy.

The Swiss and Grisons, likewise detached from the same kingdom, were under the government of bailiffs nominated by the emperor.

Two maritime cities of Italy began to arise, not by those sudden invasions, which have formed the rights and prerogatives of almost all the princes, who have passed in review before us; but by a wise industry, which also soon degenerated into the

spirit of conquest. These two cities were Genoa and Venice. Genoa, celebrated in the time of the Romans, regarded Charlemaign as her restorer; for this emperor rebuilt the city some time after it had been destroyed by the Goths: it was governed by counts under Charlemaign, and his first descendants; but in the tenth century it was sacked by the Mahometans, and almost all its citizens led into slavery. However, as this was a trading port, it was soon repeopled, and the traffic, which had made it flourish, served to re-establish its grandeur: it then became a republic, and took Corsica from the Arabians. The popes required a tribute for that island, not only because they had been heretofore possessed of patrimonies in that country, but moreover because they pretended to the sovereign jurisdiction over all kingdoms conquered from infidels. The Genoese paid this tribute at the beginning of the eleventh century; but soon after they freed themselves from it under the pontificate of Lewis II. At last, their ambition encreasing with their riches, from being merchants, they resolved to become conquerors.

The city of Venice, which was far from being so antient as Genoa, affected the frivolous honour of having enjoyed a more antient liberty, while it possessed the solid glory of a much superior power. This was at first the retreat of fishermen and a few fugitives, who settled there in the beginning of the fifth century, when the Goths ravaged Italy: there was then no city, and only a few huts on the Rialto. The name of Venice was not then known; and this Rialto was so far from being free, that for thirty years it was only a bo-  
rough

rough belonging to Padua, which governed it by its consuls : but the vicissitude of human affairs afterwards laid Padua under the yoke of Venice.

There is not the least proof, that Venice enjoyed an acknowledged liberty under the kings of the Lombards : it is much more probable, that the inhabitants then lay forgotten in their marshes,

The Rialto, and the little neighbouring islands, did not begin, till the year 709, to be governed by their own magistrates. They were then independent of Padua, and were considered as a republic.

In the year 709 they had their first doge, who was only a tribune of the people, elected by the citizens. Several families, who gave their votes to this first doge, still subsist : these are the most antient nobles in Europe, without exception ; and sufficiently prove, that nobility may be acquired without possessing a castle, or purchasing patents of sovereign princes.

Heraclea was the first seat of this republic till the death of its third doge, and it was not till the end of the ninth century that these islanders, retiring farther into their lagunes, gave to this assemblage of little islands, which formed a town, the name of Venice, from the name of that coast which was called *Terræ Venetorum*. As the inhabitants of these marshes could not subsist without commerce, necessity was the origin of their power. It is not yet certainly decided, whether this republic was even then intirely independent ; for we find, that Berenger, who had been for some time acknowledged emperor in Italy, granted the doge, in the year 950, the privilege of coining money : and even these doges were obliged to send annually to the emperors, by way of rent or service, a  
mantle

mantle of cloth of gold; but Otho III. in the year 998, excused them from paying this petty kind of tribute. Yet these slight marks of vassalage did not at all lessen the true power of Venice; for while the Venetians paid this mantle to the emperors, they acquired, by their money and their arms, the province of Istria, and almost the whole coast of Dalmatia, Spalatto, Ragusa, and Narenza. Their doge, about the middle of the tenth century, assumed the title of duke of Dalmatia: but Venice was less enriched by its conquests, than by its trade, which even surpassed that of Genoa; for while the barons of Germany and France were building castles, and oppressing the people, the Venetians received their money, by furnishing them with all the merchandises of the East. The sea was already covered with their vessels; and they enriched themselves by the ignorance and barbarism of the northern nations of Europe.



#### C H A P. XXXIV.

*Of Spain and the Mahometans of that kingdom, to the beginning of the twelfth century.*

**S**PAIN was still divided between the Mahometans and Christians: but these last did not possess a fourth part; and even that was the most barren corner of all the country. The dominions of the Christians were, Asturia, the princes of which took the title of king of Leon; a part of old Castile, governed by counts; Barcelona, and half of Catalonia, also subject to counts; Navarre, which had a king; and a part of Arragon, which had been for some time united to Navarre. The  
 Arabians

Arabians possessed Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Granada, and Tortosa; and their dominion extended to the heart of the country, beyond the mountains of Castile and Saragossa. The Mahometan kings constantly dwelt at Cordova, where they built that large mosque, which has an arched roof supported by three hundred and sixty-five columns of a very curious marble, and which still bears amongst the Christians the name of mosque, notwithstanding its being used as a cathedral.

There the arts flourished, while magnificence and gallantry reigned at the court of the Moorish kings. Tournaments, and tiltings, were perhaps the invention of these Arabians; they had also shows and theatres, which, rude as they were, proved at least, that other nations had less politeness than these Mahometans. Cordova was the only country in the West where geometry, astronomy, chemistry and physic were cultivated. Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, was obliged, in the year 956, to go to Cordova, to put himself under the care of that famous Arabian physician, who, on being invited to come to the king, resolved that the king should come to him.

Cordova is a delightful country, watered by the Guadalquivir, where groves of citrons, oranges, and pomegranates, perfume the air, and every thing invites to effeminacy. Luxury and pleasure at last corrupted the Moorish kings: their dominions were, in the tenth century, like those of almost all the Christian princes, divided into little kingdoms; for Toledo, Murcia, Valencia, and even Huesca, had their kings. This was the proper time for crushing this divided  
I power:



power: but the Spanish Christians were more divided still; they were continually at war amongst themselves; they reunited, only to betray each other; and frequently entered into alliances with the Mussulmen. Alfonso V. king of Leon, in the year 1000, even gave his sister Teresa in marriage to sultan Abdala, king of Toledo.

Jealousy produces more crimes among petty princes, than among great sovereigns. War alone is capable of deciding the fate of a great empire; while surprisals, instances of perfidy, assassinations and poisonings are practised by neighbouring rivals, who having much ambition, and but few means of gratifying it, set every engine to work that can supply the place of strength. Thus at the end of the tenth century, Sancho Garcias, count of Castile, poisoned his mother; and his son Don Garcia was stabbed by three noblemen of that country, as he was going to be married.

In fine, in the year 1035, Ferdinand, son of Sancho, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Castile, which his family  
2036. had inherited by the murder of Don Garcia, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his brother-in-law whom he slew in battle.

Castile then became a kingdom, and Leon was only one of its provinces. Ferdinand, however, not contented with having deprived his brother-in-law of his kingdom and life, took also Navarre from his own brother, whom he caused to be assassinated in a battle which he fought against him. This is the Ferdinand on whom the Spaniards have bestowed the name of *great*; perhaps to dishonour a title, too often lavished on usurpers. His

His father, Don Sancho, also surnamed the Great, for having succeeded to the counts of Castile, and married one of his sons to the princess of the Asturias, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and Don Ferdinand likewise resolved to assume this title. It is certain, that there never was, nor can be, a title settled on sovereigns, except those which they are willing to assume, and custom has given them. The name of emperor every where signified the heir to the Cæsars, and master of the Roman empire, or at least one who pretended to be so. It is not at all probable then, that this could be the distinguishing title of a prince, whose power was but ill established, and who governed only a fourth part of Spain.

The emperor Henry III. and not Henry II. as many authors affirm, mortified the pride of the Spaniard, by demanding homage of Ferdinand for his little states as fiefs of the empire. It is difficult to say which was the most idle pretension, that of the German emperor or that of Spain: but these vain fancies had no effect, for the dominions of Ferdinand remained a little free kingdom.

In the reign of this Ferdinand lived Roderick, surnamed the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whose father he had murdered. All those who know this history only from the Tragedy, so celebrated in the last age, believe that king Ferdinand was in possession of Andalusia.

The famous exploits of the Cid consisted at first in his assisting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldest son, to strip his brothers and sisters of the inheritance left them by their father. But Don Sancho  
being

being assassinated in one of these unjust expeditions, his brothers entered again into the possession of their estates.

1073.

There were then near twenty kings in Spain, some of whom were Christians and others Mahometans; besides a considerable number of independent lords, who came on horseback completely armed, and followed by several 'squires, to offer their services to the princes or princesses at war. This custom, which had already spread over Europe, was no where in such credit as in Spain. The princes, in whose cause these knights engaged, girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they lightly touched their shoulder. The Christian knights had other ceremonies at their dubbing, and watched their arms before an altar of the virgin Mary: but the Mussulmen were contented with girding on a scimitar. This was the origin of knights errant, and of such numbers of single combats; the most celebrated of which was that fought after the death of king Sancho, who was assassinated while he was besieging his sister Ouraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the innocence of the Infanta against Don Diego de Lara, by whom she was accused. They fought hand to hand, in the presence of judges named by both parties, when Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the Infanta's knights; but the horse of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, and carrying his master out of the lists, the combat was adjudged to be undecided.

Of all the knights the Cid distinguished himself most against the Mussulmen. Many of them ranged themselves under his banner, and all together,

gether, with their 'squires and horsemen in armour, composed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the finest horses in the country. The Cid conquered more than one petty Moorish king, and having at last fortified himself in the city of Alcafar, formed there a little sovereignty.

At length he prevailed on his master Alfonso VI. king of Old Castile, to lay siege to the city of Toledo, and offered him all his knights for that enterprize. The report of this siege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy, particularly Raymond count of Toulouse, and two princes of the blood of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Mahometan king called Hiaja, was the son of one of the most generous princes, whose name has been preserved by history. Almamon, his father, had given an asylum in Toledo to this very king Alfonso, when persecuted by his brother Sancho: they had lived a long time together in the most intimate friendship; and Almamon was so far from detaining him, when after the death of Sancho he became a king, and consequently an object of fear, that he gave him part of his treasures; and, it is said, that at their separating they both shed tears. More than one Mahometan knight rode forth from the city to reproach king Alfonso for his ingratitude to his benefactor, and more than one remarkable combat was fought under the walls of Toledo.

The siege lasted a year, when Toledo capitulated on condition that the Mussulmen should be treated in the same manner as they had behaved to the Christians, and that they should leave them  
the

1085.

the enjoyment of their religion and laws: a promise which they at first kept, but which time made them violate. All New Castile at last submitted to Cid, who took possession of it in the name of Alfonso; and Madrid, a small place, that was one day to become the capital of Spain, was for the first time in the power of the Christians.

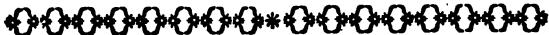
Many families left France in order to settle in Toledo, and privileges were granted them that are still called franchises in Spain. King Alfonso immediately called an assembly of bishops, who, without the concurrence of the people, which was before thought necessary, promoted a priest named Bernard to the bishopric of Toledo, on whom pope Gregory VII. at the king's request, conferred the primacy of Spain. This conquest was almost entirely for the advantage of the church; but the first care of the primate was to make an ill use of it, by violating the conditions the king had sworn to the Moors. The great mosque was to belong to the Mahometans; but the archbishop, during the king's absence, turned it into a church, and raised a sedition against him. Alfonso returned to Toledo, enraged at the indiscretion of the prelate, whom he was going to punish, if the Mahometans, to whom the king restored the mosque, had not petitioned to have him pardoned.

The dominions Alfonso had gained by the sword of the Cid, he enlarged by a marriage, either from policy or inclination, with Zaid, daughter of Benadat, a new king of the Moors in Andalusia, with whom he received many cities as her dowry. He is reproached for having in  
conjunction

conjunction with his father-in-law, called in other Moors from Africa into Spain: but it is hard to believe that he could act in a manner so unpolitic: however, the conduct of kings frequently contradicts all the rules of probability. Be that as it may, an army of Moors was transported from Africa into Spain, and encreased the general confusion of the kingdom. The Miramolin, who reigned in Morocco, and whose descendants reign there still, sent his general Abenada to the assistance of the king of Andalusia. This general betrayed not only the king to whom he was sent, but also the Miramolin, in whose name he came. In short, the Miramolin, enraged against him, went over himself in person to fight his perfidious general, who made war on the other Mahometans, while the Christians were as much divided amongst themselves.

Spain was thus torn in pieces by so many Christian and Mahometan nations, when the Cid, Don Roderigo, at the head of his knights, subdued the kingdom of Valencia. There were few sovereign princes in Spain more powerful than he; but whether he preferred the title of Cid, or whether the spirit of chivalry rendered him faithful to king Alfonso his master, he never assumed the name of king. However, he governed Valencia with the authority of a sovereign; while he received ambassadors, and was treated with respect by all nations. After his death, which happened in the year 1096, the kings of Castile and Arragon constantly continued at war with the Moors, and Spain was never more drenched in blood, or rendered more desolate: the melancholy effects of the antient conspiracy between

tween the bishop of Opas and count Julian, which had lasted four hundred years, and continued long after to involve Spain in the most dreadful calamities.



## C H A P. XXXV.

*Of religion, and superstition in the tenth and eleventh centuries.*

**H**ERESIES seem to be the fruit of a little learning and leisure. We have seen, that the state of the church in the tenth century scarcely permitted either leisure or study: the whole world was in arms, and all the dispute was for riches. However, in the reign of king Robert there were some priests in France, and, amongst others, one, named Stephen, confessor to queen Constantia, accused of heresy: these, that they might have an odious name, were called Manicheans; for neither they nor their judges could be acquainted with the doctrine of the Persian philosopher Manes. They were probably enthusiasts, who, in order to gain upon the minds of the people, affected an extraordinary sanctity; for this is the character of the chiefs of all sects. Horrible crimes, and unnatural sentiments, were imputed to them; the ordinary method of treating those, whose doctrines are not sufficiently known and understood. They were juridically  
 1028. accused of reciting litanies in honour of devils, with afterwards extinguishing the lights, mingling

ling together indifferently, and of burning the first born that proceeded from these impure mixtures, in order to swallow their ashes. These come pretty near to the reproaches cast upon the first Christians; and these calumnies, I imagine, the Pagans raised against them from no other foundation, but that sometimes when they partook of the Lord's supper, they eat bread made in the form of little children, in order to represent the body of our Saviour, as is still practised in some of the Grecian churches. The heretics I have been mentioning were accused particularly, of teaching that God did not really come upon the earth, that he could not be born of a virgin, that he neither died nor rose again, and if so, they were not Christians. I find that accusations of this sort always contradict themselves.

The only thing certain is, that king Robert, and his wife Constantia, removed to Orleans, where some meetings of those called Manicheans were held; when the bishops caused thirteen of these unhappy persons to be burnt, and the king and queen assisted at this spectacle, so unworthy of their majesties. Never before this execution was any person put to death in France, for preaching what they did not understand. It is true, that in the fourth century Priscillian, with seven of his followers, was condemned to death at Triers: but this city, which was then in Gaul, was not annexed to France since the declension of the family of Charlemaign. It is worthy of observation, that St. Martin of Tours would not communicate with the bishops, who had sought the blood of Priscillian; and loudly declared that it was a horrible action to condemn men to death, because



cause they were mistaken. There was no St. Martin to be found in the time of king Robert.

There then gathered some slight clouds about the eucharist; but they did not yet burst into a storm. I do not know how this contentious subject, which should have been only adored in silence, escaped the warm imaginations of the Greek Christians: but it was probably neglected, from its giving no scope to the metaphysics cultivated by the Greek doctors, since they adopted the ideas of Plato. They had found the means of making use of this philosophy in the explication of the Trinity, in the consubstantiality of the Word, in the union of two natures and two wills, and, in fine, in the abyss of predestination: but the questions, Whether the bread and wine were changed into the second person of the Trinity, and consequently into God? and, Whether we eat and drink this second person in the Trinity by faith alone? were of another kind, which do not appear to be subject to the philosophy of those times. Thus, in the first ages of Christianity, people were contented with eating the Lord's supper in the evening; and in the time I am speaking of, with communicating at the mass under both species, without having any fixed and determinate ideas, in relation to this mystery.

It appears that in many churches, and particularly in England, they believed that they only eat and drank the body and blood of Christ spiritually. We find in the Bodleian library a homily, wrote in the tenth century, in which are these words. "It is truly, by consecration, the  
 " body and blood of Jesus Christ, not corporally,  
 " but spiritually. The body in which Jesus Christ  
 " suffered, and the eucharistical body, are entirely  
 " different.

“ different. The first was composed of flesh and  
 “ bones, animated by a rational soul ; but what  
 “ we call the eucharist, has neither blood, nor  
 “ bones, nor soul. We ought then to under-  
 “ stand it in a spiritual sense.”

John Scotus, surnamed Erigena, because he came from Ireland, had for a long time before supported the same opinion, in the reign of Charles the Bald, and even as it is said, by that emperor's order.

In the time of John Scotus, Ratramne, a monk of Corby, and others, wrote on this mystery in such a manner, as at least to leave room to doubt, whether they believed what has since been called the *real presence*: for Ratramne, in his works addressed to the emperor Charles the Bald, says in express terms, “ The body of Jesus Christ is  
 “ seen, received, and eaten, not by the bodily  
 “ senses, but by the eyes of the minds of the  
 “ faithful.”

People however wrote against them, and the most common opinion doubtless was, that they eat the true body of Jesus Christ, since they disputed, in order to know whether it was digested, and voided with the excrements.

At length Berenger, archdeacon of Tours, taught about the year 1050, both by his writings and in the pulpit, that the true body of Jesus Christ is not, nor cannot be in the bread and wine.

He affirmed that what would cause an indigestion, if eaten in too great a quantity, could be nothing but bodily food ; that what would cause intoxication, if drunk in too large a quantity, was a real liquor ; that there was no such thing as whiteness without a white subject, no roundness with-

out a subject that was round, &c. These propositions were then so much the more offensive, as Berenger, having a very great reputation, had consequently many enemies. The person who distinguished himself most against him, was Lanfranc, a native of Lombardy, born at Pavia, who was come to France to seek his fortune; and his reputation was equal to that of Berenger. This is the method he made use of to confound him, in his treatise *De corpore Domini*:

“ We may say with truth, that the body of  
 “ our Lord in the eucharist, is the same as that  
 “ which was brought forth by the virgin, and  
 “ that it is not the same: it is the same, as to  
 “ the essence and properties of real nature; and  
 “ it is not the same, as to the species of bread  
 “ and wine; so that it is the same as to the sub-  
 “ stance, and it is not the same as to the form.”

Lanfranc's opinion seems to be that of the whole church. Berenger had reasoned merely as a philosopher; but the point in question was an article of faith, a mystery which the church considered as incomprehensible. Berenger as a member of this church, ought to have had the same belief, and to have submitted his reason in the same manner as the rest of the body. He was condemned at the council of Paris in 1050, as also at Rome in 1079; and he was obliged to pronounce his recantation; but this being forced, only served to impress those sentiments more deeply in his heart; he therefore died in the same opinion, which at that time caused neither a schism, nor a civil war. Temporalities alone were the grand objects that excited the ambition of mankind. The other source, that was to occasion the shed-  
 ding

ding of so much human blood, was not yet opened.

We have reason to believe, that the ignorance of those times strengthened the popular superstitions. I shall relate some examples, which have long exercised human credulity. It is pretended, that the emperor Otho III. put Mary of Arragon, his wife, to death, on account of adultery; and it is very possible, that a cruel and bigotted prince, such as Otho III. is painted, might punish with death a wife less debauched than himself. But twenty authors have written, and Maimbourg has repeated after them, and others have repeated after Maimbourg, that the empress having made some advances to a young Italian count, who refused her from a principle of virtue, she accused him to the emperor, and he was punished with death: when the count's widow, say they, came with her husband's head in her hand, to demand justice, and to prove his innocence; the widow insisted on being put to the trial of hot iron, and held in her hand an iron bar red hot, so long as was desired, without being burnt: this prodigy serving as a legal proof, the empress was condemned to be burnt alive.

Maimbourg should have considered, that this fable is related only by authors who wrote long after the reign of Otho III. and that they do not give the names of the Italian count, or of the widow who handled a bar of red hot iron without being hurt. In short, though even cotemporary authors should attempt to give authentic accounts of such events, they would not deserve greater credit, than the wizards who depose before a court of justice, that they have assisted at the nocturnal meetings of witches.

The adventure of the iron bar ought to discredit the punishment of the empress Mary of Arragon, related in so many dictionaries and histories, where, in every page, falsehood and truth are mingled together.

The second event is of the same kind. It is pretended that Henry II. successor to Otho III. tried the fidelity of his wife Cunigunda, by making her walk barefooted over nine red hot plowshares. This history, related in such a number of martyrologies, deserves the same answer as that of the wife of Otho.

Desiderius, abbot of Mount Cassino, and many other writers, relate a fact nearly of the same kind. In the year 1063, the monks of Florence, displeased at their bishop, went through the city and country, crying: "Our bishop is guilty of simony, and is a knave." And they had, it is said, the boldness to promise, that they would prove this accusation by the trial of fire. The day was therefore fixed for the observance of this ceremony, and that was on the Wednesday in the first week of Lent. Two piles of wood were prepared, each ten feet in length and five in breadth, separated by a path a foot and a half broad, filled with dry wood. The two piles being lighted, and the wood in this space reduced to coals, a monk, called Aldobrandin, passed through this path with a grave and solemn pace, and even returned half way back to take from the midst of the flames his maniple, which he had let fall. This has been related by many historians, and cannot be denied without overturning the very foundations of history; but it is certain, that we cannot give credit to it without overturning the very foundation of reason. It

It is doubtless possible, that a man may pass very swiftly between two burning piles of wood, and even on hot embers, without being intirely burnt; but his passing and repassing with a grave step to take up his maniple, is one of those adventures of the golden legends, which ought no longer to be mentioned to men of sense.

The last proof I shall relate, is that made use of in Spain after the taking of Toledo, to prove, whether they ought to repeat the Roman office, or that called Mosarabic. It was at first unanimously agreed to terminate the quarrel by a duel: two champions armed cap-a-pee fought according to all the rules of chivalry; when Don Ruis de Martanza, knight of the Mosarabic mass-book, made his adversary lose his saddle, and threw him to the ground: but the queen, who had a great inclination for the Roman mass-book, resolved that they should make the trial of fire. All the laws of chivalry were against it; however, the two mass-books were thrown into the flames, and were probably burnt; when the king to please every body, gave such orders, that some churches prayed to God, according to the Roman ritual, and others kept the Mosarabic.

Every thing sacred in religion was disfigured in the West by customs the most ridiculous and extravagant. The festivals of fools, and asses, were established in most churches. On days of solemnity they created a bishop of fools; and an ass was led into the body of the church, dressed in a cope and a four cornered cap.

Church dances, feasting on the altar, revelry, and obscene farces, were the ceremonies observed on those festivals; and the extravagance lasted

about seven centuries in many dioceses. If we were to consider only the usages here related, we should imagine we were reading an account of Hottentots or negroes; and it must be confessed that in many things we did not fall much short of them.

Rome ever condemned these barbarous customs, as well as duels, and ordeals. In the rites of that church, notwithstanding the scandalous lives of many popes, and the frequent confusion of government, there was more decorum and gravity than in those of other sees; and upon the whole it appeared that Rome, when free and well administered, was formed to direct the rest of the Christian world.



## C H A P. XXXVI.

*Of the Empire, Italy, the emperor Henry IV. and Gregory VII. Of Rome and the empire in the eleventh century.*

**I**T is now time to return to the ruins of Rome, and to the shadow of the throne of the Cæsars, lately revived in Germany.

The fate of Rome and Italy was very uncertain. The German emperors looked upon themselves as sovereigns of the western world. But they were hardly sovereigns in Germany, where the grand feudal government of lords and bishops began to take deep root. The Norman conquerors had erected a new power in Apulia and Calabria. The great cities in Italy were inspired by  
The

the example of the Venetians with the love of liberty. The popes were not sovereigns as yet, but they were aiming at sovereignty.

The right resumed by the emperors of nominating the popes, began to be established; but it is easy to see, that the first favourable circumstance must have given a sudden turn to affairs. Such a circumstance soon fell out under the minority of the emperor Henry IV. who in the life-time of his father Henry III. was acknowledged his successor. 1056.

Even so early as the reign of Henry III. the Imperial authority began to decline in Italy. His sister, the countess or dutchess of Tuscany, mother of the great benefactress of the popes, the countess Matilda of Este, was the person who chiefly contributed to excite all Italy against her brother. She was possessed of the dutchy of Mantua, and of a considerable part of Tuscany and Lombardy; but having been so imprudent as to venture her person in Germany, she was there confined for a long time by the emperor's orders. Her daughter, the countess Matilda, inherited her ambition, together with her aversion to the Imperial family.

During the minority of Henry IV. several popes owed their election to intrigues, to money, and to civil dissensions. At length Alexander II. was chosen pope in 1061, without consulting the Imperial court. In vain did the Germans nominate another pope; their Interest was then upon the decline in Italy. Alexander II. carried his point, and his competitor was driven out of Rome.

When Henry IV. came of age, he saw himself emperor of Italy and Germany, but hardly possessed of any power. Part of the secular and



ecclesiastic princes of his own country had conspired against him; and it is plain, that he could not be master of Italy but at the head of an army, which he wanted. His power was inconsiderable, but his courage was superior to his fortune.

