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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

ON

SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES.

CHIEFLY DESIGNED FOR THE YOUNG.

VOL. III.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO
THE DEATH OF RICHARD I.

A.D. 814—A.D. 1199.



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PREFACE

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE former volumes of this work—beginning at the Creation and ending with the death of Charlemagne—I have called Ancient History; and the simplicity of my design leads me to designate the subsequent period, extending to the dawn of the Reformation, by the general name of the Middle Ages: this part will also be complete in two volumes. Greater abridgment was at first intended; but, on making the experiment, the abundance of materials was found to render it impossible without suffering important losses. Besides, it seemed desirable not to compress the History of England so much as the other sections of the work; and it is now given at greater length, and in distinct chapters, so that it may, at any time, be read consecutively.

The vast variety of persons and events which a *Universal* History presents to us, cannot be remembered without great labour or confusion of mind, unless we can bring them into orderly divisions; I have, therefore, selected some well-known sovereign to place at the head of each successive period; and to his TIMES, I have referred all contemporary history, as far as it is possible. The close of each of the four centuries comprised in this volume synchronises with the death of one of these leading sovereigns; for Alfred died A.D. 901; Otho III. A.D. 1002;

William II. A.D. 1100 ; Richard I. A.D. 1199. A distinct chapter at the close of each Century gives a general sketch of the state and extension of Christian profession ; though, as before, ecclesiastical matters are frequently noticed in the history of the various states.

The following observations will, I trust, assist the youngest reader in understanding my plan.

Charlemagne, i.e. *Charles the Great*, was crowned emperor A.D. 800 ; and we ended the history of his life and times in our last volume. *The life and times of his son* (Louis I.) reach from A.D. 814 to A.D. 840 ; *the life and times of his grandson* (Charles the Bald) end A.D. 877.

Egbert, it may be remembered, was instructed by Charlemagne in the arts of war and government ; *his son* marries into Charlemagne's family ; *his grandson* comes to the throne a little before the death of Charlemagne's grandson. And, at the moment of the dissolution of Charlemagne's vast empire in the hands of his feeble successors, *the rising monarchy of England* asks our chief attention.

The life and times of *Alfred the Great* extend onwards to A.D. 901 ; *the life and times of his son*, and of *his grandson*, reach to A.D. 941.

The rest of Alfred's descendants reigning in England up to the close of the century and beyond it, do not claim any prominent place ; but we find a leading monarch at the head of *the rising empire of Germany*, and one who married a grand-daughter of Alfred the Great.

The life and times of *Otho the Great* end A.D. 973 ; *the life and times of his son*, and of *his grandson*, A.D. 1002.

A sister of Otho the Great married the father of *Hugh Capet*, who was the ancestor of a long line of kings of France; and at the head of the next period we place the first of the Capets who wore the crown.

The life and times of Robert (son of Hugh Capet) end A.D. 1031 ; the life and times of Henry I. (his grandson) end A.D. 1060.

So far, the death of one leading sovereign will be found nearly to synchronise with the accession of another; but, at the death of Henry I., there is no distinguished monarch who can immediately be placed at the head of a period. In this interval a sketch is given of the state of the world in *the days of Hildebrand* (Pope Gregory VII.), under whom the papal power becomes very great. Cotemporary with this pope, and in close connection with France, being himself a vassal of the French crown, we take up,

The life and times of William the Conqueror, ending A.D. 1100. The life and times of his son, of two of his grandsons, and of his great-grandson, bring us to the close of the twelfth century.

Thus, the history of Four Centuries is brought within the compass of the reigns of *fifteen* sovereigns, belonging to *five* distinguished royal families, French, English, and German, between which we can form some natural connection; and it will be seen that there is little difficulty in embracing all European, as well as Arabian, Greek, and Oriental History, within these limits.

The companion volume, which completes the Middle Ages, is constructed on a similar plan, and is in course of preparation; and the sources from which the whole history is drawn, will appear at the close, with a comprehensive index. The undertaking is pleasant, though laborious; and has not been without great encouragement from many honoured friends who are parents, or

instructors ; but whilst I have heartily endeavoured to form a compendium of Universal History, rich in facts and in Scriptural truth, I have fallen far short even of my own ideas ; and no one can be more conscious than myself how much room there is for better exertion in so wide a sphere.*

It has been my wish to send forth two additional volumes, the size of these, completing the history down to our own times ; for the Ancient, the Middle, and the Modern History, would then appear in an entire series ; and I am aware that history may be made more interesting, and brought to bear more directly on ourselves, the farther we advance. But, though I have read and studied with this end in view, my accomplishment of the task is so uncertain, that I should be glad to see it taken up at once by some one who would do it better ; and I believe the usefulness of the work would amply repay the toil.

* The *necessity* for a Universal History written on Christian principles was strongly felt by the late Dr. Arnold, and was the subject of his frequent contemplation. Referring to the history that Dr. Arnold purposed to write, his biographer says, "there would have been the place for his unfolding the rise of the Christian Church, *not* in a distinct ecclesiastical history, but—as *he thought it ought to be written*—in conjunction with the history of the world."

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VOL. III.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

PART IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE
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CHAPTER I.