1073. Some authors mention, that being accused at the diet of Wurtzburg of having intended to assassinate the dukes of Swabia and Carinthia, he offered to fight the accuser, who was only a private gentleman. The day was fixed for the combat, but the accuser not appearing the emperor was acquitted.

As soon as the authority of a prince is contested, an attack is made upon his morals. He was publicly accused of having mistresses, while the clergy of every rank enjoyed variety of concubines with impunity. He wanted to be divorced from his wife, a daughter of the marquis of Ferrara, with whom he said he was incapable of consummating his marriage. Besides, he had alienated the minds of the people by some flights of youth, and his conduct had weakened his power.

There resided at that time at Rome a monk of the order of Cluny, lately created cardinal; a man of a restless, fiery, and enterprising disposition; but chiefly remarkable for his furious zeal for the pretensions of the church, which he sometimes made subservient to his private interests. Hildebrand was the name of this daring man, afterwards the celebrated Gregory VII. He was born at Soana in Tuscany, of obscure parents, brought up at Rome, admitted monk of Cluny under the abbot Odilo, deputed afterwards to negotiate the affairs of his order at Rome, employed by that court in all those political concerns that require dexterity

dexterity and resolution; and already celebrated in all parts of Italy for his zeal and intrepidity. The public expected he would succeed to Alexander II. as he had had the administration of affairs under that pontificate. All that the malice or flattery of a multitude of writers have said of this pope, is concentered in a portrait drawn by a Neapolitan artist, where Gregory is represented holding a crook in one hand, and a whip in the other, trampling sceptres under his feet, with St. Peter's net, and fishes on each side of him.

Gregory engaged pope Alexander II. to take a bold and very extraordinary step, in summing the young emperor Henry to appear at Rome before the tribunal of the holy see. This is the first <sup>1073.</sup> instance of such an enterprize. And at what time did it happen? When Rome had been accustomed by Henry III. father of Henry IV. to receive her bishops, upon a simple nomination from the head of the empire. This was the very yoke which Gregory wanted to shake off: to prevent the Germans from giving laws to Rome, he said would have the pope superior to the emperor. So bold a step was attended with no bad consequence at that time. Alexander seemed to be a kind of forlorn hope, sent by Hildebrand against the empire, before he gave battle: for he died soon after this first act of hostility.

Hildebrand had interest to procure himself to be elected and installed by the people of Rome, without waiting for the emperor's permission: but he soon obtained this permission, upon promising fealty and allegiance. Henry accepted of his excuses; and his chancellor of Italy repaired to Rome, to confirm the election. Upon this occasion

sion Henry, whom his courtiers advised to beware of Gregory, publicly declared, that this pope could never be ungrateful to his benefactor. But Gregory was scarce settled on the papal throne, when he pronounced excommunication against all those, who received benefices from the hands of laymen, and against every layman that conferred them. His design was to deprive all secular patrons of the right of presentation to church livings; which indeed was setting the church at open variance with the sovereigns of all nations. His violent temper broke out at the same time against Philip I. king of France. The dispute was concerning some Italian merchants, of whom the French had extorted money. The pope wrote a circular letter to the bishops of France, in which he has these words: "Your king is rather  
 " a tyrant than a king; he spends his days in  
 " infamy and vice;" and to these indiscreet expressions, he annexed the ordinary menace of excommunication.

1075. Not long after, while Henry was engaged in a civil war against the Saxons, the pope sent two legates to him, with summons to come and answer to the charge of having granted the investiture of benefices, and threatening to excommunicate him in case he refused to comply. The two messengers, who brought this strange summons, delivered their message to the emperor just after he had obtained a complete victory over the Saxons, when he was crowned with glory, and grown more powerful than they expected. It is easy to conceive with what disdain a young emperor of five-and-twenty, victorious, and jealous of his dignity, must have received this message: yet he

he did not inflict any exemplary punishment upon them, the prejudices of the times not allowing of such a step; all he did, was to treat this audacity with contempt, and to abandon these indiscreet le- 1076.  
gates to the contumelies of the servants attending his court.

About this very time the pope excommunicated also the Norman princes of Apulia and Calabria, (as we have already mentioned in the thirtieth chapter.) Such a number of excommunications thundered out all at once, would in our days appear to be the effect of madness: but we are to observe, that when Gregory VII. menaced the king of France, he addressed his bull to the duke of Aquitaine, the king's vassal, who had as much power as the king himself; that when he darted his thunderbolts against the emperor, he had a part of Italy on his side, together with the countess Matilda, Rome and one half of Germany; that in regard to the Normans, they were his avowed enemies; and then the conduct of Gregory VII. will appear rather violent and daring, than weak and extravagant. He was sensible, that in raising his dignity above the emperor, and all other princes, he would be supported by the rest of the prelates, who must be pleased to see themselves the members of a head, to whose yoke the secular powers were obliged to submit. His scheme was not only to throw off all dependency on the emperors, but moreover, to bring Rome, the emperors, and kings, into subjection to the popedom. The attempt might cost him his life, and it was what he ought to expect; but he flattered himself, that at least the peril of the enterprise would crown his memory with glory.

Henry IV. being too busy in Germany, to be able to march into Italy, took a step, by which he seemed to revenge himself rather as an Italian lord, than as a German emperor. Instead of employing a general and an army, he is said to have made use of a ruffian, named Cencius, who seized upon the pope in the church of St. Mary Major, at the very time he was celebrating divine service. The desperate villains that were with him, struck the pontif, and gave him several wounds: from thence they hurried him away, and confined him in a tower, of which Cencius had got possession.

1076. The emperor acted a little more in the character of a prince, in calling a council of bishops, abbots, and doctors, at Worms, where he caused the pope to be deposed; and the sentence was agreed to by the votes of the whole assembly, two only excepted. But this council wanted troops to oblige the Romans to pay a proper regard to their decisions. Henry only weakened his authority, by writing to the pope that he deposed him, and to the people of Rome, that he forbad them to acknowledge Gregory as their bishop.

1076. No sooner had the pope received these frivolous letters, than he assembled a council at Rome, in which he expressed himself in these words: " In the name of the Almighty God, and by *our* authority, I prohibit Henry, the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Teutonic kingdom and Italy. I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and I strictly charge every person whomsoever never to serve, or attend him as king." It is well known, that this is the first instance of a pope's pretending

pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown. We have already beheld the example of bishops deposing Lewis the Debonnair, but there was at least some colour for that step. They condemned Lewis, in appearance, only to a public penance; but nobody, since the foundation of the church, had presumed to speak in the same style as Gregory. The pope, in his circular letters, breathes the same spirit as in his excommunicatory sentence; for he repeats these expressions several times, "that bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them;" expressions equally artful and presumptuous, as they were likely to make the prelates in all parts of the world his friends.

In all probability, when Gregory VII. thus deposed his sovereign, only by pronouncing a few words, he depended on the diversion which would be made in his favour by the civil wars in Germany, which began to revive with the utmost fury. The death of a bishop of Utrecht, who had been most instrumental in the pope's condemnation, contributed also to bring over the Germans to Gregory's side. It is pretended, that this bishop being seized with a sudden and painful illness, which deprived him of life, had declared his repentance for having been concerned in deposing the pope, deeming it a sacrilegious act. This remorse of the bishop, whether true or false, produced a sense of sorrow and pity in the people. The time was past, when Germany was united under the Othos; so that Henry IV. saw himself surrounded at Spire by the army of the confederates, who availed themselves of the pope's bull to distress their sovereign. The like revolutions were a natural consequence of the feudal government.

Each

Each German prince was jealous of the Imperial power, as in France the high barons were jealous of their king. The fire of civil war still lay concealed, and the timely thundering of a bull might light it up.

The confederate princes granted Henry his liberty, on condition that he should live as a private person, and under sentence of excommunication, at Spire, without performing either any regal or Christian function, till the pope came to preside at Augsburg at a diet of princes and bishops, by whom he was to be solemnly tried.

One would think that those princes, who had a right of chusing the emperor, had also a right to depose him; but to make the pope preside at this trial, was in reality acknowledging him to be the supreme judge both of the emperor and the empire. Here Gregory and the popedom exulted in their victory; and Henry, reduced to such an extremity, took another step, which greatly added to the solemnity of the triumph.

In order to prevent this fatal judgment of Augsburg, he suddenly resolved to pass the Tyrolese Alps with a few domestics, and to ask absolution of the pope. Gregory was then with the countess Matilda, in the town of Canosa, the antient Canusium, on the Apennine mountains near Reggio, a fortress then considered as impregnable. The emperor, who had been celebrated for so many victories, presents himself at the gate of the fortress, without either guards or attendants. They stopped him as soon as he had passed the first inclosure, stripped him of all his cloaths, and then clad him with a hair cloth. He was obliged to wait barefooted for some time in the court-yard  
though

though it was in the month of January: afterwards they made him fast three days, without admitting him to kiss the pope's feet; who, during this whole time, had shut himself up with the countess of Matilda, whose spiritual director he had been for some time. It is no wonder that the enemies of this pope should have censured his conduct in regard to that princess: true it is, that he was then sixty years old; but still he was a spiritual director, and Matilda was a weak young woman. The devout language which we find in the pope's letters to this princess, compared with the extravagance of his ambition, might induce some to suspect that he made use of religion as a cloak to all his passions. However, it must be owned, that there is not a single fact, or circumstance, to ground these suspicions. Voluptuous hypocrites have neither such constancy in their enthusiasm, nor such intrepidity in their zeal. Gregory was austere, and this is the very thing that made him dangerous.

At length the emperor was permitted to throw himself at the pope's feet, who consented indeed to absolve him, but at the same time made him swear that he would wait for the papal sentence at the diet of Augsburg, and in every respect submit himself to it. Some other bishops and German lords of the emperor's party, made the same submission. Gregory then looking upon himself, and indeed not without reason, as the lord and master of all the crowned heads of the earth, said in several of his letters, that it was his duty to pull down the pride of kings.

The people of Lombardy, who still held out for the emperor, were so provoked at this mean submission,



submission, that they were very near deserting him. Gregory was more hated in this part of Italy, than in Germany; and luckily for Henry, the aversion to the pope's extravagant ambition, prevailed over the indignation with which they had heard of this prince's mean behaviour. He made a proper use of this disposition of the people, and by a strange reverse of fortune in a German emperor, he found himself very powerful in Italy, while he was deserted in Germany. All Lombardy was up in arms against the pope, and Gregory was raising all Germany against the emperor.

On the one side, the pope acted under hand to prevail on the Germans to elect another emperor, and Henry used every endeavour to make the Italians chuse another pope. Accordingly, the Germans chose Rodolph duke of Swabia; and Gregory wrote word, that he would determine between Henry and Rodolph, and bestow the imperial crown on him who would be most submissive to the Roman see. Henry put more confidence in his troops, than in the holy father, but happened to meet with some ill success; upon which the pope grew more haughty, and excommunicated him the second time in 1080. "I deprive him of his crown, said he, and give away the German kingdom to Rodolph." And in order to make people believe that he was really the bestower of empires, he made a present to this Rodolph of a crown of gold, on which this verse was ingraved.

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho\*.*

\* The rock has given this crown to Peter, and Peter gives it to Rodolph. The pun is in the Latin word *petra*, and therefore is lost in English.

I

This.

This wretched pun shews the taste of those times, and likewise the pride of the Roman pontif.

In the mean time, Henry's party began to recover itself in Germany; and this very prince, who, clad in haircloth and barefooted, had waited three days at the mercy of a person, whom he considered as his subject, took two generous resolutions upon this occasion; one to depose the pope, and the other to give battle to his competitor. Accordingly he assembled about twenty <sup>1080.</sup> bishops at Brixen in the county of Tyrol, who, with the concurrence of the prelates of Lombardy, excommunicated and deposed Gregory VII. as an encourager of tyrants, and one that was guilty of simony, sacrilege, and sorcery. They then proceeded to the election of a new pope, and conferred this dignity on Guibert archbishop of Ravenna. While this new pope hurries away to Lombardy, in order to excite the people against Gregory; Henry puts himself at the head of his army, and marches against Rodolph his rival. Was it excess of enthusiasm; or what we call a pious fraud, that induced Gregory to predict that Henry would be vanquished and slain in the course of this war? *Let me be no longer pope,* says he in a letter to the German bishops of his party, *if it will not fall out so before St. Peter's day.* Sound reason tells us, that whoever pretends to foretell future events, is either a knave or a fool. But let us consider the reigning prejudices of those days. Judicial astrology was ever the superstition of the learned: and Gregory is accused of having listened to Astrologers. In the act of his deposition at Brixen, it is mention-  
ed,

ed, that he concerned himself in the interpreting of dreams; and it was on this foundation that they accused him of sorcery. He was treated as an impostor because of this false and strange prediction; when perhaps his only guilt was too much credulity.

His prediction fell out upon his own creature Rodolph, who met with a complete overthrow, 1080. Godfrey of Bouillon, nephew of the countess Matilda, the same who afterwards made the conquest of Jerusalem, slew this emperor whom the pope was so proud of having elected. Who could believe, that Gregory upon hearing of this event, instead of courting Henry, should write to all the bishops of Germany, that they must proceed to the election of another sovereign, on condition of his yielding homage to the holy see? These letters shew plainly, that there was still in Germany a powerful party against Henry.

At this very time it was that the pope ordered his legates in France, to demand a yearly tribute of a silver denier for every house, as was the practice in England.

He treated Spain even in a more despotic manner; for he pretended to be the lord paramount of the whole kingdom: and in his sixth letter he says, that it is much better it should belong to the Saracens, than not to yield homage to the holy see.

He wrote thus to Salomon, king of Hungary, a country which at that time had hardly embraced Christianity. "You may learn from the  
" elders of your nation, that the kingdom of  
" Hungary belongs to the church of Rome."

Enterprizes

Enterprizes of this nature, how rash soever they may appear to us, are generally a consequence of the prejudices of the times. Undoubtedly the ignorance which prevailed in those days, made a multitude of people believe, that the church was absolute mistress of all kingdoms; since the pope constantly wrote in this style.

His inflexibility in regard to Henry was not without some cause; for he had gained such an ascendant over the countess Matilda, as to persuade her to make an authentic donation of her territories to the holy see, reserving to herself only the usufruct during life. It is not known, whether there was a public instrument of this donation. It was the custom for those who gave away their lands to the church, to put a lump of earth upon the altar. Witnesses rendered the deed authentic: and Matilda is said to have given away all her lands twice to the holy see.

The truth of this donation, afterwards confirmed by her will, was not disputed in the least by Henry IV. This is the most authentic title that was ever set up by the popes: and yet this very title proved a subject of fresh quarrels. The countess Matilda was in possession of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, part of Umbria, and the duchy of Spoleto, with Verona, and almost all that is now called the patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto, and part of the marquisate of Ancona.

Henry III. had granted this marquisate to the popes; yet this grant did not hinder the mother of the countess of Matilda from putting herself into possession of towns, which she considered as her property. One would think that Matilda wanted

to

to repair after her mother's decease, the injury she had done the holy see when living. But she could not give away fiefs that were unalienable; and the emperors pretended that her whole patrimony was a fief of the empire. She was making a grant of lands that were first to be conquered; which was intailing war on those who reaped her inheritance. Henry IV. as next heir and lord paramount looked upon this donation, as an infringement of the rights of the empire; yet after a long struggle the holy see kept possession of part of those dominions. This donation was made a little after the emperor had humbled himself before the pope at Canosa: and Henry was the next heir of Matilda, both as a relation and as lord paramount.

2081. Henry breathing revenge came at length and laid siege to Rome, and soon made himself master of the part of the town on this side the Tiber, which is called the Leonina. While he menaces the pope, he enters into a treaty with the citizens, and gains the chief inhabitants by money. The people throw themselves at Gregory's feet, intreating him to avert the miseries of a siege, and to submit to the emperor. The intrepid pontif replies, that the emperor must do penance once more, if he expects to receive absolution.

Henry at first carried on the siege in person, but was afterwards obliged to leave the direction of it to his generals, in order to go and quell a revolt in Germany: this occasioned the siege to be protracted; but at length the city was taken by storm. It is surprizing, that the German emperors should have so often made themselves

themselves masters of Rome, and yet never chose to reside there. But Gregory VII. was not yet taken; for he had retired into the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he still defied and excommunicated the emperor.

Rome was severely punished for her pope's ambition. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, one of the famous Normans, of whom I have already made mention, took the opportunity of the emperor's absence, to come to the pope's assistance: but at the same time he plundered Rome, which was equally a prey to the Imperialists who besieged the pope, and to the Neapolitans who set him free. Gregory VII. died some time after at Salerno the 24th of May 1085, leaving behind him a memory dear and sacred to the Roman clergy who inherited his pride, but detestable to the emperors and to every good citizen, who considers the effects of his inflexible ambition. The church, whose cause he avenged, and to whom he died a victim, has ranked him in the list of Saints, as the antients used to place their defenders among the Gods.

The countess Matilda having lost pope Gregory, soon after married the young prince Guelfe, son of Guelfe, duke of Bavaria. Then was seen the imprudence she had been guilty of in making the above-mentioned donation: for she was only two and forty years of age, and she might still have had children, who must have engaged in a civil war to recover their inheritance.

The death of Gregory VII. did not extinguish the flames he had kindled. His successors would not submit to have their elections approved of by the emperor; and instead of yielding homage to others,

others, they expected it should be paid to themselves: besides, if an emperor was excommunicated, he ceased to be looked upon as a human creature. Hildebrand the monk was succeeded by an abbot of mount Cassino, who had the same spirit; but his reign was very short: to him succeeded Urban II. a Frenchman of obscure birth, who reigned eleven years; and both of them proved bitter enemies to the emperor.

It seems evident to me, that the real bottom of the quarrel was this: the popes and the Romans did not chuse that the emperors should have any power in Rome; and the pretext, to which they would fain give the sanction of religion, was that the popes, being depositaries of the rights of the church, could not permit profane princes to invest the bishops with the crosier and ring. There could be no doubt but the bishops, as subjects of princes, and enriched by them, owed them homage for the lands which they held by their benevolence. The emperors and kings did not pretend to give the holy Ghost to those bishops, but they wanted them to swear fealty for their temporalities, which were surely their gift. The crosier and ring were accessories to the main question: but it happened here as in almost all disputes; they neglected the essential point, and wrangled about an indifferent ceremony.

Henry IV. constantly excommunicated and persecuted under this pretence by every pope in his time, experienced all the miseries that religious and civil wars are capable of producing. Urban II. stirred up his own son Conrad against him;

him; and after the death of this unnatural son, his brother, who was afterwards the emperor Henry V, made war against his father. This was the second time since Charlemaign that the popes persuaded children to take up arms against their parent.

Henry IV. deceived by his son Henry, as <sup>1106.</sup> Lewis the Debonnair had been by his, was confined in Mentz. There he was deposed by two of the popes legates; and two deputies of the diet, sent by his son, stripped him of his Imperial robes.

Not long afterwards he made his escape out of prison, and wandered about in great distress and poverty, without finding any assistance. At length he died in Liege, in a more miserable <sup>Aug. 71</sup> condition than Gregory VII. and in still greater obscurity, after having so long engaged the attention of all Europe, by his victories, his grandeur, his misfortunes, his vices, and his virtues. With his last breath he cried out, *Just God thou wilt revenge this parricide.* In all ages mankind have imagined that God gave ear to the curses of dying persons, and especially of parents: an error of some use and value, could it be a bar to villainy. Another error obtained more generally, that persons dying under excommunication were damned: the son of Henry IV. put the finishing stroke to his impiety, by affecting the barbarous religion of digging up the body of his father, which lay buried in the cathedral of Liege, and ordering it to be removed to a vault at Spire. Thus did he complete his unnatural hypocrisy.



## C H A P. XXXVII.

*Of the emperor Henry V. and of Rome, to the reign of Frederick I.*

**T**HIS Henry V. who in virtue of the pope's bull had dethroned his father, maintained the same prerogatives as his father against the church, as soon as he was possessed of the sovereignty.

The popes had already learnt to shelter themselves against the emperors under the protection of the kings of France; it is true, the papal pretensions struck directly at the authority of all sovereigns, but they knew how to soften by treaties those whom they insulted by their bulls. The kings of France had no pretensions at Rome; they were likewise neighbours to Germany, and jealous of its princes; of course they were the natural allies of the popes. This encouraged Paschal II. to come into France, to implore the assistance of king Philip; and his successors often followed his example. The pope, notwithstanding so many donations made to the church of Rome, and even that of the countess Matilda, was not yet grown a powerful prince. All these estates were either contested or possessed by others. The emperor probably maintained, that Matilda's lands ought to revert to him as a fief of the empire; and thus the popes were engaged both in a spiritual and temporal quarrel. All that Paschal II. could obtain of Philip II. was a permission to hold a council at Troyes; the government being then too weak, and too much divided to assist him with troops.

Henry

Henry V. having, after a short war, concluded a treaty with the Poles, engaged the princes of the empire to support his right: and now those very princes, who had helped to dethrone his father in virtue of the pope's bulls, joined with the son to cause those bulls to be annulled at Rome.

The emperor passed the Alps with a powerful 1111. army, and Rome was once more a scene of blood for this quarrel about the crozier and ring. Treaties, perjuries, excommunications and murders, succeeded each other with the greatest rapidity. Paschal II. having solemnly given up the point of investitures by swearing upon the gospels, made the cardinals annul his oath; a new way of breaking his word. He suffered himself to be treated in full council as a coward and a prevaricator, in order to be obliged to resume what he had given away. The emperor then marches a second time to Rome; for those German Cæsars hardly ever went thither but on the account of ecclesiastical disputes, the chief of which was the ceremony of the coronation. At length this Henry V. after having created, deposed, banished, and recalled several popes, and after having been as often excommunicated as his father, and like him disturbed by his great vassals in Germany, was obliged to terminate the war about the investitures by renoun- 1120. cing the crozier and the ring. He went further; for he solemnly resigned the right which he as well as the kings of France had claimed, of nominating to bishoprics, or of interfering in such a manner at elections, as to have the absolute disposal of them.

It was then determined in a council held at Rome, that kings should no longer grant investitures, with the ceremony of a crooked staff, but with a ring. The emperor confirmed in Germany the decrees of this council, and thus this bloody and preposterous war was ended. But at the same time that the council decided so particularly the kind of staff with which the bishoprics were to be granted, they took care not to meddle with the question, whether the emperor had a right to nominate to the see of Rome? or whether the pope was his vassal? or whether the estate of the countess Matilda belonged to the church, or to the empire? It seems as if they had reserved all these points as fuel for a new war.

1125. After the death of Henry V. without issue, the empire being still elective, was by means of an archbishop of Mentz, conferred on a prince of the house of Saxony, named Lotharius II. There was much less intrigue and quarrel about the Imperial throne than the papal chair; for though it had been ordained in a council held in 1059, by pope Nicholas III. that the pope should be elected by cardinal bishops, yet there was no set form or rule as yet established in these elections. This essential defect in the government was owing to the assemblies of the primitive Christians, who being generally obscure people, and united together by the common dread of the magistrates, secretly governed their poor and holy society by a plurality of voices. But riches having afterwards succeeded to indigence, all that remained of the primitive church, was this popular liberty now grown into licentiousness. The cardinals, bishops, priests, and clergy, who composed the pope's council,

council, had a great share in the election; but the rest of the clergy wanted also to enjoy their antient right; the people likewise looked upon their suffrage as necessary; and the emperors were of opinion, that all these votes together signified nothing.

Peter of Leon, son of a wealthy Jew, was elect- 1130.  
ed by one faction: and Innocent II. by another. This occasioned a civil war: the Jew's son, being the richest of the two, remained master of Rome, and was protected by Roger, king of Sicily (as hath been shewn in the 31st chapter;) the other being more artful and more fortunate, was acknowledged in France and Germany.

Here comes in an historical fact worthy of our particular notice. This Innocent II. in order to gain the emperor's vote, yields to him and to his children the usufruct of all the demesnes belonging to the countess Matilda, by a deed dated the 13th of June 1133. At length the Hebrew pope dying after a reign of eight years, Innocent II. was left peaceable possessor of the see of Rome, and a truce followed for some years between the priesthood and the empire. The enthusiasm of the crusades, which was then at its height, gave to people's minds another turn.

Rome, however, was not yet quiet; the antient love of liberty was not intirely rooted out of the people's breasts: several cities in Italy had taken the opportunity of these troubles, to erect themselves into republics, such as Florence, Sienna, Bologna, Milan, Pavia. Rome had likewise the great examples before her eyes of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, and still remembered that she had given birth to the Scipios. The people re-established a

shadow of a senate, whom the cardinals had abolished; and created a patrician instead of two consuls. The new senate signified to pope Lucius II. that the sovereignty resided in the people of Rome, and that the bishop ought to have no other care than that of consciences.

The senators entrenched themselves in the capitol, which pope Lucius laid siege to in person; but was wounded in the head with a stone, of which he died a few days after.