Louis I. (the Feeble) and his Times. A.D. 814—840.

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THE prophetic vision (Dan. ii. 31—43), to which we have so often referred in our Ancient History, presents under the most striking figures the character of the scenes on which we have now entered. That great kingdom—strong as iron—in its lower and divided form, exhibits from time to time “the strength of the iron”; yet the element of weak-

ness, like "miry clay", is mingled with it, and no kingdom arises that is not "partly strong and partly broken"

One solemn sentence from the word of God—agreeing as it does with all other Scripture—may suffice to remind us of God's purposes concerning every earthly power: "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it . . . till He come whose right it is, and I will give it Him" (Ez. xxi. 27; Dan. vii. 13, 14). Happy are they who can say with a true heart, "Even so, come Lord Jesus". In taking up the page of Universal History with Christian feelings and hopes, contrasting the havoc and misery caused by sinful man's jarring passions with the order and joy that will flow from heavenly rule, we find continual occasion to desire that moment—we know not how near—when there shall be great voices in heaven, saying, "The kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xii. 15).

DURING a whole generation, and at the present moment more particularly, France, with its astonishing changes, has attracted the most anxious observation: we look back, therefore, with added interest to the time when it first obtained a distinct place among the nations of Modern Europe.

Charlemagne, during a reign of forty-three years, had apparently restored the mighty empire of the West; and we have already noticed that a cotemporary writer distinguished him as "*a man of iron*";* but the great fabric built up by his hands, to make himself a name, was soon broken to pieces.

In an age of darkness, he blazed and disappeared like a meteor. His earthly glory was not transmitted to his posterity, for none of them had power to imitate his dazzling course. The surname of Great was inseparably joined to his name after his death; and posterity has attached the appellation of Feeble to the name of his successor. Louis, however, was in his own days called by the French, *Debonnaire*—by the Germans, *Fromm* and *Gütig*—and by the Latins and Italians, *Pius*; expressions which in their vari-

* See vol. ii. p. 366; and p. 397 for the extent of his empire.

ous tongues were meant to signify that he was kind and gracious. Feeble, then, as he might be as an emperor, we cannot help preferring his reputation to that of his father: besides, he was a man of strict morals; and his conscience, though little enlightened, was tender; and, as a legislator, his humanity and wisdom made him superior to Charlemagne.

Louis had been king of Aquitaine (the third part of Gaul) almost from his cradle, and was a particular favourite in the French portion of the empire; nor was there a voice that did not re-echo the cry of "Long live the emperor Louis!" when Charlemagne, the year before his death, delivered up to him the golden crown. Louis was at Toulouse when his father died; and as he travelled from that place to Aix-la-Chapelle, he was saluted with joyous shouts. He was at this time thirty-six years old; and by his wife Hermengard, whom he had married at the age of twenty, he had three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis.

Before he settled with his family at his father's residence, he sent a military force to clear it for their reception; and though he was blamed for this severity, we must applaud his desire to avoid the contamination of evil communications. Charlemagne had kept around him his many unmarried daughters and nieces, and had also, it is said, nine concubines, whom he dismissed at pleasure; and all the royal ladies were of such bad reputation, that Louis obliged them to retire to various convents, refusing even to acknowledge the services of those who had attended his father in his last days. The next act of Louis was to send messengers throughout the empire to inquire into the wrongs of the oppressed, and to repeal some of the severe laws under which the conquered nations groaned. But the natural sweetness of character and love of justice possessed by Louis, availed little, because of his feebleness; and he lost respect through his want of resolution and his changeable disposition. Two years after his accession, he was crowned by Pope Stephen V.; and this ceremony, which conferred neither on him nor his father anything not possessed before, was, after these times, assumed to signify that the gift of imperial power was in the hands of the bishops of Rome. In the following year, Louis associated his son Lothaire

in the empire, and gave the kingdoms of Aquitain and Bavaria to the younger princes. The weakly indulgent father too late discovered the danger of this act: the feelings connected with royalty are hurtful to most men of mature age; and these youths, in consequence of their early exaltation, seemed to forget their duties as sons and brothers.

Bernard, king of Italy, the son of Louis's elder brother, felt that he had a better title to the rank of emperor than his cousin Lothaire; and, as a number of bishops and nobles supported his claim, he assembled troops in order to force his uncle to acknowledge it. Louis, with a German army, met him at Chalons, and whether, as some relate, he gained over his nephew's party by bribes, or whether Bernard himself, as others say, shrank from the horrors of civil war, it is certain that the latter threw himself at his uncle's feet and asked pardon. The emperor, noted as he was in his general behaviour for mercy, seemed afraid on that occasion to forgive; but after his counsellors had pronounced sentence of death on the young prince and his adherents, Louis ordered that only his eyes should be put out. Queen Hermengard, however, took care that this punishment should be inflicted in so barbarous a manner that the sufferer died within three days. Her motive was to secure the whole empire for her own sons; but she was cut off by death shortly after the object of her jealousy.