At the same time Arnold of Brescia, one of those enthusiastical men, who are dangerous to themselves and the rest of mankind, went about from town to town, preaching against the immense riches and luxury of the clergy. He came to Rome, where he found the minds of the people disposed to receive his doctrine; he had a notion of reforming the popes, and of restoring the liberty of that capital. Eugenius III. heretofore a Cistercian monk, was then pope. St. Bernard wrote to him in these words: "Beware of the Romans; they are odious to heaven and earth, guilty of impiety against God, and of rebellion against man; jealous of their neighbours, cruel to strangers: they love nobody, and nobody loves them: desirous of making every body fear them, they are afraid of all the world, &c." If we compare these antitheses with the lives of so many of these popes, whom we have mentioned, it would be easy to find an excuse for a people who bore the name of Romans, and wanted to get rid of their masters.

Pope Eugene III. managed things so as to bring these people back to their accustomed yoke. The senate continued some years after that: but Arnold of

of Brescia reaped no other fruit from his sermons, than being burnt at Rome under Adrian IV; the ordinary fate of reformers, who have more indiscretion than power.

I think it is proper here to observe, that this Adrian IV. an Englishman by birth, had arrived to this pitch of grandeur from the meanest condition of human life. He was a beggar's son, and had been a beggar himself, strolling about from country to country, before he could obtain to be admitted as a servant among the monks of Valence in Dauphiné: by degrees he afterwards raised himself, and at length was elected pope.

Mankind generally measure their behaviour by their present fortune. Adrian IV. was so much the more haughty, as he had raised himself to this dignity from the most abject condition. The church of Rome had always this advantage, of giving to merit what in other places is the consequence of high birth: and it is observable that those popes who have behaved with the highest spirit, were generally persons of the lowest extraction. There are monasteries now in Germany that admit of none but persons of noble families: Rome acts with more spirit, and less vanity.

\*\*\*\*\*

C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Of Frederick Barbarossa.*

**A**T that time reigned in Germany Frederick I. commonly called *Barbarossa*, a prince comparable to the Othos and the Charlemaigns:

lemaigns: he was chosen after the decease of his uncle Conrad III. not only by the German lords, but likewise by the Lombards, who gave their votes on this occasion. He was obliged to go to Rome for this Imperial crown, which the popes gave with such pride and such regret, wanting to crown him as a vassal, and vexed to see him their master. This ambiguous situation of the popes, of the emperors, the Romans, and the principal cities of Italy, caused the effusion of human blood every time an emperor was crowned. The custom was, that when the emperor drew near to Rome in order for his coronation, the pope entrenched himself, the people stood upon their guard, and all Italy was up in arms. The emperor promised, that he would make no attempt either against the life, the person, or the honour of the pope, the cardinals, and the magistrates: a knight armed cap-a-pee made this oath upon the cross in the name of Frederick. The pope went to meet the emperor some miles from Rome. The Roman ceremonial required, that his Imperial majesty should prostrate himself before the pope, kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead the holy father's white pad by the bridle the distance of nine Roman paces. It was not thus the popes received Charlemaign; Frederick looked upon this ceremony as a piece of insolence, and refused to submit to it: upon which all the cardinals fled, as if by this sacrilegious non-compliance he had given the signal for a civil war. But the Roman chancery, who kept a register of acts of this kind, made him sensible that his predecessors had complied with this part of their duty. I question, whether any other emperor,

peror, except Lotharius II. son of Henry V. had led the pope's horse by the bridle. However, the ceremony of kissing the pope's toe, was not so shocking to Frederick, because custom had established it: it was the leading the horse by the bridle, and the holding the stirrup, that filled him with indignation because it appeared new. Yet his pride submitted at length to those two affronts, which he considered only as empty marks of Christian humility, while they were looked upon by the Romans as proofs of subjection.

The deputies of the people of Rome were grown so insolent, since almost all the other cities of Italy, had rung the alarm for liberty, that they wanted to stipulate on their side with the emperor; but upon their opening their harangue with these words: "Great king, we have made you our fellow-citizen, and our prince, you that was a foreigner." The emperor provoked at so much pride, silenced them, and told them in plain terms, "Rome is no longer what it was formerly; it is not true, that you invited me into Italy and made me your prince; Charlemagne and Otho conquered you by their prowess: and I am by established possession your lawful master." With this answer he dismissed them; and he was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope, who put the sceptre and sword into his hands, and the crown on his head.

At that time they had so confused an idea of the dignity and rights of the empire, and their several pretensions were so contradictory to each other, that on the one hand the Romans mutinied, and there was a great deal of blood spilt, because the pope had crowned the emperor without the consent



of the senate and the people; and on the other hand pope Adrian wrote in all his letters, that he had conferred the benefice of the Roman empire on Frederick, *beneficium Imperii Romani*: this word *beneficium* literally signified a fief. Moreover he exhibited to public view a picture in Rome, in which was represented Lotharius II. on his knees before pope Alexander II. holding both his hands joined between those of the pontif, which was the characteristic of vassalage. The inscription on the picture was,

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:  
Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam.*

That is: "The king swears at the gate to maintain the honour of Rome; and he becomes the pope's vassal, who grants him the crown."

Frederick was then at Besancon, (for what we call Franche Comté, a part of the kingdom of Burgundy, had devolved to him by marriage) where he heard of these encroachments, and complained of them to his courtiers. A cardinal then present made answer: "And of whom then does he hold the empire, but of the pope? This speech irritated Otho count Palatine to such a degree, that he was very near running him through the body with the Imperial sword, which he held in his hand: the cardinal ran away, and the pope negotiated. The Germans in those days cut every knot with the sword; and the court of Rome got off by equivocations.

Roger, conqueror of the Mussulmen in Sicily, and of the Christians in the kingdom of Naples, had obtained the investiture of those countries, by kissing the feet of pope Urban II. his prisoner, who reduced the duty, or service, to six hundred  
*besants*

*besants* of gold, a coin in value about a pistole. When pope Adrian was besieged by William in 1156, he yielded to him all ecclesiastical pretensions. He even consented, that this island should never have any legate, nor be subject to an appeal to the see of Rome, except when the king pleased. Ever since that time the kings of Sicily, though the only princes that are vassals to the pope, are a kind of popes themselves in that island. The Roman pontifs, thus adored and abused, bore a resemblance, if I may dare use the expression, to the idols which the Indians used to beat, in order to obtain favours from them.

Adrian IV. took full revenge of every other prince that stood in need of his assistance; for thus he wrote to Henry II. king of England. "There is no doubt, and you know it well, that Ireland, and all the other islands that have embraced the faith, belong to the church of Rome: now you want to take possession of that island, in order to banish vice from thence, to enforce an observance of the laws, and with an intent of paying yearly St. Peter's penny for every house; and with pleasure we grant you your request."

If I may be permitted to make some reflections in this historical essay, I cannot help observing that the world is strangely governed. An English beggar, who was become a bishop in Italy, gives Ireland away, by his own authority, to a man who wants to usurp it. The popes had more than once gone to war about the investiture with the crozier and ring; and yet Adrian IV. sends king Henry II. a ring as a mark of the investiture of Ireland. If a king had given a ring upon presenting

senting to a prebend, he would have been guilty of sacrilege.

The intrepid activity of Frederick Barbarossa was scarcely able to subdue the popes who disputed the empire, the Romans who refused to submit to the yoke, and all the cities of Italy which wanted to assert their liberty: he was obliged, at the same time, to check the Bohemians who mutinied, and the Poles who were at war with him: nevertheless, he succeeded in every point. Poland was conquered, and erected into a tributary  
 1158. kingdom: and he quelled the tumults in Bohemia, which had been already made a kingdom by Henry IV. in 1086. It is said also, that the king of Denmark received the investiture of him. He secured the fidelity of the princes of the empire, by rendering himself formidable to foreign nations; and flew back to Italy, which was establishing its liberty on the troubles and perplexities of this prince. Here he found every thing in the utmost confusion, not so much owing to the efforts which the several cities had been making for the recovery of their liberty, as to that of party rages, by which, as I have already mentioned, the elections of the popes were distinguished.

After the death of Adrian IV. two opposite fac-  
 1160. tions tumultuously elected the persons called Victor II. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies were under a necessity of acknowledging the same pope as he did; and those princes who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. That which was therefore the shame and scandal of Rome, unavoidably became the signal of division and discord over all Europe. Victor II. was

I

Frede-

Frederick Barbarossa's pope; consequently Germany, Bohemia, and the half of Italy, adhered to him: the rest submitted to Alexander. It was in honour of this pope that the inhabitants of Milan, the avowed enemies of Frederick, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did the partisans of Frederick insist it should be called *Cæsarea*; the pope's name prevailed, and it was called \**Alessandria della paglia*, a surname which shews the difference between this little city, and others of that name formerly built in honour of the real Alexander.

Happy age, had it produced no other disputes! But Milan, for attempting to recover its liberty, was razed to the very foundations, and the emperor ordered salt to be sown on its ruins. Brescia, <sup>1162.</sup> Placentia, were dismantled by the conqueror; and the other cities, which had endeavoured to shake off the yoke, were deprived of their privileges. But pope Alexander, who had stirred them all up to revolt, came back to Rome upon the death of his competitor; and occasioned a civil war in that city. Frederick caused another to be elected pope, and upon the death of him, he nominated another: Upon this Alexander III. retires to France, the natural asylum of every pope who is at variance with the emperor. But still the fire he had kindled rages with all its fury; the Italian cities enter into a confederacy for the maintenance of their liberty; and the people of Milan rebuild their city in spite of the emperor. The pope at length, by negotiating, grew stronger than the emperor had done by fighting: Frederick was obliged to give way; and Venice had the honour, <sup>1177.</sup>

\* Alexandria built of straw.

of bringing about the reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a multitude of princes and cardinals, repaired to this city, already mistress of the sea, and one of the wonders of the world. Here the emperor put an end to the dispute, by acknowledging the pope, kissing his feet, and holding his stirrup on the banks of the sea. Every thing turned to the advantage of the church: Frederick promised to restore what had belonged to the holy see; but still the lands of the countess Matilda were not mentioned. At the same time he made a truce for six years with the cities of Italy. Milan, which had been lately rebuilt, as also Pavia, Brescia, and a great many others, thanked the pope for having restored them that precious liberty for which they had been fighting: and the holy father in a transport of joy, cried out, "God has been pleased that an old man, and  
 " a priest, should triumph over a potent and formidable emperor, without bloodshed."

It is observable, that during this long quarrel, though pope Alexander III. had often performed the ceremony of excommunicating the emperor, yet he never went so far as to depose him. Is not this conduct not only a mark of this pope's great prudence, but likewise a general condemnation of the extravagance of Gregory VII.?

After the pacification of Italy, Frederick Barbarossa set out for the wars of the crusades, and died by bathing himself in the Cydnus, of the same illness as that of which Alexander the Great had formerly with such difficulty recovered, when he plunged himself, all over covered with sweat, into that river. Probably this illness was a pleurisy.

Of

Of all the emperors Frederick had carried his pretensions the highest. He made the civilians in Bologna pass a determination in 1158, that the whole world belonged to him, and that the contrary opinion was heretical. But what was more substantial, at the ceremony of his coronation the senate and people of Rome took the oath of allegiance to him; an oath that did him no service, when pope Alexander III. triumphed over him at the congress of Venice. The Greek emperor Isaac Angelus never gave him any other title than that of advocate of the church of Rome; and Rome did all the mischief she could to her advocate.

As for pope Alexander, he lived four years longer in a glorious tranquillity, beloved by Rome and all Italy. He enacted in a numerous council, that henceforward for the canonical election of a pope, it would be sufficient to have two thirds of only the cardinal votes. And yet this regulation could not prevent the schisms, which were afterwards caused by what they call in Italy *la rabbia papale* \*.



## C H A P. XXXIX.

*Of the emperor Henry VI. and of Rome.*

**T**HE quarrel betwixt Rome and the German 1191, empire was still carried on with vigour. It is mentioned by historians, that when Henry VI. son of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa received

\* The papal madness,

upon

upon his knees the Imperial crown of Celestine III. the holy father, who was then upwards of fourscore, kicked it off the emperor's head with his foot. The fact is not at all probable: but its being believed shews sufficiently to what a degree the animosity of parties was carried. Had the pope behaved in that indecent manner, it would have been only a mark of dotage.

This coronation of the emperor Henry VI. exhibits to our view a far nobler object, and interests of higher importance. He wanted to be king of the two Sicilies; and notwithstanding his Imperial dignity, he consented to receive the pope's investiture for dominions, which heretofore yielded homage to the empire, and of which he looked upon himself as lord paramount and lawful proprietor. He desires to be the pope's liege vassal, and his holiness refuses him. The Romans would neither have Henry VI. for their neighbour, nor the king of Naples for their master; yet they were obliged to have him whether they would or not. Some nations seem doomed to servitude, and to submit to the first invader. Of the legitimate line of the Norman conquerors, there was none remaining but the princess Constantia, daughter of king William II. and married to Henry VI. Tancred, a bastard of this line, had been recognized as sovereign by the people and by the see of Rome. The question then was, who should be king; Tancred, who had the right by election, or Henry who had a right by his wife? The point was to be decided by the sword. In vain did the people of the two Sicilies proclaim the young son of

of Tancred upon the death of his father : it was Henry's good fortune to prevail.

1193.

One of the meanest actions a sovereign can be guilty of, contributed to this prince's success. Richard *coeur de lion*, the valiant king of England, in his return from a crusade, having been cast away upon the coast of Dalmatia, with difficulty escaped on shore, and travelled through the territories of the duke of Austria. This duke in defiance of the laws of hospitality, made the king of England prisoner, and sold him to the emperor Henry VI. as the Arabs sell their slaves. Henry insists on a large ransom, and with the money undertakes the conquest of the two Sicilies. Having succeeded in his expedition : he orders the body of king Tancred to be dug up, and beheaded by the public executioner ; a shocking and useless act of barbarity. The young king his son, after having had his eyes plucked out, was castrated, and confined to a prison in Coire in the country of the Grisons. His sisters were imprisoned in Alsace along with their mother. The adherents of this unfortunate family, whether lords, or bishops, died by the hands of the executioner. The treasure was all plundered, and carried into Germany.

Thus the crown of Naples and Sicily was transferred to Germans, after having been conquered by the French : And such a number of fair provinces fell under the dominion of sovereigns, whom nature had placed at the distance of three hundred leagues. This has been a perpetual source of discord ; and a very strong proof of the prudence of such a regulation as the Salic law ;



law; a law still more advantageous to a small than to an extensive state. Henry VI. was then more powerful than Frederick Barbarossa; almost despotic in Germany, sovereign of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, and lord paramount of Rome; so that he began to be formidable to all Europe. But his cruelty ruined him; his own wife Constantia, whose family he had extirpated, is said to have conspired against his life, and to have poisoned the tyrant.

Upon the death of Henry VI. the empire of Germany was divided. This was not the case of France; because the French were prudent, or fortunate enough to establish the order of succession. But the Imperial title, affected by Germany, contributed to render the crown elective: every bishop and every great lord gave his vote. This right of electing, and being elected, flattered the ambition of the several princes, and was sometimes the cause of the misfortunes of the empire.

The young Frederick II. son of Henry VI. was just out of his cradle, when he was chosen emperor by a faction, who gave the title of *King of the Romans* to his uncle Philip: another party chose Otho of Saxony. From these divisions of Germany the popes reaped a very different advantage, from what the emperors had received from those of Italy.

At length Innocent III. son of a gentleman of Anagni, in the neighbourhood of Rome, raised the structure of that temporal power, the materials of which his predecessors had been collecting during the space of four hundred years. The communicating of Philip, the attempting to de-

throne

throne young Frederick, the pretending to exclude forever the house of Swabia, so odious to the popes, from the throne of Germany and Italy, in short, the aspiring to be masters of crowned heads, was quite agreeable to the ordinary style of the see of Rome since the time of Gregory VII. But Innocent III. did not stop at such ceremonious trifles: he had now a fair opportunity, which he readily embraced, of recovering the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been so long contested, and was part of the famous inheritance of the countess Matilda.

Thus Romagna, Umbria, the March of Ancona, Orbitello, and Viterbo, acknowledged the pope for their sovereign; and his dominion extended from sea to sea. The Romans did not carry their arms further the four first ages of their republic, nor were these countries of such value to them as they proved to the popes. Innocent III. made even the conquest of Rome; so that the new senate paid him obeisance, and became the papal, not the Roman senate: the title of Consul was also abolished. The Roman pontiffs began from that time to be kings indeed, and the prejudices of religion occasionally rendered them the masters of crowned heads. But this great temporal power in Italy was not of long continuance.

The disputes, which in those days arose between the heads of the church, and France, Germany, and England, are of a most interesting nature. You have seen the quarrels between the priesthood and the empire down to pope Innocent III. and to the emperors Philip, Henry, and Otho, while Frederick II. was still in his minority.

minority. We must now turn our attention to France and England, and to the interests which these kingdoms had to manage with the empire of Germany.



## CHAP. XL.

*The state of France and England, till the reigns of St. Lewis, and of John Lackland, and Henry III. during the twelfth Century. Great change in the public administration in England and France. Murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. England becomes a province to Rome, &c.*

**T**HE feudal government was established almost all over Europe, and the laws of chivalry were in all countries very near the same. Particularly in France it was regulated, that if the lord of a fief said to his vassal, "Come along with me, for I want to wage war against the king my sovereign, who refuses to do me justice:" the vassal was obliged immediately to wait upon the king, and to ask him whether it was true, that he had denied to do justice to that lord. In case the king refused it, the vassal was forced to join his lord, and to march with him against the king within a limited number of days, under penalty of losing his fief. Such a regulation might properly be intitled, *An ordinance to wage a civil war.*

King

King Lewis the Fat was long employed in fighting against the barons within seven or eight leagues of Paris.

Lewis the Young had acquired a vast estate by marriage, but lost it by a divorce. Eleanor his wife, heiress of Guienne and Poitou, affronted him in such a manner as a husband could not put up with. This princess was so tired of attending her husband in those celebrated and unfortunate crusades, that she resolved to indemnify herself, to use her own words, for the wretched hours she was obliged to spend in company with a king, who was fitter to be a monk. The king caused his marriage to be annulled under pretence of being too near a-kin: those who have censured this prince for not keeping the dowry when he repudiated his wife, do not reflect that in those days a king of France had not power sufficient to commit such an act of injustice.

A descendant of William the Conqueror, already master of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Tourraine, was not so nice as Lewis the Young; but thought it no disgrace to marry a wanton lady, that brought him Guienne and Poitou for her dowry. This was Henry II. afterwards king of England, who paid homage to the king of France for those territories, which the latter would have been glad to pay to the English king.

The feudal government was equally disagreeable to the kings of France, England, and Germany. Those kings undertook, almost at the same time, and by the same measures, to raise troops independently of their vassals. Lewis the Young granted privileges to all the towns in his demesnes, on condition that the inhabitants of each,

each parish should repair to the army under the banner of the saint of their parochial church, as the kings themselves marched under the banner of St. Denis. Numbers of bondmen were enfranchised at that time, and became citizens; and the citizens had the privilege of chusing their municipal officers, their sheriffs, and their mayors.

The æra of the re-establishment of this municipal government of the cities and boroughs, may be fixed towards the year 1137 and 1138. Henry II. of England granted the same privileges to several towns, in order to get money from them for the raising of troops.

The emperors practised almost the same artifices in Germany. The city of Spire, for example, purchased in 1166, the privilege of chusing her own burgomasters, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishop: thus liberty, the natural privilege of mankind, arose from the indigence of princes. But this liberty was only a lesser servitude in comparison to what those cities of Italy enjoyed, which had then erected themselves into republics.

The inhabitants of Upper Italy had formed a plan of government upon that of antient Greece: most of those large cities having entered into a confederacy upon the recovery of their liberty, seemed to bid fair for becoming a formidable republic; but this government was soon destroyed by great and petty tyrants.

The popes had interests to manage with each of these cities, as also with the kingdom of Naples, Germany, France, England, and Spain, all at the same time. Every one of these had  
some

some disputes with the popes, who always came off with the advantage.

Lewis the Young having in the year 1142 excluded one of his subjects, named Peter la Chartre, from being made bishop of Bourges, the bishop was chosen in spite of him, and supported by Rome; and afterwards he interdicted the royal demesnes situate in his bishopric. This gave rise to a civil war, which was ended at length by a treaty, by which the king acknowledged the bishop, and intreated the pope to take off the interdict.

The kings of England had still greater broils with the church. One of the kings, whose memory is most revered by the English, is Henry I. the third king from the conquest, and who began his reign in 1100. They are indebted to him for his having abolished the law of *couvre feu*, which was so great a restraint to them. He shewed himself a wise legislator, in establishing the same weights and measures in every part of his dominions; a regulation which was easily executed in England, and has been always unsuccessfully projected in France. He confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor, which his father, William the Conqueror, had abolished. In fine, in order to bring the clergy over to his interest, he renounced the right of *regale*, which gave him the usufruct of all vacant benefices.

But he signalized his reign chiefly by a charter of privileges which he granted to the English nation; this was the origin of the liberties of that kingdom, which were afterwards so greatly enlarged. His father, William the Conqueror, had treated the English as slaves, of whom he  
was

was not afraid: his son shewed a greater regard for them; but it was because he stood in need of their assistance. He had usurped the crown from Robert his elder brother; therefore to gain the people over to his interest, he shewed them so much indulgence. But artful and absolute as he was, yet he could not hinder his clergy, and the see of Rome, from opposing those very investitures. In short, he was obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to be contented with the homage, which the bishops yielded him for their temporalities.

As for France, it had not yet felt these troubles; because the ceremony of the crozier and the ring had not yet been introduced into that kingdom.

The English bishops at that time were little less than temporal princes in their respective diocesses: this at least is certain, that the first vassals of the crown did not surpass them either in power or riches. In the reign of Stephen, successor of Henry I. a bishop of Salisbury, whose name was Roger, and who was married, and lived publicly with a woman whom he acknowledged for his wife, waged war against the king his sovereign. In the course of this war one of his castles was taken, where, it is said, were found forty thousand silver marks; which, reckoning eight ounces to the mark, amounts to two millions of livres the present money of France. An amazing sum, at a time when specie was so scarce, and commerce so greatly limited.

After the reign of this Stephen, which was disturbed by civil wars, England assumed a new form under Henry II. who strengthened this crown by the

the accession of Normandy, Anjou, Tourraine, Saintonge, Poitou, and Guienne. The whole kingdom enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, when this happiness was disturbed by the great quarrel between the king and Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury.

This Thomas Becket was a lawyer, who had been raised by king Henry II. to the dignity of chancellor, and at length to that of archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate to the holy see. No sooner was he made the second person in the kingdom, but he became an enemy to the first. A certain priest having been guilty of murder, the primate ordained that he should only be deprived of his benefice. The king was provoked at this judgment, and told him, that since a layman, in the like case, was punishable with death, he was encouraging the clergy to commit murder, by thus disproportioning the punishment to the crime. The archbishop maintained, that no clergyman could be punished with death; and immediately resigned his office of chancellor, in order to be intirely independent. The king proposed in parliament, that no bishop should be permitted to go to Rome; that none of his subjects should appeal to the holy see; that no vassal, or officer of the crown, should be excommunicated, or suspended from his office, without leave of the sovereign; and in fine, that the clergy, in regard to criminal cases, should be subject to the ordinary course of justice. These proposals were passed by all the temporal peers, but rejected at first by Thomas Becket. At length he was prevailed upon to give his assent to these equitable laws; yet he afterwards accused himself before



fore the pope of having betrayed the rights of the church, and promised never to be guilty of the like cowardice.

Upon his being accused before the peers of misdemeanors during the time he had been chancellor, he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, because he was an archbishop. However, he was condemned to imprisonment as a seditious person, both by the lords spiritual and temporal; upon which he fled to France, where he waited on Lewis the Young, the hereditary enemy of Henry II. The king of England used all the gentlest methods to engage the archbishop to return to his duty: in a voyage he made to France, he chose Lewis the Young, his lord paramount, for arbitrator; upon which occasion he expressed himself to Lewis in the following words. "Let  
 " the archbishop act towards me, as the holiest of  
 " his predecessors have behaved towards the lowest  
 " of mine, and I shall be satisfied." At length a feigned reconciliation was concluded between the  
 1170. king and the prelate; and Becket returned to England; but it was only to excommunicate all the bishops, canons, and inferior clergy, that had declared against him. They made their complaints to the king, who was then in Normandy, and his passion being raised to the highest degree, he cried out, "Is it possible, that not one of my  
 " servants will rid me of this turbulent priest?"

This expression, which indeed was very indiscreet, seemed only to encourage any ruffian to indulge the king's revenge, by assassinating a man who deserved to be punished by the laws of his country.

Accord-

Accordingly four of his domestics went to Canterbury, and murdered the archbishop at the foot of the altar. Thus a man, who might have been arraigned and condemned as a rebel, became a martyr, and the king was loaded with the shame and horror of this murder.

There is no mention in history of any punishment inflicted on those four assassins; it appears that justice was done only on the king.

We have seen how Adrian IV. gave Henry II. leave to usurp Ireland. Alexander III. successor to Adrian IV. confirmed this permission, if the king would positively swear that he had never commanded this murder, and would go barefooted to the tomb of the archbishop, to be whipped with rods by the canons of the cathedral of Canterbury. It would have been great in the pope to give away Ireland, if he had a right to dispose of it; but it was much greater to oblige a powerful but guilty king to ask forgiveness of his crime.

The king, whose children were in open rebellion against him, performed the penance after having subdued Ireland. He solemnly renounced all the prerogatives of the crown, which he had maintained against Becket. The English have since condemned this renunciation, and even this penance inflicted on their king. He ought not indeed to have resigned his prerogative, but he should have repented the murder: the interest of mankind requires, that there should be a curb to restrain the arbitrary sway of sovereigns, and to protect the lives of the people. This curb of religion might, by universal agreement, be intrusted into the hands of the pope, as we have already observed. The supreme pontif by interfering

no otherwise with temporal quarrels than to appease them, by admonishing kings and subjects of their duty, by rebuking them for their transgressions, and reserving excommunications for the most flagitious crimes, would have been always revered as God's image upon earth : but mankind are reduced to depend upon the laws and customs of each country for their defence ; laws often despised, customs as often perverted.

1189. England enjoyed a perfect tranquillity under Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the son and successor of Henry II. This prince was unsuccessful in regard to the crusades, but his country was happy. He had some disputes with Philip Augustus, which indeed are things unavoidable between a lord paramount and a potent vassal. These contentions made no alteration in the condition of their respective subjects : we must look upon all quarrels of this nature, between Christian princes, as the effects of a contagion, or pestilence, which depopulates provinces, without making any change in their limits, customs, or manners. What is most remarkable in those wars, is that Richard took from Philip Augustus his roll, or register of charters, which he always carried with him wherever he went, containing the several particulars of the revenues of the prince, a list of his vassals, and the state of his slaves and freedmen. The king of France was obliged to make a new register, in which his prerogative was rather increased than diminished.

1194. Another event worthy of attention is the captivity of a bishop of Beauvais, who was taken in his military accoutrements by king Richard. Pope Celestin III. demanded the bishop, saying to the king,

king, " You must restore me my son." But the king sent the bishop's curials to the pope, and at the same time answered him in these words from the history of Joseph, " know now whether it be thy son's coat, or no ?"

It must be observed in regard to this warlike prelate, that though the feudal laws did not oblige the bishops to fight, yet they enjoined them to lead their vassals to the place where the troops were to rendezvous.

Philip Augustus seized on the temporalities of the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre, for not having complied with this abuse, which was now become a duty. The bishops were condemned; upon which they suspended divine service throughout the kingdom, but were glad at length to come off by making a submission.

We shall see in the history of the crusades the rest of the adventures of Richard Coeur-de-Lion. John Lackland, his brother and successor, was certainly the greatest prince in Europe, in regard to extent of territory; for besides his father's dominions, he was also master of Britany, which he usurped from prince Arthur his nephew, to whom this province had devolved in right of his mother. But by invading the right of others, he at length was stripped of his own, and became a striking example, that should fill all bad princes with terror. He began with endeavouring to take possession of Britany, which belonged to his nephew Arthur, whom he took prisoner in an engagement, and confined in the tower of Roan; nor was it ever known what afterwards became of this young prince. All Europe with justice accused king John of having murdered his nephew: and luckily

for the instruction of all kings, it may be said, that this first crime was the cause of all his misfortunes. The feudal laws, which in other countries had been productive of such mischiefs and disorders, were attended here with a signal example of justice. The countess of Britany, mother of prince Arthur, presented to the court of peers in France, a petition signed by the barons of Britany. The king of England was summoned by the peers to make his appearance; and the summons was served upon him by the sergeants at arms. The king, who was accused, sent a bishop to Philip Augustus to demand a safe conduct. "Let him come," said the king, "he safely may." The bishop then asked, whether he would be safe also in returning? "Yes," answered the king, "if the judgment of the peers will permit." In default of appearance, the peers of France condemned John to death, and declared all the lands he possessed in France to be forfeited to the king. Philip immediately took an advantage of the crime committed by the king his vassal. John Lackland seems to have been of the same disposition as all tyrannical and dastardly princes: he suffered himself to be tamely stripped of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, and withdrew to England, where he was hated and despised. At first he found some relief in the pride of the English nation, who were provoked to see their king condemned in France; but the English barons were soon tired of granting money to a prince who did not know how to apply it. To complete his misfortune, John quarrelled with the court of Rome about an archbishop of Canterbury, whom the pope wanted to nominate in opposition to the laws.

Innocent

Innocent III. that prelate under whom the see of Rome grew so formidable, interdicted the kingdom of England, and strictly prohibited John's subjects to obey him. This ecclesiastical thunderbolt was really terrible, because the pope put it into the hands of Philip Augustus, to whom he transferred the kingdom in perpetuity, promising him the remission of all his sins, if he succeeded in the reduction of England. He even granted the same indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to those who went to recover the Holy Land. The king of France did not then declare, that it was not the pope's place to give away crowns: he himself had been excommunicated some years before in 1199, and his kingdom had been subjected to an interdict by this very pope Innocent III. for having attempted to marry another wife. He had declared those papal censures insolent and abusive; and had seized on the temporalities of every bishop and priest in France, that had been so bad a subject as to obey the pope. But he thought quite differently when he saw himself commissioned with the execution of a bull, which was to put England into his possession. Then he took again to his bed that very wife, whose divorce had been the cause of so many excommunications; and bent his mind intirely upon executing the sentence of the see of Rome. He employed a whole year in building 170 ships, and in raising and disciplining the finest army ever seen in France. The aversion which the English bore to king John, might, in regard to king Philip, be esteemed equivalent to another army. The French king was just ready to set sail, and John on his side was making every preparative necessa-

ry for a defence. But though he was so greatly hated by a part of the nation, yet by means of the perpetual emulation between the English and the French, by the horror his subjects conceived against the pope's arbitrary proceedings, and in fine, by the help of the prerogatives of the crown, which were still very considerable, he was able to raise and keep together a few weeks, an army of near sixty thousand men, at the head of which he advanced towards Dover, to meet the person who had tried and condemned him in France, and was coming to dethrone him in England.

All Europe was then in expectation of a decisive engagement betwixt the two kings, when the pope tricked them both, and artfully usurped to himself what he had given away to Philip. This extraordinary negotiation was managed and concluded by a subdeacon, named Pandulph, one of his domestics, and legate in France and England. He went over to Dover under pretence of treating with the barons in favour of the French king.

1213. Here he waited on king John, and said to him, "You are undone, the French fleet is going to set sail; your troops will certainly desert you; so you have only one resource left, which is to submit yourself absolutely to the protection of the holy see." John consented, and swore to it, and sixteen barons took the same oath on John's behalf. A strange kind of oath by which they bound themselves to a submission, without so much as knowing the conditions of it. The artful Italian terrified the king to such a degree, and so dexterously managed the minds of the barons, that at length John consented to the following act, of the 15th of May 1213, in the house of the knights

knights templars in the suburb of Dover, where falling upon his knees, and holding his hands between those of the legate, he pronounced these words :

“ I, John by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my sins, and out of my pure free will, and with the advice of my barons, give unto the church of Rome, to pope Innocent and to his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, with all their rights ; and will hold them as a vassal of the pope ; I will be faithful to God, to the Roman church, to the pope my lord, and to his successors lawfully elected. I bind myself to pay him a tribute of a thousand marks of silver yearly, that is seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland.”

Then a sum of money was delivered into the hands of the legate as the first payment of the tribute ; and they likewise gave him the crown and scepter. The Italian deacon spurned with his foot the money, but he kept the crown and scepter five days ; after which he restored those ornaments to the king, as a favour from the pope their common master.

Philip Augustus was all this while waiting at Boulogne for the return of the legate, to put to sea. The legate at length came back, to let him know, that he was no longer permitted to make a descent upon England, now become a fief of the Roman church, and that king John was under the protection of the holy see.

The donation which the pope had made to Philip of the kingdom of England, might have then



proved of dangerous consequence to him : for another excommunicated prince, king John's nephew, had entered into an alliance with his uncle to oppose the designs of France, which was then becoming too formidable. This excommunicated prince was Otho IV. who disputed the empire with young Frederick II. son of Henry VI. at the same time that he was disputing the sovereignty of Italy with the pope. He is the only emperor of Germany that ever gave battle in person against a king of France.



## C H A P. XLI.

*Of Otho IV. and Philip Augustus in the thirteenth century.*

*Of the battle of Bouvines, of England and France, to the death of Lewis VIII. father of St. Lewis.*

**T**HOUGH the system of equilibrium among the European princes was not established till these latter times, yet they seem to have ever united as far as they were able, against the preponderating powers. Germany, England, and the Netherlands armed against Philip Augustus, a confederacy not unfamiliar to that which was afterwards formed against Lewis XIV. Ferrand, earl of Flanders, joined the emperor Otho IV. he was Philip's vassal, but it was this very reason that induced him to declare war against the French king, as well as against the count of Bologne. Thus Philip was very near being crushed only for having accepted of the pope's present : but by his  
fortune

fortune and his courage, he extricated himself out of this danger with the greatest glory that a king of France ever merited.

Between Lille and Tournay there is a little village, called Bouvines, in the neighbourhood of which Otho IV. appeared at the head of an army, which was said to have been an 100,000 strong, intending to give battle to Philip, who had not half the number. It was about that time they began to use the cross-bow, a weapon first invented under Lewis the Fat. But what decided the fate of the day, was the heavy cavalry, armed cap-à-pee. This complete armour was a privilege of honour granted to the knights, and which the 'squires could not pretend to, for they were not permitted to be invulnerable. All that a knight had need to be afraid of, was his being wounded either in the face, when he lifted up the visier of his helmet; or in the side, at the extremity of the armour; or when he was knocked down, and they had pulled off his coat of mail; or, in fine, under the arm-pits, when he lifted up his arm to strike.

There were also some troops of cavalry drawn from the body of the commonalty, who were not near so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, they wore what defensive arms they pleased, and their offensive weapons were the sword, the arrow, the club, and the sling.

It was a bishop who drew up Philip Augustus's army in battalia; his name was Guerin, and he had been lately nominated to the bishopric of Senlis. The famous bishop of Beauvais, whom Richard king of England had kept prisoner so long, was also present at this battle: he always

made use of a club, saying, it was against the canons to spill human blood. We know not in what manner either the emperor or the king ranged their troops. Before the battle began, Philip ordered his men to sing the psalm, *Exsurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus* \*, as if Otho had taken up arms against the Almighty. Heretofore the French used on such occasions to sing verses in honour of Charlemain and Rowland. Otho's Imperial standard was raised upon four wheels; it was a long pole to which they had fastened a painted dragon, and over the dragon was raised an eagle of gilt wood. The royal standard of France was a gilded staff with white silk colours sowed with flower-de-luces; which indeed had been for a long time only the fancy of painters, but was now become the arms of France. The old crowns of the kings of Lombardy, of which there are very exact prints in Muratori, are mounted with this ornament, which is nothing more than the head of a spear, tied with two other pieces of crooked iron.

Besides the royal standard Philip made them carry the oriflamb of St. Denis: whenever the king was in danger, they raised or lowered one of those standards. Every knight had also a standard of his own, and the great knights had other colours carried before them, which were called a banner. This word banner, though so very honourable, was nevertheless common to the colours of infantry, who were almost all bondmen. The military shout among the French was *mon joye Saint Denis*; that of the Germans was *Kyrie eleison*.

\* The 68th psalm: *Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered.*

To shew that the knights completely armed seldom ran any other risk than of being dismounted, and were not hurt but by some great chance, we need only mention that Philip Augustus after being knocked off his horse, was a long time surrounded by the enemy, and received several blows with all kinds of weapons without being in the least wounded.

It is even related, that when he lay upon the ground, a German soldier wanted to pierce his neck with a dart that had a double hook, but could not compass his end. Not one knight was killed in the battle, except William Longchamp, who unluckily died of a blow on the eye levelled through the visier of his helmet.

Among the Germans were reckoned five and twenty knights bannerets, and seven counts of the empire, prisoners, but not one wounded.

The emperor Otho lost the battle, in which 30,000 Germans were said to have been slain; but probably the number is exaggerated. We do not find, however, that the French king made any conquest on the side of Germany after the victory obtained at Bouvines; but he grew more powerful over his vassals.

The person who lost most by this battle was John, king of England, whose last hopes were centered in the emperor Otho. This emperor soon after, that is in 1218, made a very penitential death: it is said, that he used to order his scullions to trample upon him, and to suffer himself to be scourged by the monks, according to the opinion of the princes of that time, who believed that by a little whipping they could atone for the blood of so many thousands.

It is not true, though we find it mentioned by several historians, that Philip on the very day he gained the battle of Bouvines, received also the news of another victory obtained by his son Lewis VIII. over king John. On the contrary, John had some success in Poitou; but being abandoned by his allies, he concluded a truce with Philip. This happened at a very lucky conjuncture, for his English subjects were grown his greatest enemies, and treated him with the utmost contempt, because he had made himself the vassal of Rome. The barons compelled him to sign that famous charter, called *Magna Charta* or *the charter of the liberties of England*.

King John thought himself more injured by letting his subjects enjoy their birthrights in virtue of this charter; than when he degraded himself to be a subject of Rome. He complained of this grant as the greatest affront that could be done to his dignity: yet what is there after all in it, that can be said to be injurious to the royal authority? For instance, that at the death of an earl, his eldest son to enter into possession of the fief, should pay to the king one hundred marks of silver, and a baron one hundred shillings: that none of the king's bailiffs should take the horses belonging to peasants, without paying five pence a day for each horse? Whoever reads the whole charter through, will only find, that the rights of mankind have not been sufficiently secured: he will see, that the commons, who bore the greatest burden, and rendered the greatest services to the state, had no share in this government, which without them could never flourish. And yet  
John.

John complained of this as a hardship, and applied to the pope his new sovereign for redress.

Pope Innocent III. who had excommunicated the king, now denounces the same ecclesiastical censure against the peers of England: upon which the peers were so provoked, that they did the very same thing as the pontif before had done; they offered, in short, the crown of England to France. Philip Augustus, who had lately triumphed over Germany, and was now possessed of all John's demesnes in France, upon seeing himself invited to the crown of England, acted like an able politician: he prevailed on the English to demand his son for their king. In vain did the legates of Rome represent to Philip, that John was a feudatory of the holy see; Lewis having concerted matters privately with his father, thus addressed himself to him in the presence of the legate. "Sir, I am your vassal for the fiefs I hold of you in France; but it does not belong to you to determine what concerns the kingdom of England; and if you interfere, I shall appeal to my peers."

After having made this speech, he set out for England, notwithstanding the public prohibitions of his father, who privately supplied him with men and money. Innocent III. excommunicated both the father and the son, but to no purpose, for the French bishops declared the excommunication against the father void. It is observable however, that they did not dare to invalidate that of Lewis; which was acknowledging, that the pope had a right to excommunicate princes. They could not dispute this power of the pope, because they assumed it themselves; but they likewise

wife reserved to themselves the right of deciding, whether the pope's excommunication was just or not. Princes in those days were extremely unhappy, being for ever exposed to excommunications both at home and at Rome. But the people were still more wretched: the anathema fell always upon their heads, and by the hard fate of war they were stripped of their property.

1216. The son of Philip Augustus was proclaimed king in London: yet he did not omit sending ambassadors to plead his cause before the pope. This pontif had the honour, which the Roman senate formerly enjoyed, of being the judge of kings: but he died before he passed his definitive sentence.

John Lackland, wandering in his own country from town to town, and deserted by all the world, died at the same time in a village of the county of Norfolk. A peer of France had formerly conquered England, and kept possession of it; yet a king of France could not keep it.

Lewis VIII. was obliged, even while Philip Augustus was living, to quit this same country which had invited him to be their king; and instead of maintaining himself upon the throne, he engaged in the crusade then carrying on against the Albigenses, who at that time were slaughtered like sheep, in pursuance of the orders issued out by the see of Rome.

1223. Philip Augustus died, and left his territories increased by the accession of Normandy, Maine, and Poitou; but the rest of the lands belonging to England were still defended by a number of lords.

In

In the reign of Lewis VIII. one part of Guienne belonged to the French, and the other to the English. There happened nothing in that reign, that might be said to be very remarkable, or of importance.

But the will of Lewis VIII. in 1125 merits some attention: he bequeaths one hundred sous to each of the two thousand Lazarettos in his kingdom. Thus the whole fruit, the Christians reaped from their crusades, was this leprous infection; which we may suppose to have been greatly increased by the little use of linen, and by the nastiness of the people. This name of Lazaretto was not indifferently given to other hospitals; for we find by the same will, that the king bequeaths a hundred livres current money to two hundred hospitals. The legacy which this same king left, of 30000 livres, to his wife, the famous queen of Castile, amounted to five hundred and forty thousand livrès present money. I often touch upon this subject of the valuation of money; because I look upon it as the pulse of the state, and the surest way of knowing its strength. For example, it is evident that Philip Augustus was the most powerful prince in his time, if independently of the jewels he left behind him, the sums specified in his will amount to near 900,000 marks of eight ounces, which is equivalent to forty five millions present money, reckoning the mark at fifty livres. But there must be some mistake in that will: it is not at all probable that a king of France, who had no other revenue than from his private demesnes, could leave so vast a sum behind him. At that time the power of the several kings in Europe consisted in leading a great



great number of vassals into the field, not in possessing treasures sufficient to enslave them.



## C H A P. XLII.

*Of Frederick II. and his quarrels with the popes; and of the German empire.*

**T**OWARDS the beginning of the thirteenth century, while Philip Augustus was still upon the throne; while Lewis VIII. was stripping John Lackland of his dominions; and when, after the death of John and Philip Augustus, Lewis VIII. was driven out of England, which he left to Henry III. and reigned peaceably himself in France; all this time, I say, the crusades, and the persecution of the Albigenses were exhausting Europe. The emperor Frederick II. employed himself in healing the wounds of Germany and Italy, which were not well closed. The quarrel about the Imperial crown and the Roman mitre, the factions of the Guelfs and Gibelins, and the aversion between the Germans and Italians, disturbed the tranquillity of Europe more than ever. This Frederick II. son of Henry VI. and nephew of Philip, had been elected in his infancy, in 1211, and enjoyed the empire which his competitor Otho IV. had resigned before his death.

The emperors at that time were much more powerful than the kings of France; for, besides Swabia, and the other extensive lands which Frederick had in Germany, he was also possessed of  
 Naples

Naples and Sicily by inheritance. Lombardy belonged to him, in virtue of the possession long enjoyed by the former emperors; but this right of the German Cæsars was very little regarded by the Italian cities, which were then intoxicated with the love of liberty. Germany was in a state of anarchy and confusion, which lasted a considerable time. To such a degree was this confusion increased, that the nobility reckoned it one of their privileges to rob upon the high way in their own territories, and to coin false money. Frederick II. obliged them at the Diet of Egra in 1219, to swear they would cease to exercise those privileges: and to set them an example, he relinquished the rights, which his predecessors had claimed, of seizing on the effects of bishops upon their decease.

The most ridiculous, the most extravagant customs obtained at that time. The great lords had taken it into their heads to establish a right of *prelibation*\*, which was that of lying the first night with the new married wives of their plebeian vassals. Bishops, and abbots had also this right in the quality of free barons, and some of them made their subjects in the last century purchase the renunciation of this extraordinary privilege, which in Scotland and France was spread throughout the provinces. Such were the prevailing manners at the time of the crusades.

Italy was less barbarous, but not less unhappy. the quarrels between the church and the empire had been productive of the factions of Guelphs † and

\* A taste before hand.

† The Origin of these names, like those of *Whig* and *Tory*, is very uncertain. Maimbourg in his *decadence de L'empire*, says they

and Gibellines, into which the several towns and families were divided.

Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, and almost all the cities of

they were owing to two illustrious families, on the confines of Germany and Italy, one of the Henries of Guibeling, the other the Guelfs of Adorf, whose continual jealousy and emulation occasioned great disturbances in the empire. The emperors Conrad the Salic, and his successors the three Henries, were of the former family; and of the second were the dukes of Bavaria, known by the name of *Guelfs* or *Welfs*. Italy being divided into two great factions in the 12th century, those who sided with the emperor, were called Gibellines, from the house whence the emperors, dukes of Swabia, were descended; and those who followed the pope, were called *Guelfs*, the name of the avowed enemies of that house.

The judicious author of the *Abregé de L'histoire d'Allemagne* gives the following most probable account of the derivation of these names. The emperor Conrad III. having put Henry *Guelf* or *Welf*, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, under the ban of the empire for rebellion in 1138, Saxony was given to Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg, and Bavaria to Leopold margrave of Austria. The above Henry, who was surnamed the *Proud*, died of grief, and left an only son then an infant, who was afterwards called *Henry the Lion*. The margrave of Austria found great difficulty in taking possession of Bavaria, because of the brave resistance made by *Welf*, uncle of the young Henry, and brother of the deceased. This prince drove the new duke into Austria: animated then with success, he went and attacked Frederick, duke of Swabia, who at that time was besieging the castle of Winsberg, situate on the frontiers of Swabia, Franconia and Bavaria; but he was defeated by the Imperial troops. This is the battle of Winsberg, so famous in the history of the middle ages for giving rise to the names of Guelfs and Gibellines. The military cry of the Bavarians, was *Welf*, from the name of their general; that of the Imperialists was *Weiblingen*, the name of a little village in Swabia, where their general, Frederick, duke of Swabia, was educated. By degrees these appellations served to distinguish the two parties; so that the Imperialists were ever after called Weiblingians, and those who opposed the emperors, had the name of *Welfs*. The Italians not being used to the original pronunciation of these two words, fitted them to their own language, and thence formed the *Guelfs* and *Gibellini*.

Romania

Romania under the protection of the pope, had entered into a confederacy against the emperor.

Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, Trent, were of the Imperial party; and a great many other towns were divided between the factions of the Guelfs and Gibelins. Thus Italy was become the theatre not of one war only, but of a hundred civil wars, which inflamed the minds and passions of the inhabitants, and greatly contributed to the spreading of those horrid crimes of poisoning and murder among the new raised powers of Italy.

Frederick II. was born in Italy: he was fond of that agreeable country, and could bear neither the climate, nor customs of Germany, from whence he had been absent fifteen years. It is evident that his grand design was to restore the throne of the Cæsars in Italy. This alone might have changed the face of Europe: this is the secret source of all the quarrels between him and the popes. He alternately had recourse to artifice and violence, and the holy see fought him with the same arms.

Honorius III. and Gregory IX. had no other way to withstand him at first, than by sending him to wage war in the Holy Land. Such was the prejudice of the times, that the emperor was <sup>1228.</sup> obliged to make a vow of performing this expedition, lest the people should think he was not a Christian. His vow was the effect of policy, and the same motive made him defer his journey.

Gregory IX. excommunicates him according to custom. Frederick sets out; and while he is making a crusade at Jerusalem, the pope preaches another against him at Rome. The emperor after

1230. ter concluding a peace with the sultan, returns to Europe, to fight against the holy see. In the district of Capua he finds his own father-in-law John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, at the head of the pope's troops, who wore the badge of St. Peter's keys on their shoulder. The emperor's Gibellines wore the sign of the cross; and the crosses soon put the keys to flight.

Gregory IX. had no other resource left than to incite Henry king of the Romans, son of Frederick II. against his father, in the same manner as Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paschal II. had armed the sons of Henry IV. But Frederick more  
1235. fortunate than Henry, seized on his rebellious son, caused him to be deposed at the famous diet of Mentz, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

It was easier for Frederick to obtain the condemnation of his son at a German diet, than to raise money and troops at that assembly for the conquest of Italy. He had ever a sufficient force to make it the seat of war, but not to subdue it. The Guelphs, those friends of the popedom, and still more of liberty, formed always a counterbalance to the emperor's adherents, the Gibellines.

Sardinia was also a bone of contention between the empire and the priesthood, and consequently the subject of excommunications. The emperor made himself master of almost the whole island in 1238: and then Gregory IX. publicly accused Frederick II. of not believing in Jesus Christ. "We have proofs," said he in his circular letter, dated the 1st of July, 1239, "that he has publicly declared, how the world has been imposed upon by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and  
" Maho-

“ Mahomet. But he places Christ far beneath  
“ the other two ; for he says that they lived in the  
“ midst of splendor and glory, whereas Christ  
“ was a man of the dregs of the people, who  
“ preached only to such as himself. The empe-  
“ ror, continues he, maintains, that the one only  
“ God, creator of the universe, could not be  
“ born of a woman, and especially of a virgin.”

These heavy charges, which had nothing to do with Sardinia, did not hinder the emperor from keeping possession of that island. The quarrels between Frederick and the holy see did not interfere at all with religion ; and yet the popes excommunicated that prince, published crusades against him, and deposed him. A certain cardinal named James, and who was bishop of Palestine, brought letters with him into France from this pope Gregory to the young king Lewis IX. ; whereby his holiness having deposed Frederick II. by his own authority, transferred the Imperial diadem to Robert count of Artois, brother of the French king. He had pitched upon a wrong time for this embassy, for France and England were then at war, and the French barons were up in arms in the minority of Lewis. It is said they gave for answer, that the brother of a king of France had no need of the empire, and that the pope had less religion than Frederic II. Such an answer is too improbable to be true.