Louis, being left a widower, was disposed to remain unmarried, and to adopt the monastic habits to which he had been long inclined; but his ministers persuaded him to seek another wife, and by the advice of the clergy he called an assembly of the most beautiful of the noble women of the empire, according to the manner of Ahasuerus. Judith, a descendant of the ancient dukes of Bavaria, was the object of his choice; and her beauty, which was equal to her ambition, gave her from that time an influence over Louis which was the cause of great misfortunes. A.D. 819.

But no change in his circumstances could relieve the emperor from the load which had been on his conscience ever since the death of Bernard, and God's counsel being darkened by the guides to whom he trusted, he resolved to seek relief in the ceremonies of public penance. Four

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years had elapsed from the commission of the sin, when Louis accused himself of his nephew's death in the assembly of the states, with which he was in the habit of taking counsel twice a-year, and after asking permission of the bishops, he made his penitence known to the whole nation. Confession and humiliation because of crime, utterly valueless in God's sight if *only* done to be seen of men, are the more worthy of notice in sovereigns, because there is no visible power above them; and they have more liberty to give loose to their passions than other men. Several instances are recorded in the Scriptures. Louis, however, by submitting to forms of priestly devising, increased the arrogance of an order which he had attempted to reform; and the spirit of the ecclesiastics soon broke forth to his cost. In one of his first capitularies, the duties of bishops and abbots were set forth, and their worldly habits reprov'd; for they had set themselves above the temporal lords, possessed large domains and numerous vassals, and came to court in rich dresses with golden girdles, in which hung cutlasses set with precious stones, looking, as the king thought, like men of war, and not like men of peace: that they were men of war he had fully to prove.

In A.D. 823, Judith gave birth to a son, who was named Charles, and afterwards called the Bald. This event caused the emperor, in compliance with his wife's demands, to alter the former distribution of his possessions, in order to assign a rich inheritance to the infant prince. The elder princes, who had often been insulted by their step-mother, were greatly excited by this act. The feebleness of Louis had occasioned great disorders throughout the empire, and emboldened the barbarians on the frontiers; and, as the emperor was becoming unpopular, his sons had a large party, including a number of the clergy, to support their interests. Armies were assembled during this family contest, sufficiently showing what was in their hearts; but it appears that no blood was shed. The political result of this contest was the formation of the French and Germans into distinct nations. The Franks, the original name assumed by the German tribes who associated themselves to obtain freedom from the Roman yoke, were at this time naturally divided through the difference in their language:

and the Gaulish Franks we must now call by the modern name of French, and those on the further side of the Rhine simply Germans.

In the first sixteen years of the reign of Louis, frequent and friendly embassies between the Eastern and Western empires kept up the shadow of the unity that had once subsisted in the Roman world; but from the year 830, the Franks were so involved in internal quarrels that they lost all connection with foreign powers. Louis lost the favour of the French part of his subjects after his settlement among the Germans; and the former took advantage of the contentions in the royal family to make themselves an independent people. The oppressions under which the French groaned will appear in the account given of the internal slave-trade carried on at this period. The Moslems were accustomed to bring up slaves under their own roofs from youth, and they often gave to such their confidence; and as they considered it charitable to buy the children of people whom they deemed infidels, they gave a high price for young Christian children; and it was from the interior of France that they purchased, by means of the Jews, such as were sold by the nobles off their own estates in the extremity of poverty. This frightful traffic was secretly carried on throughout the whole empire, as also in Spain and Africa.

Louis was too much under the influence of his wife, to act according to his own better judgment; and it was said of him, that he changed the order of succession to the Crown, or the boundaries of the kingdom, and even appointed governors over his largest provinces, to avoid her ill-humour or obtain her caresses. In a public assembly (829), Walla, abbot of Corbie, accused Louis of occasioning the disorders of the state, and slandered Judith in order to destroy the pretensions of the young Charles. The emperor angrily desired him to return to his convent; but Walla, being of great rank and influence, immediately conspired with the abbot of St. Denis, who, like himself, could raise troops from his own domains, and stirred up the three princes to make war with their father. Negotiations followed; something was yielded by Louis, and he forgave his sons; but Judith renewed the irritation by persecuting Walla and his friends, and by inducing her husband to make their youngest son joint-

son, instead of Lothaire; and Gregory IV., a man of great piety, became pope in 844. He threatened the death of the princes, and even threatened the bishops of France; but the bishops of France were so submissive to Papal authority, that, if his anathema was pronounced, they should, in return, excommunicate the pope of Rome. Gregory IV. expressed too great esteem for the king of the Franks to be an arbitrator between Louis and his sons; but, as he intended to come with an army, he was admitted into the empire under the pretence of pretended negotiations, and he was called "the field of lies," as bribery was the part of Louis's army to continue his own course in the weakened, the emperor Louis, then ten years of age, was placed in different parts of the empire, and was drawn up a formal charge against Louis, for they would not being brought before a council at Rheims, presided by the emperor, and condemned to do penance to prevent him from resuming too much reverence for their requirements, and he led into the cathedral of Rheims, in the presence of a multitude of people, where he had prepared, arms and having taken up arms against his troops in Lent, and accusing himself of sedition, the unhappy prince had his mouth when his coronation he allowed them to do him, by confessing any

emperor, instead of Lothaire; and preparations for war were again made. Gregory IV., a man of talent and learning, with a great show of piety, became pope in 827, and ruled till his death in 844. He threw all his influence on the side of the princes, and even threatened to excommunicate Louis: but the bishops of France were not, at this time, blindly submissive to Papal authority; and they wrote to Gregory, that, if his anathema went forth against the emperor, they should, in return, excommunicate their brother-bishop of Rome. Gregory proudly replied, that the term *brother* expressed too great equality, and that his authority was above that of the king; he, however, offered to be an arbitrator between Louis and his sons. With this professed intention he came with the army of the princes, and was admitted into the emperor's camp near Basle. This scene of pretended negotiation was afterwards called "the field of lies," as bribery was employed to induce the greater part of Louis's army to desert him: it was perhaps an imitation of his own course in the case of Bernard.