There can be no better method of shewing the manners and customs of that time, than by relating what passed in regard to this proposal of pope Gregory.

He addressed himself in these words to the monks of the abbey of Citeaux, whither he knew that

that St. Lewis was going in pilgrimage, in company with his mother: "Conjure the king to take the pope under his protection against Frederick, the son of Satan; it behoves him to give me admittance into his kingdom, as Alexander III. was sheltered there from the persecution of Frederick I. and St. Thomas of Canterbury from that of Henry II. king of England."

The king accordingly went to Citeaux, where he was received by five hundred monks, who conducted him to the *chapter*. There they all kneeled down before him, and with their hands joined begged of him to permit the pope to come into France. Lewis threw himself into the same kneeling posture before the monks, and promised them that he would defend the church; but he told them also in plain terms, that he could not receive the pope into his dominions without the consent of the barons of the kingdom, by whose advice a king of France ought to be directed. Gregory died; but the spirit of Rome is immortal. Innocent IV. who had been Frederick's friend, while cardinal, became his enemy of course, when raised to the pontificate. His grand design was to weaken the Imperial power at any rate, and to repair the mistake committed by John XII. in calling the Germans into Italy.

After several fruitless negotiations, Innocent IV. calls the famous council of Lyons, concerning which the Vatican library hath the following inscription. *The thirteenth general council, and the first of Lyons; Frederick II. is there declared an enemy to the church, and deprived of the Imperial diadem.*

It seems to have been a very bold step to depose

an emperor in an Imperial city; but Lyons at that time was under the protection of France; and its archbishops had seized on the regale. Frederick II. did not neglect to send ambassadors to defend his cause at this council, where he was to be publicly accused.

The pope, who had set himself up as judge at the head of this council, acted also the part of his own advocate; and after having insisted strongly on his right to the temporalities of Naples and Sicily, and to the patrimony of the countess Matilda, he charged Frederick with having made a peace with the Mahometans; with having had Mahometan concubines; with not believing in Christ, and, in a word, with being a heretic. How could he be a heretic and an infidel at the same time? And how came they to repeat such accusations so often in those days? John XII. Stephen VIII. Frederick I. Frederick II. the chancellor des Vignes, Manfred the usurper of Naples, and a great many more were charged with the same crime. The emperor's orators harangued in his defence with great spirit and resolution, and accused the pope in their turn of having been guilty of usury and rapine. There were also ambassadors at this council from France and England: the latter complained as heavily of the pope, as the pope had done of the emperor. "You draw, said they, by the means of your Italian emissaries, above 60000 marks yearly out of the kingdom of England; you have lately sent us a legate, who has given away all the church livings to Italians. He raises excessive taxes upon all the religious houses, and excommunicates every body that complains of his extor-  
" tions.



“ tions. Let these grievances be therefore immediately redressed, for we will no longer bear with them.”

The pope blushed, and made no answer, but proceeded to pronounce sentence against the emperor, by which he deprived him of his crown. One thing observable is, that he pronounced this sentence, not, said he, with the approbation, but in the presence of the council. The fathers kept the wax candles lighted when the pope pronounced the sentence, and then extinguished them ; when one party signed the decision, another went out, giving vent to their groans.

The emperor was at Turin, which did not yet belong to the house of Savoy, being a fief of the empire governed by the marquis of Suza. He called for his strong box, which was brought to him, and then he took out the Imperial crown, saying, “ This the pope and his council have not been able to take from me, and before they strip me of it, much blood shall be spilt.” He did not fail first to write to all the princes of Germany and Europe, by the pen of his famous counsellor, Peter des Vignes, who was accused of having composed the book of the Three Impostors. “ I am not the first, says he in his letters, whom the clergy have treated so unworthily, and I shall not be the last : but you are the cause of it by obeying these hypocrites, whose ambition, you are sensible, is carried beyond all bounds. How many infamous actions shocking to modesty, might you, if you were disposed to it, discover in the court of Rome ? While they are abandoned to the vices of the age, and intoxicated with pleasure, the great-  
“ nefs

“ nefs of their riches stifles in their minds all sense  
“ of religion. It is therefore a work of charity to  
“ deprive them of these pernicious treasures that  
“ are their ruin, and it is your duty to labour with  
“ me, &c.”

The pope having in the mean time declared the empire vacant, wrote to seven princes or bishops, who were the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Brabant, and the archbishops of Saltzbourg, Cologne, and Mentz. This has raised a belief, that seven electors were then solemnly established: but the other princes of the empire, and the other bishops, also laid claim to the same right.

The emperors and popes thus mutually endeavoured to depose each other, and their grand policy consisted in raising civil wars.

Conrad, the son of Frederick II. had been already elected king of the Romans in Germany; but in order to please the pope, it was necessary to chuse another emperor. This new Cæsar was neither chosen by the dukes of Saxony, Brabant, Bavaria, nor Austria, nor by any of the princes of the empire: but by the bishops of Strasbourg, Wurtsbourg, Spires, and Metz, with those of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves; who made choice of the landgrave of Thuringia, stiled *King of the Priests*.

What a strange kind of a Roman emperor was this landgrave, who received the crown only from a few bishops in that country! The pope caused the crusade to be renewed against Frederick; and it was proclaimed by the preaching friars, now called Dominicans, and the friars minors, called the Cordeliers or Franciscans; for this new militia of the popes began to be established in Europe. The

holy see was not however confined to these measures ; for the pope carried on conspiracies against the life of an emperor, who had the boldness to oppose councils, monks, and crusades ; at least, the emperor complained, that the pope had hired assassins to murder him, and the pope returned no answer to these complaints.

The same prelates, who had taken the liberty to make a Cæsar, raised up another after the death of their Thuringian, and this was a count of Holland. The pretensions of Germany to the Roman empire only served to tear it in pieces: for these bishops, who elected emperors, quarrelled amongst themselves, and their count of Holland was killed in the civil war.

1249. Frederick II. was obliged to struggle with the popes from the extremity of Sicily, even to that of Germany. It is said, that being in Apulia, he discovered, that his physician, corrupted by pope Innocent IV. resolved to poison him. The fact, however, appears to me to be doubtful ; but the doubts raised by history, are sufficient to convince us of the iniquity of the times.

1250. Frederick seeing with horror that it was impossible to trust his life to Christians, was obliged to take Mahometans for his guard ; and yet it is pretended, that they could not secure him from the resentment of Manfred, one of his bastards, who strangled him in his last illness. However that be, this great and unhappy emperor, who was king of Sicily from his cradle, having worn for thirty-eight years the empty crown of Jerusalem, and that of the Cæsars thirty-three, died in his fifty second year, in the kingdom of Naples, and left the world in as great confusion at his death as it was at his birth.

birth. Notwithstanding such a multitude of troubles, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were civilized and embellished through his care. He built towns, founded universities, and gave encouragement to letters, which in some measure seemed to revive. The Italian language, which is a compound of the Roman and Latin tongues, began at that time to be formed. There are some verses of Frederick II. extant in that language. But the difficulties he underwent, were as prejudicial to learning, as to his political designs.

From the death of Frederick II. to the year 1268, Germany was without a head; but not in the same manner as Greece had been, or antient Gaul, or antient Germany, or Italy, before it submitted to the Romans: for Germany was neither a republic, nor a country divided among many sovereigns, but a body without a head, whose members tore each other in pieces.

This was a fine opportunity for the popes; but they were so far from taking advantage of it, that they lost Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, and many small cities. To recover them, a pope who understood the art of war, was greatly wanting; but Rome had seldom a pope of this character. They indeed turned the world upside down with their bulls, and gave away kingdoms. The pope in 1247, proclaimed by his own authority, Haquin king of Norway, making him lawfully begotten, though he was born a bastard: he was crowned by the pope's legate, who received of him a tribute of 15,000 marks from the churches of Norway, which was, perhaps, half of the current money of so poor a country.

Q 2

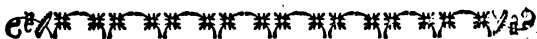
The

The same pope Innocent IV. also created one  
 1251. Mandog, king of Lithuania; but he was only a  
 king depending on Rome. *We receive*, said he in a  
 bull dated the 15th of July 1251, *this new kingdom  
 of Lithuania, as the right and property of St. Peter,  
 taking you under our protection, you, your wife, and  
 children.* This was in some measure imitating the  
 grandeur of the antient senate of Rome, who  
 granted titles of kings and tetrarchs. Yet Lithuania  
 was not then a kingdom; it did not even embrace  
 Christianity till above a century after.

The popes therefore assumed the stile of mas-  
 ters of the world, and yet could not act as masters  
 at home: the disposal of states cost them only  
 paper; but they could not recover a village  
 near Mantua or Ferrara, except by means of  
 their intrigues.

Such was then the situation of affairs in Europe:  
 Germany and Italy were rent in pieces, France  
 was still weak, and Spain was divided between  
 the Christians and Mussulmen; these last were  
 entirely driven from Italy; England began to  
 struggle with their kings for liberty; feudal te-  
 nures were every where established, chivalry was  
 in fashion, priests were become princes and war-  
 riors, and the principles of government were al-  
 most wholly different from those which at present  
 animate Europe. All the countries under the Ro-  
 man communion, seemed to form one great re-  
 public, of which the emperor and the pope want-  
 ed to be the head: yet this republic, though di-  
 vided, agreed for a long time in the project of the  
 crusades, which have been the cause of such grand  
 and such infamous actions; which have spawned  
 new kingdoms, new establishments, new miseries,  
 and,

and, in short, which have been productive of much more unhappiness than glory.



C H A P. XLIII.

*Of the East at the time of the crusades.*

**R**ELIGIONS always last longer than empires: thus Mahometismi flourished, when the empire of the caliphs was destroyed by the Turcomans. We fatigue ourselves to no purpose, in order to search into the origin of these Turks, since it is the same as that of all conquering nations; they have all been savages living on rapine. The Turks formerly inhabited a country beyond mount Taurus and the Imaus, and at a great distance, it is said, from the river Araxes: they were comprehended amongst those Tartars, who by the antients were called Scythians. This vast continent of Tartary, which is four times larger than all Europe, has never been inhabited by any but Barbarians: and their antiquities, scarcely deserve better to be made the subject of a regular history, than the wolves and tygers of their country. Towards the eleventh century they extended themselves on the side of Muscovy, and along the banks of the Caspian and Black sea. The Arabs under the first successors of Mahomet had subdued almost all Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia; and the Turcomans came at last and subdued the Arabs.

A caliph of the dynasty of the Abassides, named Motassem, son of the great Almamon, and  
Q. 3 grandson.

grandson of the celebrated Aaron Rachild, like them a protector of the arts, and cotemporary to Lewis the Debonnair, laid the first foundation of the structure, by which his successors at length were crushed. He called in Turkish soldiers for his guard: and never was there a stronger instance of the danger from foreign troops. Five or six hundred Turks in Motassim's pay, laid the foundation of the Ottoman power, which has swallowed up all other governments from the banks of the Euphrates to the further end of Greece, and which in our memory laid siege to Vienna. These Turkish guards having increased in time, proved the ruin of their masters. A new succession of Turks arrived, who took advantage of the civil wars that had been occasioned by the caliphate. The caliphs of the dynasty of the Abassides of Bagdat, soon were stripped of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, by the caliphs of the dynasty of the Fatimites. The Turks stripped both the Fatimites and Abassides.

Togrul Beg, or Ortogrul Beg, from whom the Ottoman line is said to descend, entered Bagdat in the same manner almost as several emperors entered Rome. He made himself master of the city and of the caliph's person, while he prostrated himself at his feet. He conducted the caliph Caiem to his palace, holding his mule by the bridle: but he was either more artful or more fortunate than the German emperors at Rome; for he established his own power, and left the caliphs no more than the care of beginning prayers at the mosque on Fridays, and the honour of granting the investiture to every Mahometan tyrant that erected a sovereignty.

It

It is worthy of observation, that as the Turcomans imitated the Franks, Normans, and Goths, in their irruptions, they imitated them likewise in submitting to the laws, the manners and religion of the conquered. Other Tartars behaved in the same manner to the Chinese; an advantage which all polite nations, though never so weak, ought to have over Barbarians, though never so strong.

Thus the caliphs became only the chiefs of religion, like the Dairi, high priest of Japan, who in appearance commands the *Cubofama*\*, but obeys him in reality; or like the *Cheriff* † of Mecca, who calls the Turkish sultan his vicar; or in short like the popes under the kings of Lombardy. Far am I from comparing the seat of error to that of truth: I only compare the revolutions. I observe that the caliphs were the most potent sovereigns in the East, at the time when the Roman pontiffs were nothing. The caliphate is gone for ever; but the popes are insensibly become great sovereigns, settled in their dominions, respected by their neighbours, and have embellished Rome so as to make it the finest city in the world.

Therefore at the time of the first crusade there was at Bagdat a caliph who gave investitures, and

\* The *Cubofama* was heretofore the crown general; *cubo* is said to signify *head of the militia*, and *fama*, lord. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, *Taikofama*, the crown general, usurped the empire, and left only the name and ensigns of royalty to the Dairi. See Charlevoix, Kempfer, &c.

† This is an Arabic word, which in general implies *noble*, or *raised in birth or dignity*; it is a particular title bore by those who descend from Mahomet by his daughter Fatima, and Ali his son-in-law. There were several of these *Cheriffs*, who founded particular dynasties in Africa. See D'Herbelot *biibl. orient.*



a Turkish sultan who had the real sovereignty. Several other Turkish, and some Arabian, usurpers were dispersed in Persia, Arabia, and Asia Minor. They were all divided, a circumstance which seemed to presage success to the crusaders. But they were all armed, and upon their own ground; a circumstance which gave them a considerable advantage.

The empire of Constantinople still subsisted, for all its princes had not been unworthy of the throne. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of Leo the philosopher, distinguished his reign, as his father had done, by contributing to the felicity of his people; and though the government fell into contempt, under Romanus the son of Constantine, it regained its respect and influence under Nicephorus Phocas, who recovered Candia, in the year 961, before he became emperor. However, he was assassinated by John Zimisces; who, notwithstanding his having stained the palace with blood, and his adding hypocrisy to his guilt, defended the empire against the Turks and Bulgarians. But Michael Paphlagonatus lost Sicily, and Romanus Diogenes almost all that remained in the East, except the province of Pontus. That province, which is now called Turcomania, fell soon after into the hands of Solyman the Turk; who, already master of the greatest part of Asia Minor, established the seat of his dominion at Nice, and from thence threatened Constantinople, at the beginning of the crusades.

The Grecian empire therefore, on the side of the Turks, was then almost confined to the Imperial city; but it still extended through all  
Greece,

Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Thrace, Illyricum; and even the isle of Candia was included in it. Continual, though always unsuccessful, wars against the Turks, still kept up some remains of courage amongst the Greeks. All the wealthy Christians of Asia, who were unwilling to submit to the Mahometan yoke, retired into the Imperial city, which by that means was enriched with the spoils of the provinces. In short, notwithstanding so many losses, notwithstanding the vices and revolutions in the government, that city, declining indeed, but immense, populous, opulent, and voluptuous, was in its own estimation the first city in the world. The inhabitants called themselves Romans, and not Greeks; their state was the Roman empire; and the people in the West, whom they called Latins, were in their opinion barbarians, who had revolted from them.

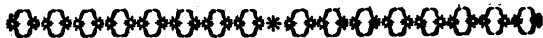
Palestine was then, what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited countries in Asia. This little province, which is about forty-five leagues in length, and from thirty to thirty-five in breadth, is almost covered with barren rocks, on which there is not a handful of earth. If this little province was cultivated, we might compare it to Switzerland. The river Jordan, which in the middle of its course is not above fifty feet wide, resembles the Aar, which flows through a valley less barren than the rest of Switzerland: and the sea of Tiberias may be compared to the lake of Geneva. However, all travellers who have carefully visited both Switzerland and Palestine, give the preference to the former. It is indeed probable that Judea was antiently better  
Q 5. cultivated,

cultivated, when it was possessed by the Jews; for they were obliged to spread a little earth over the rocks, in order to plant their vines; and this small quantity of earth, mixed with the shivers of the rocks, was supported by low walls, the remains of which are in some places still to be seen.

Palestine, in spite of all this care, was never able to subsist its inhabitants, and therefore, as the thirteen cantons send out the superfluity of their people, to serve in the armies of those princes who are capable of paying them, the Jews all went abroad, to follow the trade of brokers in different parts of Asia, and Africa. Scarcely was Alexandria built, when they settled there. The trading Jews seldom resided at Jerusalem; and I question whether, in the most flourishing state of that small kingdom, it had any so wealthy as many of the Jews of Amsterdam and the Hague.

When Omar, the successor of Mahomet, seized on the fertile country of Syria, he took Palestine; and as Jerusalem, in the opinion of the Mahometans, is a holy city, he enriched it with a magnificent mosque of marble covered with lead, and adorned within by a prodigious number of silver lamps, among which there were many of pure gold. When the Turkish Mahometans made themselves masters afterwards of this place in 1055, they paid a respect to the mosque, and the town continued to be peopled by seven or eight thousand inhabitants. These were as many as its inclosure could hold, and the adjacent territory could well maintain. They had no other means of growing rich than by  
 2 the

the pilgrimages of Christians and Mahometans: the latter went to visit the mosque; and the former the holy sepulchre. They all paid a small acknowledgment to the Turkish emir, who resided in the town, and to a few Imans who subsisted by the curiosity of pilgrims.



## C H A P. XLIV.

### *Of the first Crusade to the taking of Jerusalem.*

**S**UCH was the state of Asia Minor, when a pilgrim of Amiens raised up the crusades: he had then no other name besides Coucoupetre, or Cucupietre, as we are told by the daughter of the emperor Comnenus, who saw this hermit at Constantinople; but he is known to us by the name of Peter the Hermit. However, this Picard, who had all the obstinacy of his countrymen, was so exasperated at the exactions which he had suffered at Jerusalem, and talked of them at his return to Rome in such pathetic terms and in such lively colours, that Urban II. thought him a proper person to second the grand design the popes had for a long time formed of arming Christianity against Mahometism: he therefore sent Peter from province to province, to communicate, by the force of his strong imagination, the warmth of his sentiments, and to sow the seeds of enthusiasm.

Urban II. at last held a council in the open fields near Placentia, at which were present, a. 1094:

bove thirty thousand seculars, besides ecclesiastics. There they proposed the manner of avenging the Christian cause. Alexius Comnenus, the Grecian emperor, and father of that princess who wrote the history of her times, sent ambassadors to this council, to demand some assistance against the Mussulmen; but he had no room to expect it, either from the pope or the Italians. The Normans had then taken Naples and Sicily from the Greeks; and as the pope desired at least to be lord paramount of these kingdoms, and was moreover the rival of the Greek church, he necessarily became the declared enemy of the eastern emperors, as he was the private foe of the emperors of the West; consequently he was so far from succouring the Greeks, that he desired to have all the East subject to the Latins.

But though the project of invading Palestine was applauded by all who assisted at the council of Placentia, there were none who embraced it. The principal Italian lords had too much business of their own to manage at home, and would not leave a delightful country, in order to go and fight on the borders of Arabia Petræa.

1095. Another council was therefore held at Clermont, in Auvergne, where the pope made a speech in the market place. The Italians had wept over the calamities of the Christians of Asia, but the French took up arms. This country was peopled by a great number of new lords, who were restless, independent, fond of a life of war and dissipation, for the most part plunged in crimes that are the natural attendants of debauchery, and in an ignorance equal to their guilt: but the pope proposed to grant them the remission of all their  
sins,

sons, and to open to them the gates of heaven, only imposing on them a sa penance, the gratification of their predominant passion for plunder. They therefore took up the cross with a spirit of emulation; and then the churches and cloisters bought at a low rate many of the estates of the lords, who imagined that a little money and their arms were sufficient to enable them to conquer kingdoms in Asia. Thus, for example, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Brabant, sold his estate of Bouillon to the chapter of Liege, and Stenay to the bishop of Verdun; the same bishop also bought of Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, the little he possessed in that country. The meanest lords of manors set out at their own expence, and the poor gentlemen followed them as 'squires. The booty was to be divided according to their rank, and to the expence of the crusaders. This was a great source of division, but likewise a great incentive to the expedition. Religion, avarice, and inquietude, equally encouraged these migrations. They enlisted an infinite number of infantry, and horsemen under a thousand different banners. This crowd of crusaders appointed their rendezvous at Constantinople: monks, women, merchants, victuallers, mechanics, all set out, imagining that they should find none on the road but Christians, who would gain indulgences by furnishing them with subsistence. Above eighty thousand of these vagadonds ranged themselves under the standard of Coucoupetre, whom I shall from henceforward call Peter the Hermit, who walked at the head of the army with sandals on his feet, and a rope tied round his waist. A new species of vanity!

The

The first exploit of this eremitical general, was his besieging a Christian city in Hungary, called *Malavilla*\*, because its inhabitants had refused to furnish with provisions the soldiers of Jesus Christ, who notwithstanding the sanctity of their enterprize behaved like a band of highway robbers. This city was taken by storm, given up to be pillaged, and the inhabitants murdered. The hermit was then no longer master of his crusaders, who were intoxicated with the thirst of plunder: one of Peter's lieutenants, called *Gautier sans Argent*†, who commanded half his forces, behaved in the same manner in Bulgaria; but the country uniting to oppose these banditti, the greatest part of them were cut off, and the hermit at length appeared before Constantinople with twenty thousand persons dying with hunger.

A German preacher, called *Godescalcus*, wanted to act the same part, but met with still worse treatment. For as soon as he arrived with his disciples in that same Hungary, where his predecessors had committed such excesses, the red cross they wore was like a signal, at the sight of which they were all massacred.

Another swarm of these adventurers, composed of above two hundred thousand persons, women, priests, scholars, and peasants, imagining that they were going to defend Jesus Christ, thought that they ought to exterminate all the Jews wherever they found them. There were great numbers of these on the frontiers of France, and the trade of the kingdom was all in their hands; these Christians therefore, in order to execute the

\* Or bad city.

† *Gautier* without money.

vengeance

vengeance of heaven, put all those unhappy persons to the sword: never was there since the time of Adrian, so great a massacre of the people of that nation, who were exterminated at Verdun, Spire, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz; and many killed themselves after having ripped open the bellies of their wives, to prevent their falling into the hands of those barbarians. Hungary, however, was the grave of this third army of crusaders.

Peter, however, found before Constantinople other Italian and German vagabonds who joined him, and ravaged all the country round the city. The emperor Alexius Comnenus was certainly a prince of great wisdom and moderation; since he contented himself with getting rid, as soon as he was able, of such troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport them to the other side of the Bosphorus. The general Peter at length saw himself at the head of a Christian army within reach of the infidels; but Solymán, sultan of Nice, fell with his disciplined Turks on this dispersed multitude; and *Gautier sans argent*, with many of the poor nobility, were slain. The hermit, however, returned to Constantinople, where he was regarded as a fanatic, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen for his followers.

But this was not the case with respect to all the chiefs of the crusades, some of whom had more policy, less enthusiasm, and were more accustomed to command and lead troops that were a little better disciplined. Godfrey of Bouillon was at the head of 70000 foot and  
10000



10000 cavalry, armed cap-a-pee, under the banners of many lords, who ranged themselves under his standard.

In the mean time Hugh, brother to Philip I. king of France marched through Italy, with other lords who had joined him, in order to seek his fortune; for almost the whole he possessed was his title of brother to a king, who himself was not very powerful. But what appears most strange is, that Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the conqueror of England, left his duchy, in which he was scarcely established; and after being driven out of England by his younger brother, William Rufus, mortgaged Normandy to him, to raise money to defray the expence of this armament. He was said to be a voluptuous and superstitious prince; and these two qualities, which proceed from the weakness of the mental powers, prompted him to undertake this expedition.

Old Raymond, count of Toulouse, who possessed Languedoc and a part of Provence, and who had already fought against the Mussulmen in Spain, did not think that his age, or the interest of his country, were reasons that ought to make him suppress the ardent desire he felt for going into Palestine; he was therefore one of the first who took up arms, and he soon passed the Alps, as it is said, at the head of near an hundred thousand men: but he did not foresee, that very soon a crusade would be preached up against his own family.

The most politic of all the chiefs of the crusades, and perhaps the only politician among them, was Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard,

card, the conqueror of Sicily. This whole family, on its being transplanted into Italy, fought to aggrandize themselves sometimes at the expence of the pope, and at others on the ruins of the Grecian empire. This Bohemond had himself for a long time maintained a war against the emperor Alexius, in Epirus and Greece; and having no other inheritance, besides the petty principality of Tarentum, and his own courage, he took advantage of the epidemical enthusiasm of Europe, to assemble under his banner ten thousand horsemen well armed, and some infantry, with which he might conquer a few provinces either from the Christians or Mahometans.

The princess Anna Comnena observes, that her father was alarmed at these prodigious emigrations, which rushed into his country. "One would have imagined, says she, that all Europe, torn up from its foundations, was going to fall upon Asia."