Thus weakened, the emperor and his wife and their son Charles, then ten years of age, were obliged to surrender; and the two latter were placed in different convents. Louis was detained as prisoner by his son Lothaire. The opposing bishops then drew up a formal charge against him, under the name of Lord Louis, for they would no longer call him Emperor; and, being brought before a council, in which Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, presided, he was not allowed to answer, but condemned to do penance for life: it was a deep-laid plot to prevent him from resuming the government. Louis had too much reverence for the priests to refuse obedience to their requirements, and accordingly he suffered himself to be led into the cathedral of Soissons, and there, in the presence of a multitude of people, read aloud a paper, which they had prepared, wherein he confessed himself guilty—in having taken up arms against his sons, in having marched his troops in Lent, and called an assembly on Holy Thursday, accusing himself of sacrilege and murder.

The unhappy prince had allowed them to put words into his mouth when his conscience was really distressed, and now he allowed them to make, as it were, a conscience for him, by confessing any thing to be a crime which they

called by that name. Lothaire stood by whilst his father read this declaration, and then received the embrace which the degraded emperor was desired to bestow upon him. Louis then exchanged his robes for the penitent's dress, prostrated himself on a hair-cloth spread before the altar, and retired to the small cell assigned to him. In this seclusion he remained for a year, and his subsequent spirit and conduct lead to the hope that his afflictions were not in vain.

Lothaire's behaviour towards his father made him unpopular with many; his brothers also quarrelled with him, and they united with some of the bishops in restoring the king. Ebbo lost his archbishopric; some other bishops were deposed; and the pope, who either directed the stream of public opinion, or went with it, granted a dispensation to Judith to leave the convent and return to her husband. Lothaire was required to ask his father's pardon in the presence of the army, and the good-natured king not only granted it, but gave him leave to retain the kingdom of Italy, on condition that he would not cross the Alps.

Pepin died in 838, and a new cause of trouble arose; for though he had left a son, Judith claimed the kingdom of Aquitain for her son; and Louis of Bavaria tried to add it to his own kingdom. The emperor led an army as far as Mentz to stop the progress of his ambitious son; but he was happily prevented from engaging in battle with him, as the effects of grief and fatigue brought on serious illness; and a total eclipse of the sun alarmed his mind. He died in a forgiving spirit; for he bequeathed his crown and a very rich sceptre to Lothaire, charging him to fulfil every promise to Judith and her son; and when asked by the bishop of Mentz to pardon Louis, he replied, "I forgive him; but tell him that he ought to ask forgiveness of God for bringing my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave." He then partook of the sacrament, and scarcely tasted any thing afterwards. He died in June, A.D. 840.

We have often noticed that the great kings of the earth are described in Scripture by the emblems of savage beasts: Nebuchadnezzar is designated as a lion, Pharaoh as a great dragon, and so forth. In this kind of greatness, Charlemagne far excelled his son; but in the greatness which humility

and gentleness give, Louis the Feeble, with all his faults, unquestionably surpassed his father. We may form an idea of the real difference between them, not only by the particulars already given, but by their different course towards the idolatrous nations. Charlemagne had been counselled to try more reasonable and gentle methods to convert the Saxons, but for this he had not patience. Louis, who had less fondness for war, acted in a right manner; and thus his reputation for piety had some foundation.

He saw that the rigorous edicts sent forth by national councils had little effect. The Saxons would even kill the imperial envoys if they displeased them; and the profession of Christianity which hung so loosely over them they were continually tempted to throw off through their intercourse with the free pagans of the North. The revolt of the Saxons, and the descent of yet more barbarous tribes, was alike to be dreaded.

Both policy and charity made some new measures necessary; and, in the first year of his reign, Louis made preparations, not for war but for missionary operation. He established a monastery on the banks of the Weser for the education of missionaries, and it was called New Corbie, because some monks from the original convent of that name, in Picardy, settled there; but, unwilling to wait till these labourers should be ready, he looked around for some one who would at once enter the field. Ebbo, a Saxon by birth, brought up with Charlemagne's sons, at once offered his services, as he well knew the wretched state of his countrymen; and we wish that his later history had agreed with the spirit in which, at this time, he seemed to leave all to enter on a dangerous work for the benefit of others. But Ebbo could not go forth, as Paul did, without seeking other authority than the Lord's (Gal. i. 15—17), but went to the pope for permission. Paschal I. held the papal office, between the times of the Stephen who crowned, and the Gregory who dethroned Louis the Feeble. This pontiff straightway issued a bull,* saying, that, "having learned

* The pope's mandates and licenses were so called, either from the golden or leaden seal affixed to them (Lat. *bullæ*), or from a Greek word signifying *council*: they were supposed to issue from the pope in council.

there were people in the North without the knowledge of God, he, in concert with the saints of Germany" (among whom probably he included the emperor), "judged it necessary to send them men to declare the way of salvation;" and further he recommended all believers to co-operate in the work, and anathematised all who opposed it. He also desired Ebbo and his companions, if doubtful on any point, to refer to the Roman see for direction.

Ebbo met with sufficient success to please himself, and returned in 822 to Aix-la-Chapelle, to give the king an account of his work. It was in that year that Louis did penance, on account of his nephew's death.

A slight sketch of the state of the Northern kingdoms—ancient Scandinavia—up to the time of the first attempt to Christianise them, will here be desirable, and may suffice to show that some change in their condition was devoutly to be wished. It is also important to notice, at their source, the tribes to whom we shall have to trace a striking alteration in the state of Europe, both for evil and for good. As long as they were avowed pagans, their hands inflicted nothing but misery; but when their habits were modified, even by the most wretched form of Christianity, their peculiar character of mind gave a new and better tone to lower Europe. It was equally distinct from the servile spirit induced by the despotism of imperial or popish Rome, and from the absolute slavishness produced by Oriental tyranny and Oriental habits. In the eighth century little was known of the Northern regions of Europe, save that they were ruled by numerous petty kings. It seems, however, to have been the custom for only one of the sons of a deceased king to inherit his land, all the rest were furnished with ships properly equipped—their sole property—and sent forth with the title of Vikingr, or Sea-kings, to roam along the coasts, or traverse the ocean, in search of subsistence by plunder. Some made a boast of never sleeping under a smoky roof, nor drinking around a hearth; but in order to preserve friendship and equality among their crews—their only subjects—they used to pass round a drinking vessel without distinction of persons. Their ferocity was such that they would not weep for a deceased relative: they ate

and they could tear the
and make sport in tossing
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These Sea-kings, called the Berser-
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raw flesh and blood ; and they could tear the infant from its mother's breast, and make sport in tossing it on their lances from one to another.

Some of these Sea-kings, called the Berserkir, were revered as supernatural beings, because of the mad excitement to which they wound themselves up, on the eve of conflict ; they bit their shields, howled like wild beasts, and threw off their garments, and, like the Pythoness of old, when the fit of Satanic frenzy was past, they sunk into extreme weakness. Such exhibitions were at last forbidden by law. But the sons of kings were not the only pirates : the land kings found amusement in piracy in the summer, and were all the more popular if successful depredators ; and every man who could fit out a vessel went out in like manner. The employment was considered so reputable, that inherited property which came without danger was despised ; and some parents had their valuables buried with them, in order to force their children into the profession. It was the national proverb —

“ To rob, to kill, can bring no shame :
The best of nations do the same.”

The people of Norway were the most noted pirates ; and as their country was the most unproductive, they seemed to have more reason for such a course of life than other Northmen. The population lay along the sea-coast, where alone the land was fit for pasture or tillage : inland there were moors, forests and mountains. The petty sovereignties of Norway were called *fylki* ; and any of them could furnish twelve ships each containing about seventy men. The Swedish coast, on account of its superior fertility, was long the favourite haunt of the pirates of the Baltic. The king of Upsala, in this era, received tribute from nineteen sub-kings ; but these often became so rich by piracy as to triumph over their nominal sovereign. Denmark had its many kings till they were reduced by Godfrey, who threatened Charlemagne. His sons contended with Harold Klak, king of Jutland, for the supreme power ; and deputies sent by the rival princes came to seek the emperor's favour at the moment of Ebbo's return from his first missionary tour. Louis, thinking it a favourable opportunity for the introduction of Christianity,

treated the messengers of both parties with equal kindness, and sent Ebbo with presents to Harold. He was received with all respect as the emperor's ambassador, and allowed to preach to the people, during three years. At length he grew weary and retired to Rheims, of which he became archbishop. Had he persevered in his work, he might have escaped the evils into which he afterwards fell. Harold had promised that he would one day visit the emperor, and, if he found his religion worth embracing, throw away the metal idols which he had been accustomed to worship; and in 826, having been worsted in a contest with his rivals, he took his wife and son and a number of his followers, and set out to seek the aid of Louis, bidding Ebbo inform him that he was going to demand baptism. The king and his Jutes sailed up the Rhine in a hundred canoes, and landed at Ingelheim, the ordinary residence of the emperor. Louis had made magnificent preparations for the baptismal ceremony, not only to render it impressive to the barbarians, but to show them the glory of a Christian king.* It was before the quarrel with his sons began; and his wife Judith and his son Lothaire stood with him as god-parents to the royal family of Jutland. After the ceremony, Harold, clothed in his white linen garments, was conducted to the emperor's palace, and received rich presents in clothes and arms. Both kings had ignorantly abused the ordinance of Christ to promote their own interests, and both were disappointed in the issue; for, when Harold again attacked Denmark, he was repulsed with more vigour, as a vassal of "the Roman emperor," and Louis was obliged to assign him some land to pacify him, till he could renew his claim. Ruric, also, Harold's nephew, who had been baptised with him, never ceased to ravage the coasts of France, till Louis gave him Dorstadt to hold as a fief of the empire. Nor was this all. A precedent being once established, baptism became an object of speculation among the Danes; and numbers of them presented themselves every Easter, for the sake of obtaining