A proposal was made to the pope to put himself at the head of those immense armies that were still left; and indeed this was the only method of arriving at universal monarchy, which was then the principal view of the court of Rome: but this enterprize which pope Gregory VII. had presumed to meditate, required the genius of a Mahomet, or an Alexander. The difficulties were great, and Urban saw nothing but difficulties.

The pope and the princes engaged in the crusade, had in this grand affair very different views, and Constantinople was afraid of them all. The Latins were there hated, and considered as heretics and barbarians.

What

What the Greeks dreaded most, and that with reason, was Bohemond, and his Neapolitans, as being enemies to the empire. But supposing the views of Bohemond to have been just, what right had all these western princes to come and seize for themselves the provinces which the Turks had taken from the Grecian emperors?

We may form a judgment of the brutal arrogance of these lords of the crusade, from an incident related by the princess Anna Comnena of a certain French count, who in a public ceremony seated himself by the emperor's side on his throne; when Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, taking hold of this indiscreet person, to make him retire, the count cried aloud in his barbarous jargon, "A pretty clown of a Greek, to keep himself seated before such men as us!" These words were interpreted to Alexius, who only smiled at this instance of folly. One or two indiscretions of this kind are sufficient to render a whole nation contemptible.

It was morally impossible, that such guests should not demand provisions with arrogance, and that the Greeks should not refuse them with marks of ill nature; and indeed this was the cause of continual skirmishes between the natives and Godfrey's army, which was the first that appeared after the rapine committed by those that followed Peter the Hermit: at length these animosities were carried so far, that Godfrey attacked the suburbs of Constantinople, which were defended by the emperor. Monteil, bishop of Puy in Auvergne, the pope's legate in the army of the crusade, was absolutely resolved on their beginning their enterprizes against the infidels, by  
laying

laying siege to the city that was the residence of the chief of all the Christian princes: Bohemond, who was then in Sicily, gave the same advice, and sent courier after courier to prevent Godfrey's coming to an agreement with the emperor. Hugh, brother to the king of France, was at the same time so imprudent as to leave Sicily, where he had been with Bohemond, and to venture almost alone into the territories of Alexius: he added to this indiscretion, that of writing letters full of pride and presumption, which was very ridiculous in a man who had not an army to support his insolence; in consequence of this he was seized and kept some time prisoner. At length the prudent measures taken by the emperor, diverted these storms; he furnished them with provisions, prevailed on the princes engaged in the crusade to pay him homage for all the lands they should conquer, and after having loaded them with presents, transported them into Asia. Bohemond, whom he most dreaded, he treated with the greatest magnificence; for when this prince went to pay him homage at Constantinople, and was seeing the rarities of the palace, Alexius ordered that a cabinet should be filled with curiosities in gold and silver of exquisite workmanship, with jewels of all kinds heaped up without order, and that the door should be left open. Bohemond in passing through the apartment saw the treasure, to which his conductors seemed to pay no attention; when filled with amazement, he cried out, "Is it possible that such things as these should be neglected? Were they mine, I should think myself the most powerful prince on earth." On which the  
the

the emperor sent him the cabinet that very evening. This account is related by his daughter, who was an eye-witness of the whole affair. Such was the behaviour of this prince, whom every disinterested person will stile wise and munificent; but whom the greatest part of those who have wrote histories of the crusades, have treated as perfidious, only because he would not be the slave of a dangerous multitude.

At length, after the emperor had happily got rid of them, and they were all passed into Asia Minor, the army was reviewed near Nice, when it was found to consist of an hundred thousand horse, and six hundred thousand foot, including the women: and this number added to the first crusaders, who perished under the hermit and others, makes the total to amount to about one million one hundred thousand: a number that justifies what is said of the armies of the kings of Persia which poured in upon Greece, and also what is related of the transplantations of such swarms of Barbarians. The French, at length, and more particularly Raymond of Toulouse, now found themselves in the same country, which the southern Gauls had over-run thirteen hundred years before, when they ravaged Asia Minor, and gave their name to the province of Galatia.

Historians rarely mention the manner in which such multitudes procured subsistence; and yet this was a concern that required as much care as the war itself. The Venetians at first refused to supply them; for they at that time gained more than ever by their commerce with the Mahometans, and therefore feared to lose the privileges they enjoyed

enjoyed amongst them: but the Genoese, the Pisans, and the Greeks, fitted out vessels laden with provisions, which they sold to the crusaders along the coast of Asia Minor; thus the Genoese grew rich, and the world was astonished to see that state become a formidable power.

Neither the old Turk Solyman, sultan of Syria, who was in regard to the caliphs of Bagdat, the same as the mayors of the palace under the first race of the French kings, neither Solyman, I say, nor his son were able to stem the torrent of all these confederate princes engaged in the crusade; for their troops were better chosen than those of Peter the Hermit, and disciplined as well as their licentiousness and enthusiasm would permit.

Nice was taken, and the troops of Solyman's son were twice defeated; for neither the <sup>1097.</sup> Turks nor Arabians could at first sustain the shock of such multitudes cased in iron, nor of their large horses, nor of the forests of lances, to which they were unaccustomed.

Bohemond had the address to obtain from those engaged in the crusade, the fertile country of <sup>1098.</sup> Antioch. Baldwin penetrated even into Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Edeffa, and formed there a small state. At length they besieged Jerusalem, which was held for the caliph of Egypt by his lieutenants. The greatest part of historians say, that the army of the besiegers was diminished by battles, sickness, and by the garrisons put into the conquered towns, to twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; that Jerusalem was provided with every thing necessary, and defended by a garison of forty thousand

and soldiers; and they do not fail to add, that besides this garison, it contained twenty thousand resolute inhabitants. Yet there is no reader, of common sense, who must not see, that it is morally impossible for an army of twenty thousand men, to besiege a fortified place that has a garrison of sixty thousand: but historians are always fond of the marvelous.

It is certain however, that after a siege of five weeks Jerusalem was taken by storm, and that all who were not Christians were massacred. The hermit Peter, who from being a general was become a chaplain, was present both at the taking of the city, and at the slaughter of its inhabitants. Some Christians, whom the Mussulmen had suffered to live in that place, led the conquerors into the most private caves, in which the mothers had hid themselves with their children, and none of them were suffered to escape. All historians agree, that after this butchery the Christians, glutted with human blood, went in procession to the spot which they were told was the sepulchre of  
 1099. Christ, and there burst into tears. It is very probable that they might there shew some signs of religion; but this tenderness, expressed by tears, is scarcely possible to such giddy, furious, debauched, and cruel minds: the same men indeed may be furious and tender, but not at one and the same time.

Jerusalem was taken by the crusaders the fifth of July 1099. Alexius Comnenus being then emperor of the East, Henry IV. of the West, and Urban II. supreme head of the church of Rome. This pope died; before he heard of this triumph of the crusade, of which he had been the author.

The

The lords, who were now masters of Jerusalem, assembled to chuse a king, when the ecclesiastics who followed the army repaired to the assembly, where they had the presumption to declare, that the election that was going to be made would be void, because, said they, the choice of a patriarch ought to precede that of a sovereign.

Godfrey of Bouillon was nevertheless elected duke, but not king of Jerusalem: some months after, a legate, named D'Amberto, caused himself to be nominated patriarch by the clergy; when the first thing he performed, was his taking the little kingdom of Jerusalem to himself, while Godfrey of Bouillon, who had conquered the city at the hazard of his life, was obliged to yield it up to that bishop: he however reserved to himself the port of Joppa, and some privileges in Jerusalem. His own patrimony which he had resigned, in order to embark in this expedition, was far preferable to what he acquired in Palestine.



## C H A P. XLV.

### *Crusades after the taking of Jerusalem.*

**E**VER since the fourth century a third part of the globe was ravaged by almost continual emigrations. The Huns, who came from Chinese Tartary, took up their quarters at length on the banks of the Danube, and from thence having penetrated under Attila into Gaul and Italy,



Italy, they settled in Hungary. The Heruli, and the Goths made themselves masters of Rome. The Vandals marched from the borders of the Baltic sea to subdue Spain and Africa. The Burgundians invaded one part of Gaul, the Franks another. The Moors subdued the Visigoths who were in possession of Spain; while the rest of the Arabs extended their conquests into Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Turks issued from the borders of the Caspian sea, and divided the territories conquered by the Arabs. The European crusaders over-ran Syria in far greater numbers, than all those nations ever brought together in their several migrations; at the same time that the Tartar Jenghiz-chan was completing the conquest of upper Asia. And yet in a very little time there remained not the least vestige of the conquests of the crusaders; whereas Jenghiz, as well as the Arabs, the Turks, and others, made considerable settlements at a great distance from their own country. Perhaps it will not be difficult to account for the miscarriage of the crusaders.

The same circumstances produce the same effects. We have seen, that when Mahomet's successors had conquered many kingdoms, they were divided by discord; and the crusaders suffered nearly the same fate: only they had fewer conquests, and were more divided. They had already formed three petty states in Asia, namely Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa; and some years after a fourth was erected, that of Tripoli, in Syria, which was given to young Bertrand, son of the count of Toulouse: but in order to conquer Tripoli, it was found necessary  
to

to make use of the vessels of the Venetians, who then entered into the crusade, and obliged the others to yield them up a part of this conquest.

Of all these new princes who had promised to pay homage for their acquisitions to the Grecian emperor, none kept their promise, and all were jealous of each other. In a little time these new states being divided, and subdivided, passed into many different hands; and there rose up, the same as in France, many different lords, as counts of Joppa, and marquises of Galilee, Sidon, Acra, and Cesarea. Solyman, who had lost Antioch and Nice, still kept the open country, which was inhabited by clans of Mussulmen; so that under his reign, and after his decease, there was a mixture of Christians, Turks, and Arabians; constantly at war with each other; and Turkish and Christian castles were placed in the same neighbourhood, just as in Germany the estates of the protestants and catholics are mutually intermingled.

Of the million that had entered into this crusade, very few remained; but as the rumor of their success was increased by common fame, new adventurers still set out from the West. Prince Hugh, brother to Philip I. brought a new multitude, which increased on the way, by his being joined by the Italians and Germans; these have been computed at 300,000; but if we reduce them to two thirds of this number, there will still be 200,000 men lost to Christendom: they were treated near Constantinople in much the same manner, as the followers of Peter the Hermit had been: those who landed in Asia were destroyed by Solyman; and prince Hugh died almost deserted in Asia Minor.

But what perhaps further proves the extreme weakness of the principality of Jerusalem, is the establishment of those religious soldiers, called the Templars and Hospitallers; for it is certain that these monks, whose institution at first was to serve the sick, were not in safety, since they took up arms. Besides, when the community in general is well governed, private associations are seldom made.

The religious, consecrated to the service of the wounded, having made a vow to take up arms in the year 1118, there was suddenly formed a militia of the same kind, under the name of Templars; a title which they assumed from their living near a church, which was said to have been formerly Solomon's temple. These establishments were founded by the French, or at least by the natives of a country since annexed to France. Raymond Dupuy, first grand-master and founder of the militia of hospitallers, was born in Dauphiné.

Scarcely were these two orders established by the pope's bulls, when they grew rich and turned rivals; they then fought as often against each other, as against the Mussulmen. Soon after a new order was instituted in favour of the poor Germans, who had been abandoned in Palestine; these were the Teutonic monks, who afterwards in Europe became a militia of conquerors.

At length the situation of the Christians was so precarious, that Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, who reigned after the death of Godfrey his brother, was taken almost at the gates of the city by a Turkish prince.

The

The strength of the Christians in these conquered countries decreased every day: the first conquerors were now dead, and their successors were sunk into effeminacy. Edessa was retaken by the Turks in the year 1140, and Jerusalem was threatened. The Greek emperors finding their neighbours, the princes of Antioch, were only new usurpers, made war upon them, and not without reason: and thus the Christians of Asia, ready to be overpowered on every side, solicited Europe for a new crusade.

The French had begun the first inundation: application was therefore made to them to begin the second. Pope Eugenius III. the disciple of St. Bernard, the founder of Clervaux, wisely chose his first master to be the instrument of a new depopulation. No religious ever better reconciled the hurry of business with the austerity of his order: none ever arrived like him at that respect which is purely personal, and is above authority itself. His fellow student, Suger the abbot, was prime minister of France; his disciple was pope: but Bernard, though no more than abbot of Clervaux, was the oracle not only of France, but of Europe.

At Vezelay in Burgundy, a scaffold was raised in the market place, on which Bernard was seated by the side of Lewis the Young, king of France. He spoke first; the king seconded him, and then received the cross from the hand of St. Bernard, and all who were present followed his example. Suger, the prime minister, was however of opinion, that the king ought not to abandon the certain advantages he might procure for his own dominions, to go into Hun-

gary in search of uncertain conquests; but Bernard's eloquence, and the spirit of the times, without which that eloquence would have been useless, prevailed over the counsels of the minister.

Lewis the Young is represented as a prince more scrupulous than virtuous. In one of those little civil wars which the feudal government in France rendered inevitable, the king's troops had burnt the church of Vitry, and all the people who had taken sanctuary in it had perished in the flames: it was therefore an easy matter to persuade him that he could not expiate, but by going to Palestine, a crime which he might have better repaired by a wise administration. His young wife Eleanor of Guienne, went with the king in this crusade, either because she then loved him, or because decency in those times required that she should accompany her husband in those wars.

St. Bernard had acquired such a singular reputation, that in a new assembly held at Chartres, he was elected chief of the crusade; a fact that appears almost incredible; but nothing ought to be thought so that is produced by the religious frenzy of the multitude. Bernard, however, had too much sense to expose himself to the ridicule with which he was threatened; for the example of Peter the Hermit was recent: he therefore refused the post of general, and contented himself with that of prophet.

From France he went into Germany, where he found another monk who preached up the crusade; but this rival, who had not the pope's mission, he put to silence; at length he gave the  
red

red cross to the emperor Conrad III. and in the name of God publicly promised him success over the infidels. Soon after one of his disciples, named Philip, sent word to France, that Bernard had performed many miracles in Germany: it was not indeed pretended, that he raised the dead to life; but the blind received sight, the lame walked, and the sick were healed. We may reckon amongst these prodigies, that he every where preached to the Germans in French.

The hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greatest part of the knights in their dominions; and it is said, that in each army there were reckoned 70,000 men in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horse, exclusive of the infantry. We cannot suppose this second emigration to consist of less than 300,000 persons, which added to 1,300,000 sent before, makes the whole hitherto consist of 1,600,000 transplanted inhabitants. The Germans set out first, and the French followed them. It is natural, that sickness should carry off a great part of these multitudes on their passing into a different climate. Intemperance produced a mortality in Conrad's army, near the plains of Constantinople: and from thence those rumours were spread through the West of the Greeks poisoning the wells and springs. The same excesses that were committed by the former crusaders, were renewed by these, which gave Manuel Comnenus the same apprehensions as they had given his grandfather Alexius.

Conrad, after having passed the Bosphorus, conducted his enterprize with an imprudence that seems to be inseparable from a crusade.

The principality of Antioch was yet in being, and the emperor might have joined those Christians of Syria, and have waited for the king of France; they must then have overpowered the enemy by numbers: but the emperor of Germany, jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, threw himself into the midst of Asia Minor, where the sultan of Iconium, who was a more able general than Conrad, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks; who being fatigued, dispirited, and incapable of acting on such ground, the Turks had no other trouble but that of killing them. The emperor wounded, and with only a few fugitive troops, saved himself by flying towards Antioch, and from thence went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead of appearing there as the general of an army. The famous Frederick Barbarossa, his nephew, who succeeded him in the government of the German empire, followed him in this expedition, and learned among the Turks to exercise that courage, which the popes were to put to the severest proof.

The enterprize of Lewis the Young met with the same success; besides, it must be confessed, that those who accompanied him had not more prudence than the Germans, and that they acted with even less regard to justice. Scarce were they arrived in Thrace, when the bishop of Langres proposed his rendering himself master of Constantinople: but the shame that would attend such an action was too apparent, and the success too dubious; the French army therefore crossed the Hellespont, and followed the steps of the emperor Conrad.

It

It cannot, I believe, have escaped the reader's observation, that these powerful Christian armies waged war in the same country in which Alexander was always victorious, with much fewer troops, against enemies far more powerful than the Turks and Arabs were at that time. There must then have certainly been some fundamental defect, that necessarily rendered their courage useless; and this defect was probably that spirit of independence, which the feudal government had established in Europe; so that chiefs, without either art or experience, led disorderly multitudes into unknown countries. The king of France was, like the emperor, surprized among the rocks towards Laodicea, and like him was defeated: but at Antioch he suffered certain domestic misfortunes, that more sensibly affected him than public calamities. Raymond prince of Antioch, with whom he, and queen Eleanor his wife, had taken refuge, was suspected of loving that princess; and it is said, that she forgot all the fatigues of so painful a journey in the arms of Saladin, a handsom young Turk. The conclusion of the whole enterprize was, that the emperor Conrad returned almost alone into Germany; and the king brought back to France none but his wife and a few courtiers. At his return he dissolved his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne, and thus lost that fine French province, after having lost in Asia the most flourishing army that his country had ever set on foot. A thousand desolated families in vain uttered their invectives against St. Bernard for his prophecies; who, in his own vindication, compared himself to Moses, who had, he said, like him, promised



the Israelites, in the name of God, to lead them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the deserts.

After these unhappy expeditions the Asiatic Christians grew more divided than ever, and the same factious spirit prevailed amongst the Mussulmen. The pretence of religion had no longer any share in political affairs; on the contrary, about the year 1166, Amaury king of Jerusalem entered into an alliance with the sultan of Egypt against the Turks; but scarcely had the king of Jerusalem signed the treaty, when he broke it.

In the midst of all these troubles arose the great Saladin: he was of Persian extraction, from the little province of the Curdes, who have been always a warlike and independent nation. He was one of those captains who seized on the dominions of the caliphs; but none of them were equal to him in power. In a short time he subdued Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. Having made himself master of all these countries, he soon formed the design of conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, when the violent factions, which tore in pieces this little state, hastened its ruin. Guy of Lusignan who had been crowned king, but whose title had been disputed, reassembled in Galilee all the divided Christians whom the common danger had united, and marched against Saladin; the bishop of Ptolemais wearing a cope over his armour, and holding in his arms a cross, which he persuaded the Christians was the same on which Christ died. However, all the Christians were either killed or taken prisoners; when the captive king, who expected nothing but death, was astonished at being treated by Saladin,

as

as prisoners of war are now treated by generals of the greatest humanity.

Saladin with his own hand presented Lusignan a cup of liquor cooled with snow, when the king, after having drank, offered the cup to one of his captains, whose name was Rainaud de Chatillon. It was an inviolable custom established among the Mussulmen, and is still preserved among some of the Arabians, never to put those prisoners to death to whom they had given meat or drink. This antient law of hospitality was regarded as sacred by Saladin, who would not suffer Rainaud de Chatillon to drink after the king; for the captain had frequently violated his promise, and the conqueror had sworn to punish him. To shew therefore that he knew how to punish as well as to shew mercy, he struck off the head of the perfidious wretch with one blow of his sabre. Being arrived at the gates of Jerusalem, which the inhabitants were now incapable of defending, he granted the queen, Lusignan's wife, a capitulation, which she could not hope to obtain; and permitted her to retire wheresoever she pleased, without demanding any ransom from the Greeks who lived in the city. On his making his entry into Jerusalem, many women came and threw themselves at his feet; some begging that he would restore to them their husbands, and others their children or their fathers, who were his prisoners; and he granted their requests with a generosity, of which that part of the world had yet afforded no example. Saladin caused the mosque, which had been converted into a church, to be washed with rosewater by the Christians themselves, and placed in it a magnificent chair, which Noradin, sul-

tan of Aleppo, had made with his own hands: he also caused to be carved, on the door these words, SALADIN THE KING, SERVANT OF GOD, SET UP THIS INSCRIPTION, AFTER GOD HAD TAKEN JERUSALEM BY HIS HANDS.

He established Mahometan schools; but notwithstanding his attachment to his religion, he restored to the Oriental Christians the church of the holy sepulchre. It must also be added, that within the compass of a year he granted Guy of Lusignan his liberty, on swearing never to take up arms against his deliverer; but Lusignan paid no regard to his oath.

While Asia Minor continued thus the scene, on which so many thousands of crusaders acted their parts, some distinguished by their zeal and love of glory, others by their crimes and distresses; the fury of propagating religion by the sword was spread to the extremity of the North.

We have just seen Charlemaign convert the north of Germany with fire and sword: we have afterwards beheld the idolatrous Danes making Europe tremble, and conquering Normandy, without ever attempting to force the conquered to embrace idolatry: but scarcely was Christianity established in Denmark, Saxony, and Scandinavia, than a crusade was preached up against the Pagans of the North, whom they called Slaves, or Slaves; from whence the country which borders on Hungary is named Schavonia. The Christians took up arms against them from Bremen to the extremities of Scandinavia. Above 100,000 crusaders carried destruction among these idolaters, killing vast multitudes, and making

ing no converts. We may still add the loss of these 100,000 men to the 1,600,000, which the madness of those times had cost Europe.

In the mean time the Christians lost all they had possessed in Asia, except Antioch, Tripoli, Joppa, and the city of Tyre; all the rest was in the possession of Saladin, either in his own person, or by his son-in-law, the sultan of Iconium or Cogni.

At the rumour of Saladin's victories, all Europe was in confusion; and pope Clement III excited France, Germany, and England against him. Philip Augustus, who then reigned in France, and old Henry II. king of England, suspended their quarrels, and only vied with each other in their readiness to succour Asia. They both ordered that such of their subjects as would not take up the cross, should pay the value of the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects to defray the expence of the armament. This was called the Saladin tythe, which served as a trophy of the conqueror's glory. 1188.

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, famous for the persecutions he suffered from the popes, and for what he made them suffer, took up the cross almost at the same time. He seemed to be among the Christians of Asia, what Saladin was among the Turks, an able politician, a good foldier, tried by fortune, and he was at the head of an army of 150,000 fighting men. He at first took the precaution to order, that none should be suffered to enter into the crusade, but such as had at least 150 franks current money; to the end, that every one might by his own means prevent

R 6

those

those frightful dearths, which had contributed to the ruin of the preceding armies.

The emperor was, however, obliged first to fight against the Greeks. The court of Constantinople, weary of being continually menaced by the Latins, entered at last into an alliance with Saladin, which was condemned by the rest of Europe, notwithstanding its being apparently inevitable; for no alliance can take place between natural enemies, but from necessity. - Our present alliance with the Turks, though perhaps less necessary, does not create such murmurs. Frederick forced a passage through Thrace sword in hand, against Isaac Angelus the emperor, and conquering the Greeks, he afterwards obtained two victories over the sultan of Cogni; but bathing himself in a river, thought to be the Cydnus, when in a profuse sweat, he died, and his conquests proved of no advantage. Though they had doubtless been dearly bought, since his son the duke of Swabia could gather together no more than seven or eight thousand men at most out of the 150,000 that had followed his father; these he conducted to Antioch, and joined them to the remains of the army of Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, who was still resolved to attack Saladin his conqueror, notwithstanding his oath, and the inferiority of his forces.

After many battles, none of which were decisive, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, who might have been emperor of the West, lost his life near Ptolemais. Those who have written of his dying a martyr to chastity, and asserted, that he might have preserved his life by the use of women, have shewn that they are bold panegyrist, and but little

tle acquainted with natural philosophy; however, the same compliment has since been paid to Lewis VIII. king of France.

Asia Minor was a gulf into which all Europe were throwing themselves. Not only was the immense army of the emperor Frederick lost, but the fleets of English, French, Italians, and Germans, that preceded the arrival of Philip Augustus, and Richard Coeur-de-Lion, brought fresh crusaders, and fresh victims.

The kings of France and England at length arrived before Ptolemais in Syria; and almost all the Christians in the East had united to besiege that city. Saladin was then near the Euphrates, where he was embarrassed by a civil war; and when the two kings had joined their forces to those of the eastern Christians, the whole army was computed to amount to above 300,000 men.

Ptolemais was indeed taken; but the discord <sup>1190.</sup> that necessarily arose between two such rivals in glory and in interest, as Philip and Richard, did more mischief than these 300,000 performed successful exploits. Philip, tired with these divisions, and still more with the superiority assumed on all occasions by Richard, whom he considered as his vassal, returned into his own dominions, which he ought not perhaps to have left, and to which he ought not to have returned, without bringing with him new acquisitions of glory.

Richard remained master of the field of honour, but not of that multitude of crusaders, who were more divided by their animosities than the two kings had been; which made the most heroic courage ineffectual. Saladin, who returned victorious

torious from Mesopotamia, gave battle to the crusaders near Cesarea, when Richard had the glory of dismounting that prince, which was almost all that he gained in this memorable expedition.

1191. Fatigues, sickness, skirmishes, and continual quarrels, ruined this great army, and Richard returned with more glory indeed than Philip Augustus, but in a manner much less prudent. He set sail with a single vessel, and that being wrecked on the coast of Venice, he traversed half of Germany in disguise, and but ill attended. He had offended the duke of Austria while he was in Syria, by his haughty behaviour, and yet he was so imprudent as to pass through his dominions: on which the duke made him prisoner, and delivered him up to the barbarous and cowardly emperor Henry VI. who kept him in confinement as an enemy taken in war, and demanded one hundred thousand marks of silver for his ransom.

1195. Saladin, who had entered into a treaty with Richard, by which he left the Christians the sea coast from Tyre to Joppa, continued faithful to his engagement; but died three years after at Damascus, admired even by the Christians. In his last illness, instead of the flags which used to be displayed before the gate of his palace, he substituted the sheet in which he was to be buried; and the person who carried this standard of death, cried with a loud voice, "This is all that Saladin, the conqueror of the East, has obtained by his victories." It is said, that he left by his last will benefactions to be equally distributed amongst the poor Mahometans, Jews, and Christians; intending by his disposition, to teach this doctrine, that all men are brethren, and that in order

der to entitle them to receive our assistance, we ought not to enquire what they believe, but what they suffer.

The zeal for crusades was not extinguished; neither did the wars carried on by Philip Augustus against England and Germany prevent a great number of the French lords from turning adventurers. The principal promoter of this emigration was a Flemish prince, as Godfrey of Bouillon had been the chief of the first. This was Baldwin earl of Flanders: 4000 knights, 9000 esquires, and 25,000 foot, composed this new crusade, which may be called the fifth.

Venice, which supported its commerce by war, grew every day more formidable: it was thought expedient to apply to this republic for assistance, rather than to any other; for the Venetians were able to fit out larger fleets than the kings of England, Germany, and France. These industrious republicans gained by this crusade not only wealth, but additional territories. In the first place, they were paid eighty five thousand marks of silver merely to transport the troops; and then they employed this very army, to which they added, fifty galleys, in making conquests in Dalmatia.

1202.

Pope Innocent III. either as a matter of form, or because he already feared their encreasing grandeur, excommunicated them; but these excommunicated crusaders nevertheless took Zara and its territories, which still increased the power of the Venetians.

This crusade was different from all the others; for the crusaders found Constantinople divided, and the former ones had always to do with emperors



perors well established on the throne. The Venetians, together with the earl of Flanders, the marquis of Montferrat, and in fine the principal commanders, who are seldom deficient in point of policy, when the multitude is wild and licentious, perceived that the time was come for executing the antient project against the Grecian empire.

Isaac Angelus had been deprived of his liberty and sight by his brother Alexius; but his son was at the head of a party, and the crusaders offered him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries were equally odious to both parties; however, they encamped without the city, which was always filled with tumult. Young Alexius, who was detested by the Greeks for having introduced the Latins, soon became the victim of a new faction; and one of his relations, surnamed Murtzuphlus, strangled him with his own hands.

The crusaders, who had then the pretence of revenging the death of their friends, took advantage of the seditions that desolated the city, in order to plunder it. They entered almost without resistance, and having put every one they met to the sword, gave themselves up to all the excess of avarice and fury. Nicetas assures us, that the booty of the French lords alone amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver. The churches were pillaged; and what sufficiently shews, that the disposition of the nation has never changed, is, that the French danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia.

This was the first time that the city of Constantinople was taken and sacked; and this was done

done by Christians, who had made a vow to fight only against the infidels.

In all these skirmishes, we do not find that the Greek fire, so much boasted of by historians, had the least effect. If it had been what they represent it, it would always have secured the victory both by land and sea. If it was something resembling our phosphorus, it might indeed be preserved in water, but then in that element it would have produced no effect. In short, notwithstanding this secret, the Turks had taken almost all Asia Minor from the Greeks, and the Latins took the rest.

Baldwin, earl of Flanders, the most powerful person in the crusade, caused himself to be elected emperor, and condemned Murtzuphlus, the other usurper, to be thrown from the top of a high column. The other chiefs divided the empire among them. The Venetians took Peloponnesus, the isle of Candia, and many cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had never submitted to the Turkish yoke. The marquis of Montferrat took Thessaly. Thus there was little left for Baldwin, besides Thrace and Moesia. As to the pope, he gained, at least for a time, the whole eastern church. This conquest however might have been worth a kingdom in time; for Constantinople was a much more valuable acquisition than Jerusalem.

These crusaders, who ruined the Christians their brethren, might more easily than all their predecessors have driven the Turks out of Asia; for the dominions of Saladin were dismembered: but of such a number of knights who had taken a vow to go and succour Jerusalem, there only  
passed

passed into Syria a few of those who were unable to get any share in the spoils of the Greeks. One of these was Simon of Montfort, who having in vain attempted to obtain a sovereignty in Greece and Syria, returned at length to France, and put himself at the head of a crusade against the Albigenses, to usurp the estates of Christians under the banner of the cross.

There remained many princes of the family of the Comneni, who did not lose their courage at the destruction of their empire. One of these, whose name was also Alexius, escaped with some vessels to Colchis, and there, between the sea and mount Caucasus, founded a small state called the empire of Trebizond; so much has the word empire been abused.

Theodore Lascaris, by whom Nice was retaken, established himself in Bithynia, by opportunely making use of the Arabs against the Turks. He also took upon himself the title of emperor, and caused a patriarch to be elected of his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance even with the Turks, and called to their assistance their antient enemies the Bulgarians against the new emperor Baldwin, who had yet scarcely enjoyed his conquest: having totally defeated  
 1205. him near Adrianople, they cut off his arms and legs, and left him a prey to wild beasts.

People are astonished that the sources of these emigrations were not dried up; but the contrary would have been as proper a subject of astonishment. The minds of mankind were set in agitation; penitents were ordered by their confessors to go to the Holy Land, and by the false reports every day propagated, new hopes were excited.

Esloin,

Esloin, a monk of Britany, about the year 1204, conducted a multitude of his countrymen into Syria. The widow of a king of Hungary took the cross, with many other women, believing that there was no other method of getting to heaven, besides that of performing this journey. This epidemic frenzy seized even the children, thousands of whom, conducted by their schoolmasters and the monks, left the houses of their parents, on the faith of these words, *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength.* Their conductors sold a part to the Mussulmen, and the rest perished miserably.

Antioch was the most considerable state the Christians had preserved in Syria; and Ptolemais was the only place they possessed in the kingdom of Jerusalem: yet it was the opinion of the West, that Jerusalem ought to have a king; and Emery of Lusignan, the titular sovereign, dying about the year 1205, the bishop of Ptolemais proposed to go to France to demand a king of Judea, when Philip Augustus nominated a younger son of the house of Brienne in Champaign, who had scarcely any estate. We may by the king's choice form a judgment of that kingdom.

This titular king, together with those knights, some people from Britany, who had crossed the sea, many German princes, a duke of Austria, Andrew king of Hungary, who was followed by pretty good troops, the templars and hospitallers, and the bishops of Munster and Utrecht, all together might have formed an army of conquerors, if they had had a good general; but this they always wanted.

The

The king of Hungary retiring, a count of Holland undertook what so many kings and princes had been unable to perform. The Christians seemed now to have a prospect of retrieving their affairs; their hopes were strengthened by the arrival of a multitude of knights brought by a legate from the pope: an archbishop of Bourdeaux, the bishops of Paris, Angers, Autun, and Beauvais, accompanied the legate with a considerable body of troops; and besides these, four thousand English, and as many Italians, came under several banners: so that John de Brienne, who had arrived at Ptolemais almost alone, found himself at the head of near 100,000 men.

Saphadin, brother to the famous Saladin, who had lately joined Egypt to his other dominions, came to demolish the remains of the walls of Jerusalem, which was no more than a small ruinous town: but as Saphadin appeared but ill established in Egypt, the crusaders imagined they might easily obtain the possession of that country.

The passage from Ptolemais to the mouth of the Nile is very short; and the vessels which had brought such numbers of Christians, carried them in three days to the antient Pelusium.

1218. Near the ruins of Pelusium is built Damietta, on a causeway that defends it from the inundations of the Nile. The crusaders began the siege during the last illness of Saphadin, and continued it after his death. Meledin, his eldest son, then reigned in Egypt, who was thought to be fonder of the laws, the sciences, and a life of tranquillity, than of war: but Corradin, sultan of Damascus, who was in the possession of all Syria, came

came to his assistance. The fame of this siege, which lasted two years, spread through Europe, Asia, and Africa.

St. Francis of Assisi, who had then established his order, went himself to the camp of the besiegers; and thinking that he should easily convert the sultan Meledin, he advanced with his companion, brother Illuminatus, to the Egyptian camp, where he was seized and conducted to the sultan. Francis preached to him in Italian, and made a proposal, to cause a large fire to be kindled, into which the Imans on the one hand, and he and Illuminatus on the other, should cast themselves to prove which was the true religion. The prince replied with a smile, that his priests were not of the number of those who would leap into the fire in defence of their faith. Francis then proposed to throw himself into it alone; but Meledin told him, that if he should accept of such a proposal, he would be thought to doubt the truth of his religion; and in short, plainly perceiving that Francis was incapable of being a dangerous spy, he dismissed him with marks of his bounty.

Damietta however was taken, which seemed to open a way for the conquest of Egypt; but Pelagius Albano, a Spanish Benedictine, who was a cardinal and the pope's legate, proved the cause of its being lost. The legate pretended, that the pope being the head of all the crusades, he who represented him, had an incontestable right to be general; and that as the king of Jerusalem enjoyed his title only by the pope's permission, he ought to pay an implicit obedience to his legate. These divisions took up some time; they

they must write to Rome; and the pope commanding the king to return to the camp, he obeyed, in order to serve under the Benedictine. This general intangled the army between two branches of the Nile, at the very time when that river began to overflow its banks. The sultan, by the help of sluices, overflowed the Christian camp on the one side, and burnt their vessels on the other. The waters of the Nile continuing to rise, threatened to swallow up the legate's  
 2227. army, which was then in the situation in which the Egyptians are described under Pharoah, when they saw the sea ready to roll in upon them.

Cotemporary writers agree, that in this extremity they entered into a treaty with the sultan, who obliged them to restore Damietta, and sent their army into Phœnicia, after making them swear that they would not commit any acts of hostility against him for eight years; and he kept king John de Brienne as an hostage.

All the hopes of the Christians were now centered in the emperor Frederick II: John de Brienne being set at liberty, gave him his daughter in marriage, and his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, as her dowry.

The emperor Frederick II. was perfectly sensible of the little advantage to be obtained by crusades; but he was obliged to keep fair with the people, and to elude the power of the pope. In my opinion, the conduct he observed is a model of the most perfect policy. He carried on a negotiation at the same time with the pope and the sultan Meledin; and the treaty between the sultan and him being signed, he set out for Palestine, but it was rather with a retinue than

than an army. Scarce was he arrived, when he made the treaty public, by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, and some villages, were yielded up to him; and he caused it to be reported in Europe, that he had recovered the holy places without losing a drop of blood. He was reproached with having left by the treaty a mosque in Jerusalem; and the patriarch of that city treated him as an atheist; but in other places he was regarded as a prince who understood the art of government.

It must be confessed by every one who reads the history of those times, that the writers of romance have scarce been able, by the force of imagination, to exceed what truth has here furnished.

A few years before this event, an earl of Flanders, having made a vow to go to the Holy Land, seizes in his way the empire of Constantinople: John de Brienne, a younger son of a family in Champaign, is made king of Jerusalem, and on the point of conquering Egypt. All this we have seen; but it is nothing as yet: the same John de Brienne having lost his dominions, marches almost alone to the assistance of Constantinople: arrives there during an interregnum, and is elected emperor. His successor Baldwin II. the last Latin emperor of Constantinople,<sup>1224</sup> constantly pressed by Greece, runs with the pope's bull in his hand, in vain imploring assistance of the several princes in Europe. All the princes in Europe were at that time from home; the emperors of the West were gone to the Holy Land; the popes were almost always in France; and the kings ready to set out for Palestine.

Theobald of Champaign, king of Navarre, so celebrated for his love for the queen, mother of



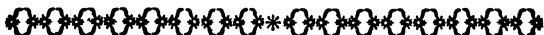
of St. Lewis, and his sons, was one of those  
 1240. who embarked for Palestine; but he was so hap-  
 py as to return the same year. About seventy  
 French knights, who had resolved to signalize  
 their courage with him, were all taken and car-  
 ried prisoners to Grand Cairo, where Melecfa-  
 la, nephew to Meledin, who inherited both the  
 dominions and the virtues of his uncle, treated  
 them with humanity, and at length permitted  
 them to return to their native country at a mo-  
 derate ransom.

At this time the territory of Jerusalem belong-  
 ed neither to the Syrians, the Egyptians, the  
 Christians, nor the Mussulmen: for a revolution,  
 which has had no example, gave a new face to  
 the greatest part of Asia. Jenghiz-chan and  
 his Tartars broke loose from mount Caucasus,  
 Taurus, and Imaus, while the people, who  
 fled before them like savage beasts chased from  
 their haunts by other more terrible animals, over-  
 ran, in their turn, the countries that were aban-  
 doned at their approach.

1244. The inhabitants of Khorassan, who were called  
 Khouarazmians, pushed forwards by the Tartars,  
 rushed into Syria, as the Goths in the fourth  
 century, impelled by the Scythians, over-ran the  
 Roman empire. These Khouarazmians being  
 idolaters, put all the Turks, Christians, and Jews  
 to the sword. The Christians, who remained in  
 Antioch, Tyre, and Sidon, and on the coast of  
 Syria, for some time suspended their private quarrels,  
 and united to repel these new banditti. They  
 were then in alliance with the sultan of Damas-  
 cus: and the templars, the knights of St. John,  
 and the Teutonic knights, were champions still  
 in

in arms; for Europe was continually furnishing some volunteers. In short, their united troops engaged the Khouarazmians, when the Christians were entirely defeated: but this was not the last of their misfortunes; fresh Turks came to ravage the coasts of Syria after the Khouarazmians, and exterminated almost all the knights that were left. Yet these sudden torrents still left the Christians in possession of the cities on the coast.

The Latins, shut up in their maritime towns, now found themselves deprived of all assistance, and their animosities increased their misfortunes. The princes of Antioch were only employed about making war on some Christians in Armenia. The factions of the Venetians, the Genoese and the Pisans, disputed the possession of the city of Ptolemais; and the templars and the knights of St. John were embroiled with each other. Europe, now cooled, sent scarcely any of these armed pilgrims, so that the hopes of the Christians in the East were extinguished, when St. Lewis undertook the last crusade.



## C H A P. XLVI.

### *Of St. Lewis and the last crusade.*

**L**EWIS IX. seemed a prince destined to reform Europe, if that had been possible, to render France triumphant and polite, and to be in every respect a model for mankind to follow. His piety, which was that of an anchorite, did

not deprive him of any of the virtues of a king. His liberality was not in the least inconsistent with a wise œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact justice; and perhaps he was the only sovereign who deserved this praise. He was prudent and firm in the council, intrepid and yet cool in war, and as compassionate as if he had always been unhappy. In short, it is not in the power of man to carry virtue to a greater height.

He had in conjunction with the regent his mother, who understood the art of government, given a check to the abuse of ecclesiastic jurisdiction. The clergy insisted that the civil officers should seize on the estates of excommunicated persons, without examining whether the excommunication was just or not. The king wisely distinguishing between the civil laws, to which the whole society ought to be subject, and the ordinances of the church, whose empire ought to extend only to consciences, would not suffer that the laws of the kingdom should give way to this abuse of excommunications. Having begun his reign with confining the pretensions of bishops and the laity within proper bounds, he put a stop to the factions of Britany; and observed a prudent neutrality, during the violent transports of Gregory IX, and the vindictive resentment of Frederick II.

The crown lands were already considerable; and he improved them greatly by the purchase of several estates. At that time the revenue of the kings of France arose only from their own demesnes, and not from the purses of the people. Their grandeur, like that of any private person, depended upon a judicious œconomy.

This

This administration had enabled him to raise very powerful armies against Henry III. king of England, and his vassals in France, who united with the English. Henry III. was neither so rich, nor so well obeyed by his subjects; he had neither such good troops, nor were they so soon in readiness. Lewis gained two victories over him, particularly the battle of Taillebourg in Poitou, where the king of England fled before <sup>1241.</sup> him. This war was followed by an advantageous peace; the vassals of France returned to their obedience, without ever forfeiting it again; and the king obliged the English to pay 5000l. sterling for the expence of the campaign.

If we reflect, that when the king behaved with such great prudence, he was only four and twenty years of age, and that his character was ever superior to his fortune, we may easily imagine what glorious things he would have performed, had he continued to reside in his own kingdom; and we shall be apt to lament that France was rendered so unhappy even by his virtues, which under a more prudent direction might have blessed the whole world.

In the year 1244, Lewis being attacked by a violent illness, imagined, it is said, while in a trance, that he heard a voice which ordered him to take up the cross against the infidels; and scarce had he recovered his speech, when he made a vow to carry on a crusade. The two queens, his mother, and wife, his council, and all about him, were sensible of the danger of this fatal vow: even the bishop of Paris represented the dangerous consequences with which it would be attended; but Lewis considered it as a sacred bond, which men were not permitted to unloose. He prepared

1243. four years for this expedition; and leaving the government of the kingdom to his mother, he set out with his wife, attended by his three brothers with their wives, and almost all the knights in France; among whom were near three thousand knights bannerets. One part of the immense fleet, that carried such a number of princes and soldiers, set out from Marseilles, and the other from Aiguemortes, which is no longer a seaport.

We find from St. Lewis's account, how greatly France was impoverished by these crusades. He gave eight thousand livres to the lord of Vallery for thirty knights: the constable had three thousand livres for fifteen. The archbishop of Rheims and the bishop of Langres, received four thousand livres for fifteen knights, whom each had under his command. A hundred and sixty two knights dined at the king's table: so that these expences and preparations were immense.

If the enthusiasm of crusades, and a scrupulous observance of oaths, had suffered Lewis's virtue to listen to the voice of reason, he would not only have seen the injury he did his country, but the extreme injustice of this armament, which appeared to him so just.

Had the project been only to put France in possession of Jerusalem, still the French had no right to it: but he marched against the old, the wise Melecfala, sultan of Egypt, who had certainly never given offence to the king of France. Melecfala was a Mussulman, and this was the only pretence for making war against him. There was certainly no more reason for ravaging Egypt, because it was inhabited by those who believed the doctrine of Mahomet, than there is at present

for carrying a war into China, because the inhabitants of that empire are attached to the morals of Confucius.

Lewis put into Cyprus, where the king of that island joined him; and sailing from thence they landed in Egypt. At that time the sultan of this country was not in possession of Jerusalem. Palestine was ravaged by the Khouarazmians\*, to whom the sultan of Syria had relinquished this wretched province; while the caliph of Bagdat, intirely destitute of power, no longer concerned himself in these wars. The Christians were still in possession of Ptolemais, Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli: and by their divisions they were continually in danger of being a prey either to the Turkish sultans or to the Khouarazmians.

Things being thus circumstanced, it is difficult to conceive why the king of France should pitch upon Egypt for the scene of war. Melcsala, grown old and sick, demanded a peace, which was refused. Lewis was reinforced by fresh succours from France, consisting of 60000 fighting men: he was obeyed, beloved, and as he had to do with an enemy already discomfited, and with a sultan who drew near his end, who would not have imagined that Egypt,

\* The Khouarazmians were a people of upper Asia, bordering on the Parthians, to whom they were first subject, and afterwards to the Arabs. In the thirteenth century they were conquered by the Tartars, and obliged to retire beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, from whence they addressed themselves to the sultan of Egypt, who gave them leave to invade Palestine, which they did with fire and sword, and made great havock among the Christians. But the sultan of Egypt afterwards expelled them his dominions, and most of them were destroyed by the Saracens. See Maimb. hist. des crus.

and afterwards Syria, would soon have submitted? Yet half of this flourishing army died of sickness, and the other half was defeated near <sup>1250.</sup> Massoura. *St. Lewis* saw his brother Robert of Artois fall in the engagement, and was himself taken prisoner with his two other brothers, the count of Anjou, and the count of Poitiers. Melecfala now no longer reigned in Egypt, but was succeeded by Almoadan his son: this new sultan had certainly a very great soul; for king *Lewis* having offered him a million of besants in gold for his own, and his fellow-prisoners ransom, Almoadan forgave him a fifth part.

This sultan was murdered by the Mamalukes, whom his father had formed into a militia; and the government, on its being divided, seemed to promise no good to the Christians. However, the Egyptian council continued to treat with the king; and the *sieur de Joinville* asserts, that the emirs themselves proposed in one of their assemblies to chuse *Lewis* for their sultan.

*Joinville* was prisoner with the king: and though what is related by a man of his character, has doubtless some weight; yet if we reflect how often in a camp, or in a house, we are misinformed of the particular facts that are performed in a neighbouring camp, or in the next house; and how improbable it is, that Mussulmen should think of chusing for their king a Christian enemy, who was neither acquainted with their language nor their manners, who detested their religion, and could only be considered by them as the chief of a band of foreign robbers, we shall find that *Joinville* has only related a popular subject of discourse. A faithful relation of what we hear, is frequently

frequently nothing more than a repetition of what ought at least to be suspected. But we have not Joinville's genuine history; it is only an inaccurate translation, made in the reign of Francis I. of a writing which at present would be extremely difficult to understand.

I know not how to reconcile what historians say of the manner in which these prisoners were treated by the Mahometans. It is said, that they brought them one by one out of the place in which they were confined, and asked if they would renounce Jesus Christ; then the heads of all those were cut off, who persisted in the Christian faith.

On the other hand, they attest that an old emir asked the prisoners by an interpreter, if they believed in Christ, and they having answered in the affirmative, he replied; "Take comfort then, since he died for you, and is risen again, he will certainly save you."

These two accounts seem a little contradictory; and what is a greater contradiction still, is, that the emirs should kill those captives, from whom they expected a ransom.

Upon the whole, these emirs demanded no more than 800,000 besants, to which the sultan had limited the ransom of the captives. And when in virtue of the treaty, the French troops in Damietta evacuated that city, we <sup>1250.</sup> do not find that the conquerors committed the least outrage on the women, but dismissed the queen, and her sisters-in-law, with marks of respect. Not that all the Mahometan soldiers behaved with moderation; for the vulgar in all countries are rude and brutish: there were doubt-



less many acts of violence committed, and captives ill used and slain; but I confess, that I am astonished that the Mahometan soldiery did not exterminate a greater number of these strangers, who had sailed from the ports of Europe, without any reason, to lay waste the kingdom of Egypt.

St. Lewis, on his being delivered from captivity, retired to Palestine, and stayed there near four years with the remains of his fleet and army. Instead of returning to France, he went to visit Nazareth, and at length repaired to his own dominions, but not till after the death of queen Blanch his mother; and then only, in order to form a new crusade.

His residence at Paris procured him many advantages, and an encrease of glory. He had an honour done him, which none but a virtuous king could expect. Henry III. king of England, and his barons, pitched upon him as an arbitrator, to decide their differences. He pronounced his award like a sovereign; and though this award, which was in favour of Henry, did not put a stop to the troubles of England, it served however to convince all the world, of the respect which mankind naturally pay to virtue. His brother the count of Anjou was indebted to Lewis's reputation, and to the good order which prevailed throughout the kingdom, for the honour of being chosen king of Sicily by the pope.

In the mean time Lewis increased his demesnes by the acquisition of Namur, Peronne, Avranches, Mortagne, and Perche. He might have stripped the kings of England of all their posses-

possessions in France; the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons affording him a very good opportunity: but he preferred justice to usurpation. He suffered them to enjoy Guienne, Perigord, and the Limousin; yet he obliged them absolutely to relinquish Touraine, Poitou, and Normandy, which had been reunited to the crown by Philip Augustus. Thus he concluded an honourable peace.

He was the first that established the superior courts of justice; in consequence of which the subjects, hitherto oppressed by the arbitrary decisions of the judges of the baronies, began to have it in their power to remove their cause by appeal to four great royal bailiwicks, created on purpose to redress their grievances. It was in his reign that men of letters were first admitted to sit in parliament, where hitherto the lives and property of the subject were determined by gentlemen, who seldom knew how to read. He shewed the piety of a recluse, together with the prudence and resolution of a king, in checking the encroachments of the court of Rome, by that famous pragmatic sanction, which preserves the antient rights and liberties of the Gallican church.

In short, his presence for thirteen years together repaired the damage France had suffered by his absence: but he was still infatuated with a fondness for crusades, which the popes encouraged, and Clement IV. granted him a tenth penny out of the revenues of the clergy for three years. At length he departed a second time with nearly the same force as before; and his brother, whom he made king of Sicily, was to follow him: but his devotion led him to turn his arms neither

S. 5.

to

to the coast of Palestine, nor to that of Egypt; he now directed his fleet towards Tunis.

The Christians of Syria were not descended from those Franks who settled in Antioch and Tyre. They were a mongrel breed of Syrians, Armenians, and Europeans. They were called *Colts*; and these weak remains were subject for the most part to the Egyptians. The Christians had no other strong towns left than Tyre and Ptolemais.

The knights templars and the hospitallers, who in some sense may be compared to the militia of the Mamalukes, were cutting one another's throats in these very towns; and it is mentioned, that in an engagement between those military monks, not one templar was left alive.