* The display in books, vestments, and ornaments, on such an occasion, may be imagined, when we find it noted that, in this same year, Louis gave to the convent of Soissons, the place where he was afterwards put to penance, a copy of the Gospels written in letters of gold, and bound in plates of the purest gold.

parties with equal kindness. Harold. He was received as ambassador, and allowed three years. At length he, of which he became archbishop, his work, he might have afterwards fell. Harold had to visit the emperor, and, if facing, throw away the metal accustomed to worship; and in contest with his rivals, he number of his followers, and, bidding Ebbo inform him of baptism. The king and his hundred canoes, and landed in the presence of the emperor. Louis gave orders for the baptismal ceremony to the barbarians, but to the christian king.* It was before him; and his wife Judith and his god-parents to the royal ceremony, Harold, clothed in gold, conducted to the emperor's presence in clothes and arms. Both the ordinance of Christ to protect both were disappointed in the emperor. He was attacked Denmark, he was to assign him some land to new his claim. Ruric, also, when baptised with him, never returned to France, till Louis gave him the empire. Nor was this all. The Danes; and numbers of them, for the sake of obtaining

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the presents, or at least the white robes, that were given to the baptised. An anecdote has been told which proves that some, at least, came many times, having this object in view. One Easter so many Danes appeared in the baptistery, that enough garments could not be found, without cutting up some of the robes of the clergy, or adding some woollen mantles. One of these inferior dresses fell to the lot of a warrior; and when it was thrown over him, as he came up out of the water, he exclaimed that it was more fit for a herdsman than for him, that he had already come to be baptised twenty times, and had always received a beautiful robe, and that if he were not ashamed to appear naked, he would trample this sack under his feet. The institution founded by the Emperor Louis I. at Corbie, produced a man very different from Ebbo—one who never wearied, having once put his hand to the plough—one who resisted all temptation to assist the rebellious princes—one, indeed, in whom we believe was the spirit of God. This was Anschar. He was chosen by Louis to return with Harold Klak into Jutland. He suffered from the coarse manners of that king, and the barbarism of the people; but he had some fruit of his labours, and when the expulsion of his patron by the sons of Godfrey obliged him to return to Germany, he gladly obeyed the emperor's desire that he should go to Sweden. The Northern pirates had been wont to bring home with them from their foreign expeditions, not only the necessities and conveniences of life, but numbers of slaves—Germans, Gauls, and Britons. These had brought into the families in which they served, some ideas of Christianity; and these ideas, like seeds lodged by the wind in some barren spot, seemed only to wait for some kindly nurture to make them fruitful. Had the tree been better, the seeds would have been better; but, as it was, they partook of the degeneracy of the stock whence they were wafted. They were ideas about Christian ordinances, and wrong ideas too, rather than true thoughts of Him to whom all ordinances, rightly used, must testify.

In 829, in the midst of his troubles, Louis received an embassy from Biorn, king of Sweden Proper, informing him that there were many persons in that country who would welcome a preacher, being already attached to Christianity.

The emperor caused a vessel to be fitted out to go to Sweden, in the way of commerce, and sent Anschar and one of his companions with presents to the king. In the voyage, pirates robbed them of everything, including forty-five books which they carried for the instruction of the people; but the fearless missionaries, after many perils, reached the capital. Sigtuna, which stood near the present Stockholm, was said to have been the residence of Odin, and was a distinguished place of sacrifice; but these men of faith were received joyfully, notwithstanding their poverty; and their simplicity, and destitution of external attractions, dispose us to receive the report, that "the first church of Sweden was formed under the visible co-operation of the grace of God." The *jarl*, or governor of Sigtuna, the king's favourite and counsellor, did all he could to give Anschar access to his countrymen, and built a church at his own expense.

At the end of two happy years, the missionary returned to the court of Louis as the bearer of a letter* from Biorn, written in the Runic character, asking farther help; and from that moment no object seemed so dear to the emperor as the furtherance of this work. "If our temporal power," he wrote to the pope, "lays us under obligation to take care of every one of our own subjects, how much more ought we to provide for the propagation and prosperity of the Catholic Church, which Christ has redeemed by his precious blood and confided to our direction; we would, then, have it known to the pious children of the church of God, that a large door is opened for the preaching of the Gospel among the Danes and Swedes." He desired the pope to appoint Anschar archbishop of Hamburg, and sent him to Rome with his letter, accompanied by two bishops and a count. These were the interests that filled the emperor's mind, just after his first restoration to his disturbed throne; and Gregory IV. his political opponent, sealed the imperial

* Writing was an art common to the Celtic nations; and the characters which they used, called Runes, were, from their remote antiquity, supposed by the pagans to possess magical powers. They believed that some of these Runes, formed by the hand of their sorcerers, could stop a vessel in its course, divert an arrow in its flight, produce love or hatred, raise the corpse from the grave, or cast the living into death-like sleep. This last point makes us suppose that they practised what is now called Mesmerism.