But what had this situation of a few mongrel wretches, on the coast of Syria, to do with St. Lewis's voyage to Tunis? His brother Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, an ambitious, cruel, and selfish prince, made the heroic piety of Lewis subservient to his private views, by pretending that the king of Tunis owed him some arrears of tribute. He wanted to be sovereign of that country; and St. Lewis, according to the testimony of all historians (but I know not on what foundation), hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis. Strange method of making a proselyte! He invaded this prince's dominions, and landed his forces near the ruins of Carthage.

But Lewis himself was soon besieged in his camp by the united forces of the Moors. The same distemper, which the intemperance of his transplanted subjects, and the change of climate, had

had brought into his camp in Egypt, desolated his Carthaginian camp; and one of his sons, born during his captivity at Damietta, died of this kind of contagion before Tunis. At length this disease attacked the king, who caused himself to be laid in the dust, and expired at the age of fifty-five, with the piety of a saint, and the courage of a hero. This is one of the most remarkable instances of the caprice of fortune, that the ruins of Carthage should behold a Christian resigning his last breath, who was come to fight the Mahometans in a country, where Dido had introduced the Syrian gods. Scarce was he dead, when his brother, the king of Sicily, arrived, who concluded a peace with the Moors; and the remains of the Christians were brought back to Europe.

We cannot reckon less than 100,000 persons sacrificed in St. Lewis's two expeditions; and if we add to these the 50000 who followed Frederick Barbarossa, the 300,000 in the crusade under Philip Augustus and Richard, the 200,000 at least in the time of John de Brienne, and also reckon the 160,000 who had before passed into Asia, and do not forget those that perished in the expedition to Constantinople, and in the wars that followed this revolution, without mentioning the crusade in the North, and that against the Albigenes, we shall find that the East was the tomb of above two millions of Europeans.

Several countries were depopulated and impoverished by these expeditions. The sieur de Joinville says expressly, that he would not attend St. Lewis to the second crusade, because he could not; the former having ruined his estate.

St. Lewis's ransom cost eight hundred thousand besants\*, that is, about nine millions of livres present currency in this year 1740. If out of two million who died in the Levant, each man carried with him only a hundred livres, this will make the expence amount to two hundred millions of livres to the nation. The Genoese, the Pisans, and especially the Venetians, were enriched by these expeditions; but France, England, and Germany were exhausted.

It is said that the kings of France gained by these crusades, because St. Lewis increased his demesnes by purchasing the estates of a few lords who were ruined; but he increased them only by his œconomy, during the thirteen years he resided in the kingdom.

The only advantage procured by these enterprises, was the liberty which many boroughs purchased of their lords. Thus the municipal government grew slowly out of the ruin of the possessors of fiefs. By degrees these corporations being able to work and to carry on trade upon their own account, revived the arts and manufactures, which had been disused in times of slavery.

In the mean time this small number of mongrel Christians, cantoned on the coast of Syria, were soon exterminated, or made slaves. Ptolemais, their principal asylum, and which indeed

\* A besant, or bezant, was a coin of pure gold, of uncertain value, so called from Byzantium or Constantinople, where it was struck in the time of the Christian emperors. This name was afterwards given to the coin of other Oriental nations, for there were Saracen besants. Hence the gold offered by the king of England at the altar, is called *besant*.

was

was nothing better than a nest of banditti, could not resist the forces of Meleceraph, sultan of Egypt, who took it in the year 1291. Tyre and Sydon surrendered to him also: in a word, towards the end of the 12th century, there was not the least trace remaining in Asia, of these numerous emigrations of Christians.



## C H A P. XLVII.

*Continuation of the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders.*

**T**HE feudal government of France produced, as we have seen, many conquerors. The duke of Normandy, a peer of France, subdued England; private gentlemen conquered Sicily; and amongst the crusaders, the lords of France were for some time in the possession of Antioch and Jerusalem; in short, Baldwin, a peer of France, and earl of Flanders, took Constantinople. The Mahometans of Asia, as we have already observed, yielded Nice to the fugitive emperors of Greece, and they even joined in an alliance with the Greeks against the Franks and Latins, their common enemies: during this time, the irruptions of the Tartars in Asia and Europe, prevented the Greeks from being oppressed by the Mussulmen: the Franks, who possessed Constantinople, elected their emperors, and the popes confirmed the election.

Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, of the house of France, being elected, was crowned 1216.  
and

and consecrated at Rome by pope Honorius III. The popes then flattered themselves that they disposed of the empires of the East and West. We have already seen what sort of a right they had to the empire of the West, and what a deal of blood was spilt about this pretension. In regard to the East, the whole affair was reduced to Constantinople, and part of Thrace and Thessaly. Yet the Latin patriarch, notwithstanding his submission to the pope, pretended it was part of his office to crown his masters; while the Greek patriarch, who resided sometimes at Nice, and sometimes at Adrianople, anathematized the Latin emperor, together with the patriarch of that communion, and the pope himself. This Latin empire of Constantinople was so inconsiderable, that Peter de Courtenay, returning from Rome, could not avoid falling into the hands of the Greeks; and after his death, his successors possessed only the city of Constantinople, and the territories belonging to it. Some of the French had Achaia, and the Venetians the Morea.

Constantinople, which had been formerly so opulent, was grown so poor, that Baldwin II. (I can hardly tell how to call him emperor) pledged to the Venetians, for a sum of money, the crown of thorns worn by Jesus Christ, his linen, his coat, his napkin, and many pieces of the true cross; which St. Lewis redeemed, and placed in the holy chapel of Paris, with other relics that are testimonies of his piety, rather than of his knowledge in antiquity.

We find that this Baldwin II. repaired in the year 1245 to the council of Lyons, in which  
 pope

pope Innocent IV. so solemnly excommunicated Frederick II: he there in vain implored the assistance of a crusade, and returned to Constantinople, only to see it fall at last into the hands of the Greeks, its lawful possessors. Michael Paleologus, emperor and guardian of the young emperor Lascaris, retook the city by means of a <sup>1267.</sup> secret intelligence; Baldwin saved himself by flight, and lived on the money for which he had sold his marquisate of Namur to St. Lewis. Thus ended this empire of the crusaders.

The Greeks brought back their manners into their empire, and revived the custom of putting out people's eyes. Michael Paleologus signalized the commencement of his reign, by depriving his pupil of his sight and liberty. It was before the practice, on these occasions, to make use of a red hot plate of metal; but Michael used boiling vinegar; and the custom is still preserved, for there is such a thing as fashion even in barbarities.

Paleologus did not fail to get himself solemnly absolved for this cruel action, by his patriarch and his bishop, who, it is said, burst into tears of joy at this pious ceremony. Paleologus beat his breast, asked God pardon, but took care not to set his ward and sovereign at liberty.

When I say that superstition made its return to Constantinople along with the Greeks, I need only for proof what happened in 1284. The empire being divided between two patriarchs; the emperor ordained that each should present a memorial of his reasons to the deity in the church of St. Sophia, that the two memorials should be thrown into an hallowed pan of coals, and thus the deity would manifest his will. But the will of the deity  
was



was manifested no other way than by suffering both the papers to be burnt, and abandoning the Greeks to their ecclesiastical broils.

The eastern empire however recovered a little strength. Greece had been joined to it before the crusades, but it had lost almost all Asia Minor and Syria: Greece was separated from it after the crusades; but a little of Asia Minor remained.

The remainder of this empire was possessed by modern nations. Egypt fell a prey to the Mamalukes\*, a militia composed at first of slaves, and afterwards of conquerors. They were soldiers raised in the northern coasts of the Black sea: and this new militia was established about the time of St. Lewis's captivity.

The caliphate was drawing towards an end in the thirteenth century, at the same time that the Constantinopolitan empire was very near expiring. Twenty upstart usurpers were tearing on every side the monarchy founded by Mahomet, while they submitted to his religion. At length these caliphs of Babylon, named the caliphs of the dynasty of the Abassides, were intirely destroyed by the family of Jenghiz-chan.

Thus in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was an uninterrupted series of devastations throughout our whole hemisphere. Nations fell back upon one another by prodigious emigrations, which laid the foundation of vast em-

\* The word signifies a *slave* or *soldier*. They were a formidable power for above two centuries: Selim I. emperor of the Turks, defeated them, and slew their sultan Campson, near Aleppo in Syria, the 26th of August 1517, after taking the city of Grand Cairo.

pires. For while the crusaders poured in great swarms upon Syria, the Turks were undermining the Arabs; and at length started up the Tartars, who fell upon the Turks, the Arabs, the Indians, and the Chinese. These Tartars, under the command of Jenghiz-chan and his sons, changed the whole face of the greater Asia, while Asia Minor and Syria were the grave of the Saracens and Franks.

*END of the FIRST VOLUME.*



A TABLE of sovereign princes for the first volume of this history, which includes the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

<i>Popes.</i>			
Leo III.	795	John XV.	985
Stephen V.	816	John XVI.	996
Paschal I.	817	John VII.	996
Eugene II.	824	Gregory V.	996
Valentine	827	Sylvester II.	999
Gregory IV.	827	John XVIII.	1003
Sergius II.	844	John XIX.	1003
Leo IV.	847	Sergius IV.	1009
Benedict III.	855	Benedict VIII.	1012
Nicholas I.	858	John XX.	1024
Adrian II.	867	Benedict IX.	1034
John VIII.	872	Gregory VI.	1044
Marinus II.	882	Clement II.	1046
Adrian III.	884	Damasus II.	1048
Stephen VI.	885	St. Leo IX.	1049
Formosus	890	Victor II.	1054
Boniface VI.	896	Stephen X.	1057
Stephen VII.	897	Nicholas II.	1059
Theodore II.	901	Alexander II.	1061
John IX.	901	Gregory VII.	1073
Benedict IV.	905	Victor III.	1086
Leo V.	905	Urban II.	1088
Christopher	906	Paschal II.	1099
Sergius III.	906	Gelasius II.	1118
Anastasius III.	910	Calixtus II.	1119
Landon	912	Honorius II.	1124
John X.	913	Innocent II.	1130
Leo VI.	928	Celestine II.	1143
Stephen VIII.	929	Lucius II.	1144
John XI.	931	Eugenius III.	1145
Leo VII.	936	Anastasius IV.	1153
Stephen IX.	939	Adrian IV.	1154
Marinus III.	943	Alexander III.	1159
Agapetus II.	946	Lucius III.	1181
John XII.	955	Urban III.	1185
Leo VIII.	953	Gregory VIII.	1187
Benedict V.	964	Clement III.	1188
John XIII.	965	Celestine III.	1191
Domnus II.	972	Innocent III.	1198
Benedict VI.	972		
Boniface VII.	974	<i>Emperors of the West, of the house</i>	
Benedict VII.	975	<i>of France.</i>	
John XIV.	984	Charlemaign	800
		Lewis the Debonnair	814
			Lotharius

## A Table of sovereign princes.

Lotharius I.	840	Romanus the Young	959
Lewis II.	855	Basil and Constantine	963
Charles II. or the Bald	875	Nicephorus Phocas	963
Lewis III. or the	} 878	John Zimisces	969
<i>Stammerer</i>		Basil II. and Constantine	} 975
Charles III. or the Fat	879	the Young, restored	
Arnold	887	Romanus Argyropulus	1028
Lewis IV.	899	Michael the Papblagonian	1034
		Michael Calaphates	1041
		Zoe and Theodora	1042
<i>German emperors.</i>			
Conrad I.	912	Constantine Monomachus	1042
Henry I. or the Fowler	919	Theodora	1054
Otho I. or the Great	936	Michael the Warrior	1056
Otho II. or the Bloody	973	Isaac Comnenus	1057
Otho III.	983	Constantine Ducas	1059
St. Henry II. surnamed	} 1002	Romanus Diogenes	1068
the Lame		Michael Ducas	1071
Conrad II. the Salic	1024	Nicephorus Botoniates	1078
Henry III. the Black	1039	Michael Ducas and Constantine.	
Henry IV. the Old	1056	Alexius Comnenus	1081
Rodolph I.	1077	Joannes Comnenus	1118
Henry V.	1106	Manuel Comnenus	1143
Lotharius II.	1125	Alexius Comnenus	} 1180
Conrad III.	1139	the younger	
Frederick I. <i>Barbareffa</i>	1153	Andronicus Comnenus	1183
Henry VI.	1190	Isaac Angelus	1185
Philip	1199	Alexius Angelus, called	} 1195
		the Tyrant	
<i>Emperors of the East, or of Constantinople.</i>		<i>Caliphs of the race of the Abbasides.</i>	
Irene	797	Mahomet, surnamed	} 809
Nicephorus	802	Al-amin	
Stauracius	811	Almamun	813
Michael Curopalates	811	Al-Moutasem	833
Leo V.	813	Aaron II.	841
Michael II. the <i>Stammerer</i>	820	Motevaquel	845
Theophilus	829	Al-Moustanfer	860
Michael III.	842	Mouftain	861
Basil	866	Moutaz	866
Leo the <i>Philosopher</i>	886	Mouhtadi	868
Alexander	911	Moutamid	869
Constantine Porphyrogenitus	} 912	Moutadid	892
Romanus Lecapene		919	Mouctafi
<i>Christopher.</i>		Mouctadir	900
Constantine restored,	} 944	Cahir	929
<i>Stephen.</i>		Arradi or Radi	935
			After

## *A Table of sovereign princes.*

After whose death in 942 the empire of the caliphs was subdivided among different chiefs, and the caliphs had only the title left them.

### *Emperors of Japan.*

Fei Dfio	806
Sa Ga	810
Siun Wa	824
Nin Mio	834
Montoku	851
Sei Wa	859
Jo Sei	877
Kooko	885
Uda	888
Dai Go	898
Siu Sa Ku	931
Murakami	947
Ren Sei	968
Jen Wo	970
Quassan	985
Itfi Dfio	987
Sand Sio	1012
Go Itfi Dfio	1017
Go Siufaku	1037
Go Rei Sem	1046
Go San Dfio	1069
Siirakawa	1083
Forikawa	1087
To Ba I.	1108
Sintoku	1124
Konjei	1142
Siirakawa II.	1156
Nidfio	1159
Roku Dfio	1166
Takakura	1169
Auteku	1181
To Ba	1184
Tfutú Mikaddo	1199

### *Emperors of China.*

Xim-çum	805
Hien-çum	806
Mo-çum	821

Kim-çum	825
Ven-çum	827
Vu-çum	841
Siven-çum	847
Y-çum	860
Hi-çum	874
Chao-çum	889
Chao-Siven	905
Tai-çu	907
Mo-ti	913
Chuam-çum	923
Mim-çum	926
Mim-çum	934
Fi-ti	935
Cao-çu	936
Ci-vam	943
Cao-çu	947
Yn-ti	949
Tai-çu	951
Xi-çum	954
Cum-ti	960
Tai-çu	960
Tai-çum	977
Chin-çum	998
Gin-çum	1023
Ym-çum	1064
Xin-çum	1068
Che-çum	1086
Hoei-çum	1101
Kin-çum	1126
Cao-çum	1127
Hiao-çum	1163
Quam-çum	1180
Nym-çum	1185
<i>Kings of Persia of the Turkish race after the extinction of the Saracen empire.</i>	
Togrul Beg	1056
Adaduddaulas	1063
Maliciahus	1071
Mahmud	1092
Barchiaruc	1094
Ghayatuddin	
Mahammedes	1104
Abulcajem	1117
<i>Kings</i>	

## A Table of sovereign princes.

<i>Kings of England of the Saxon race.</i>	Lotharius	958
Egbert	Lewis V.	977
Ethelwolf	Of the Capetine line.	
Ethelbald	Hugh Capet	988
Ethelbert	Robert	997
Ethelfred	Henry I.	1031
Alfred	Philip I.	1061
Edward the elder	Lewis VI.	1110
Athelstan	Lewis VII.	1138
Edmund	Philip II. surnamed	} 1181
Edred	<i>Augustus</i>	
Edwy	Lewis VIII.	1224
Edgar	<i>Kings of Asturia and Leon.</i>	
Edward II.	Alfonso II. surnamed	} 791
Ethelred	the <i>Cbaste</i>	
Edmund II. surnamed	Raymir	824
<i>Ironside</i>	Ordogno I.	850
<i>Danish kings.</i>	Alfonso III. surnamed	} 862
Canutus I.	the <i>Great</i>	
Harold	Garcias	910
Canutus II.	Ordogno II.	913
<i>Saxon kings restored.</i>	Froila II.	923
Edward III. surnamed	Alfonso IV.	924
the <i>Confessor.</i>	Raymir II.	931
Harold II.	Ordogno III.	950
<i>Norman line.</i>	Ordogno IV. surnamed	} 955
William the conqueror	the <i>Bad</i>	
William II.	Sancho I. surnamed	} 956
Henry I.	the <i>Fat</i>	
Stephen	Raymir IV.	967
<i>The Saxon blood restored.</i>	Veramund II.	982
Henry II.	Alfonso V.	1000
Richard I.	Veramund III.	1027
John Lackland	Killed in battle by his	
<i>Kings of France of the Carolovian line.</i>	cousin Ferdinand the	
Charlemaign	Great, who united the	
Lewis the <i>Debonnair</i>	crowns of Castile and	
Charles II. or the <i>Bald</i>	Leon.	
Lewis II. or the <i>Stammerer</i>	<i>Kings of Castile.</i>	
Lewis III.	Ferdinand, surnamed	} 1035
Charles III. or the <i>Fat</i>	the <i>Great</i>	
Odo or Eudes	Sancho I.	1065
Charles IV. or the <i>Simple</i>	Alfonso VI.	1072
Rodolph	Alfonso VII.	1109
Lewis IV. or <i>Ukramarine</i>	Alfonso VIII.	1122
	Sancho II.	1157
	Alfonso	

## A Table of sovereign princes.

Alfonso IX. surnamed } the <i>Good</i>	1158	Raymir I.	1035
Henry	1214	Sancho Raymir I.	1076
<i>Kings of Navarre.</i>		Peter I.	1094
Innigo, surnamed Arista	828	Alfonso I.	1104
Ximenes Innigo		Raymir II.	1134
Innigo Ximenes		Petronilla, Raymir's daughter, marries Raymond earl of Barcelona, who took upon him the title of king	1138
Garcias Innigo	850	Alfonso II. surnamed the <i>Chaste</i> , son of Raymond and Petronilla	1162
Sancho Garcias	870	Peter II.	1196
Garcias Sancho	905	James I.	1213
Sancho II.	925	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>	
Garcias III.	961	Henry the first earl of Portugal, father of Alfonso the first king	1139
Sancho III. surnamed } the <i>Great</i>	996	Sancho I.	1185
Garcias IV.	1035	Alfonso II.	1212
Sancho IV. dispossessed } by Sancho Raymir } king of Arragon	1055	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	
Peter king of Arragon	1074	Congal III.	809
Alfonso, called the } <i>Warrior</i>	1092	Dongal II.	824
The last of the kings } of Arragon reigning } in Navarre.	1106	Alpine	830
Garcias V. recovers the } kingdom of Navarre	1134	Kenneth II. founder of the new succession of that monarchy after subduing the Picts	839
Sancho VI. surnamed } the <i>Wife</i>	1150	Donald II.	856
Sancho VII.	1194	Constantine II.	862
Who dying without male issue, this crown went to Thibaut the great, count of Champagne, who married Sancho's daughter.		Ethus	875
		Donald III.	890
		Constantine III.	903
		Malcolm I.	933
		Ingulph	949
		Duff	961
		Kenneth III.	991
		Constantine IV.	994
		Malcolm II.	1004
		Duncan	1035
		Macbeth, the tyrant	1040
		Malcolm III.	1057
		Donald IV.	1096
		Edgar	1098
		Alexander	1107
		David	1124
		Malcolm	

## A Table of sovereign princes.

Malcolm IV.	1133	St. Canutus	1076
William	1166	Olaus III.	1085
Alexander II.	1213	Ericus III.	1095
<i>Kings of Naples and Sicily of the Norman line.</i>		Harold IV.	1102
Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia and Calabria, died in	1085	Nicholas	1133
Roger I. surnamed the <i>Lame</i>	1085	Ericus IV.	1135
Roger II.	1102	Ericus V.	1139
Roger III.	1129	Canutus IV.	1147
William I. surnamed the <i>Bad</i>	1152	Sueno III.	1155
William II. surnamed the <i>Good</i>	1166	Waldemar I. called the <i>Great</i>	1157
Tancred the bastard	1189	Canutus V.	1165
Constance, married in 1186 to Henry IV. of the house of Swabia.	1192	Waldemar II.	1202
<i>The German line.</i>		<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>	
Henry VI.	1192	Biornus II.	800
Frederick I.	1197	Herotus	834
<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>		Charles VI.	856
Olaus	811	Biornus III.	868
Honiagus	815	Ingo II.	885
Siward I.	873	Olaus I. the first Christian king	891
Regnier.		Ingol II.	900
Siward II.		Ericus VI.	907
Ericus.		Ericus VII.	917
Canutus.		Ericus VIII.	980
Frotho	880	Olaus II.	1012
Gormo I.	886	Amandus	1019
Harold	889	Edmundus I.	1035
Gormo II.	900	Haquinus III.	1041
Harold II.	927	Stinkalis	1059
Under him Denmark was converted to Christianity.		Ingo III.	1059
Sueno I. or Swain	980	Halstenus II.	1064
Olaus II.	1010	Philip	1080
Canutus the great, king of England	1014	Ingo IV.	1110
Canutus III.	1037	Ragualdus	1129
Magaus	1045	Sherco II.	1140
Sueno II.	1051	St. Ericus IX.	1160
Harold III.	1074	Charles VII.	1162
		Canutus	1168
		Sherco III.	1192
		<i>Dukes of Poland.</i>	
		Lescus II.	804
		Lescus III.	810
		Popielus I.	815
		Popielus II.	823
		Piafius	842
		Zemovitus	



## A Table of sovereign princes.

Zemovitus	861	Ladislaus II.	1172
Lescus IV.	892	Stephen IV.	1172
Semovislaus	913	Bela III.	1173
Micislaus I. the first } Christian prince of } this country }	954	Emeric	1196
		Ladislaus III.	1204
<i>Earls of Savoy and Maurienne.</i>			
		Beroald	999
		Humbert the white handed	1024
		Otho	1048
		Amadeus II.	1060
		Humbert II.	1095
		Amadeus III.	1103
		Humbert III.	1149
		Thomas	1188
<i>Doges of Venice.</i>			
		Obelerico Antenorio	804
		Angelo Participatio	809
		Giustiniano Participatio	829
		Pietro Gradenigo	836
		Orfo Participatio	864
		Giovanni Participatio	881
		Pietro Tribuno	887
		Orfo Badoaro	909
		Pietro Candiano	932
		Pietro Badoaro	939
		Pietro Candiano II.	941
		Pietro Candiano III.	952
		Pietro Orfeolo	976
		Vitale Candiano	978
		Tribuno Memo	979
		Pietro Orfeolo II.	991
		Ottone Orfeolo	1009
		Pietro Barbolano	1024
		Domenico Fiabanico	1034
		Domenico Contarini	1044
		Domenico Silvio	1060
		Vitale Valieri	1083
		Vitale Michieli	1096
		Ordelafo Valieri	1101
		Domenico Michieli	1120
		Pietro Polani	1131
		Domenico Morosini	1141
		Vitale Michieli II.	1156
		Sebastiano Ziani	1173
		Orio Malipiero	1178
		Enrico Dandolo	1192

### *Kings of Poland.*

Boleslaus I.	999
Micislaus II.	1025
Casimir I.	1034
Boleslaus II.	1059
Ladislaus I.	1082
Boleslaus III.	1102
Ladislaus II.	1139
Boleslaus IV.	1146
Micislaus III.	1173
Casimir II.	1177
Lescus V.	1195

### *Czars of Muscovy.*

Wolodomir I. called Ba- filius, he embraced } Christianity }	988
Joreslaus I. Wolfewold	VI.
Wolodomir II. Wolfewold	VII.
Wolfewold I. Wolfewold	VIII.
Wolfewold II. Wolfewold	IX.
Wolfewold III. George	I.
Wolfewold IV. Demetrius	I.
Wolfewold V.	

### *Kings of Hungary.*

Geisa prince of Hungary.	
St. Stephen first king	1000
Peter, surnamed the } German }	1038
Ovo	1042
Peter the German restored	1044
Andrew V.	1046
Bela	1061
Solomon	1063
Geisa II.	1074
Ladislaus I.	1077
Coloman	1095
Stephen II.	1114
Bela II.	1132
Geisa III.	1141
Stephen III.	1161

F I N I S.





This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

~~APR 6 - '63 H~~

~~NOV 23 '63 H~~

*4812*

~~FEB 16 '65 H~~

*44548*

**CHALLENGED**  
**UNFILED**

WIDENER  
NOV 25 2002  
WIDENER 2006  
BOOK DUE  
**CANCELLED**  
NOV 20 2002  
BOOK DUE

WIDENER  
WIDENER  
FEB 10 2003  
SEP 08 2003  
BOOK DUE  
**CANCELLED**