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decree for the foundation of a see, which he hoped might
establish papal authority in the north, threatening that all
opposers should have part with the devil and his angels.
But Anshar's letters of credit from the highest powers in
Christendom did not help him in his work. His large diocese
was mostly filled with pagans; and though Gautbert, one of
Ebbo's relatives, was made bishop of Sweden, that country
was still pagan; for Biorn himself was not a steady friend,
and Ragnar Lodbrok, the most terrible pirate of his age and
a ferocious pagan, was just rising into power. The mis-
sionaries, however, continued to labour as they could, during
the life-time of Louis the Feeble; and we shall again allude
to Anshar and his work in our summary of the Christian
profession of this century.

The piratical Northmen had twice landed in England be-
fore the end of the eighth century; and in 832, five years
after Egbert had obtained the dignity of Bretwalda (em-
peror, or king), by his triumph over the other Saxon kings
of England, thirty-five ships poured out their burden of sea-
kings, and sea-warriors, at Charmouth. Egbert, we must
remember, had learned the art of war under Charlemagne,
and was no dull scholar. On this occasion, he forced back
the barbarians to their ships with great loss of life. Two
years after, they made an alliance with the Britons of Corn-
wall, a people of whose state we know little; but, as it
appears, they long retained their ancient profession of Chris-
tianity, there must have been a strong remembrance of past
injuries, to induce them to help the new and more savage
invaders in fighting with the Saxons. However it was,
they together made an inroad into Devon, but were totally
defeated by Egbert at Hengesdown. Whilst the king's
military skill rendered him superior to a foreign invader, his
general mildness attached his subjects to him; and when he
died, all the kingdoms were subordinate to his own govern-
ment in Wessex, A.D. 836.

Egbert's eldest son died before him. Ethelwolf, his second
son, had gone out to war in his youth, and was made king of
Kent; but, by his own desire, he retired into a monastery at
Winchester, of which he became sub-deacon. But, when
he became heir to the throne, the pope gave him leave to

renounce his monastic vows, and he succeeded his father as king, and also married. Alstan, bishop of Winchester, for fifty years a counsellor both in peace and war, and the favourite of Egbert and his sons, supplied by his talents the defects in Ethelwolf's capacity for government. This king's first wife was esteemed a woman of piety and good understanding; but she died soon after the birth of Alfred, their youngest son.

Ethelwolf's subsequent marriage with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, and grand-daughter of Louis the Feeble, will form an interesting link between the families of Charlemagne and Egbert, and between the rising kingdoms of France and England.

That which was called the Golden Age of the Jews continued during the reign of Louis the Feeble; and they were so powerful at his court, that nobles and princes sought their interest by making them presents. The king's physician was Zedekiah, a Jew, whose skill caused the ignorant to attribute to him magical powers. It is a pleasing trait in the character of Louis, that, zealous as he was for the propagation of Christianity, he used no violence towards the pagans, or the Jews. He even allowed the latter to build synagogues, and changed certain markets held on Saturday for their convenience. In judicial matters, they were dealt with evenly, some said partially; and his charters gave them full liberty to buy and sell, and in some cases special privileges. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, being offended that the Jews occupied the best part of the city, and that their vessels filled its port, but above all, grieved that their slaves were seen thronging the streets, forbade Christians to sell them Christian slaves, or to labour for them on Sundays—reasonable prohibitions—and farther desired them not to buy their meat or wine. When the Jews applied to the emperor, Louis desired Agobard to withdraw his mandates; but he petitioned, saying that they sold unwholesome meat and spoiled wine. At the same time he pleaded against them as teachers of absurdities, and blasphemers of Christ; and complained that through the discontinuance of the Saturday market, their Rabbins had more hearers than the Christian preachers.

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Finding his appeal fail, he went in person to seek an interview with the king; but Louis sent him a message to retire to his diocese. After this he wrote to the king and to one of his fellow-bishops, pointing out the application of Deut. xxviii. and showing how the Jews were an accursed people. He could not, however, stir up any one against them, for, in the providence of God, a little quietness was at this time to be afforded them—a short interval of rest between long ages of affliction.

There are but few materials wherewith to form a picture of the state of society in this period. It was, as may be supposed, very rude. Charlemagne had tried to give some polish to his own court; and Louis preserved the outward marks of respect exacted by his father. Even the dukes, who themselves wore rich crowns, stooped to kiss his knee—the favour allowed to the queen—those of lower rank kissed his toe. The habits of the royal family, on a summer's day, in time of peace, is thus described. Early in the morning the men with their dogs and birds hastened to the forests, armed with spears, and followed by a train of servants; the ladies followed on horseback to observe the sport. Tents were pitched in the shade, to which the whole party retired when weary, to partake of a coarse repast, and to indulge in boisterous mirth, songs and drinking. Charlemagne tried to abolish meetings in which the members drank from beginning to end; but these were common in the places beyond the emperor's notice. At these entertainments, jesters were employed to excite noisy merriment; and rude music was used. One of Charlemagne's successors—we know not whether Louis has this credit—committed to the flames a huge quantity of the written songs of the ancient Germans, from motives of piety.

Hunting and hawking seemed to be rather the business than the amusement of the upper classes in the Middle Ages; and on the tombs of females and of men who did not die in battle, the love of these sports was pointed out by a greyhound sculptured at the feet, or a bird on the wrist. Ecclesiastics joined largely in the favourite pursuit; and the monks of St. Denis defended the employment before Charlemagne, by telling him that the flesh of hunted animals was good for the sick brethren, and their skins useful for binding

books. Farming in these times was so little understood, that sufficient fodder could not be stored up to keep the summer stock of cattle through the winter, and a part of it was regularly killed and salted: this made the flesh of wild animals more valuable, and may in measure account for the rigorous laws made to preserve them.

At this period there were neither shops nor manufactories throughout the Western world, though some of the most splendid and costly description existed in the East, and especially at Constantinople. Rich men kept artisans among their own servants. The lord of a castle had his smith, his weaver, etc. under his protection: even kings had their clothes made by the women on their own farms. All articles of luxury were procured from travelling merchants, who from time to time brought foreign goods in carriages, and received protection, because their visits were deemed necessary.

We must now turn our attention to the Greek division of the Roman empire.

CHAP. II.

Times of Louis the Feeble continued.

GREEK EMPIRE.—MICHAEL BALBUS.—HIS EMBASSY TO LOUIS, CONCERNING IMAGE WORSHIP.—MARRIAGE OF HIS SON THEOPHILUS.—CRUEL DESPOTISM OF THAT EMPEROR.—ARABIAN EMPIRE.—ALMAMOUN AT BAGDAD.—SEIZURE OF CRETE AND SICILY.—ALHAKEM AND ABDERRAHMAN II. IN SPAIN.

ON Christmas day, A.D. 820, six years after the death of Charlemagne, Michael Balbus, or the Stammerer, was saved from the fiery furnace to which he was destined by Leo, and, through the murder of that emperor, exalted to the throne of the Eastern empire. So sudden, so tumultuous was the revolution, that for some hours no smith could be found to take the fetters from his legs. Michael's title was disputed by Thomas, one of his fellow-generals, and having obtained help from the Saracens, he encamped before Constantinople with eighty thousand men. Michael, by the aid of hired barbarians, prevailed, and a Bulgarian chief

of Thrace alive into his presence. Michael, passing through his own army, and the feet of the captive emperor, the mutilated victim of his own was led into the city. Michael, popular, his blood the people's, Michael would have been the general who had a design on the emperor, who was checked by a minister, who gave him the opportunity of escape. At the beginning of his reign, Michael, with some lenity, began to be severe. His son, in 824, he sent a soldier to the treaty made with Charlemagne, and to persuade the Romans to put down image-worship. He made a full exposure of the emperor's error, he assembled a council, and it was there agreed, that the images might be retained, as was due to them. Louis, the dominions who outdid the emperor's. This was Claudius, Michael's embassy, he published, when destroying the images, he gave even the crosses, which the iconoclasts in the East, favoured the Jews, proference of images; and he much farther than his coterie to force upon his subjects, Michael and Passover. Michael, when he came to the emperor, he married the daughter of a monastery for this purpose, the breach of her vows, because an heir of noble birth, children; and when Michael

times was so little understood, not be stored up to keep the through the winter, and a part of it: this made the flesh of will may in measure account for the serve them.

There neither shops nor manufactures in the world, though some of the description existed in the East. Rich men kept artisans in their houses. The lord of a castle had his smiths under his protection: even kings had their smiths on their own farms. All articles came from travelling merchants, who brought foreign goods in carriages, because their visits were deemed

of great attention to the Greek division of

CHAP. II.

Michael the Feeble continued.

MICHAEL BALBUS.—HIS EMBASSY TO LOUIS.
—MARRIAGE OF HIS SON THEOPHILUS.
—MOTIVATION OF THAT EMPEROR.—ARABIAN
AT BAGDAD.—SEIZURE OF CRETE AND
BY ABDERRAHMAN II. IN SPAIN.

A.D. 820, six years after the death of Michael the Stammerer, was succeeded by Louis Balbus, or the Stammerer, was succeeded by Louis Balbus, to which he was destined by the order of that emperor, exalted to the throne of the empire. So sudden, so tumultuous a change at for some hours no smith could be made for his legs. Michael's title was given to him by his fellow-generals, and having defeated the Saracens, he encamped before Constantinople with many thousand men. Michael, by the aid of his generals, prevailed, and a Bulgarian chief

brought Thomas alive into his presence. The emperor had not learned mercy through his own sufferings. He caused the hands and the feet of the captive to be cut off, and then, placed on an ass, the mutilated victim of ambition less successful than his own was led into the streets to receive the insults of the populace, his blood flowing at every step. In his torments, Michael would have pressed him to discover any other general who had a design upon the empire; but he was checked by a minister, who told him that he was giving an enemy the opportunity of ruining his most faithful friends. At the beginning of his reign, Michael treated the image-worshippers with some lenity; but, finding them obstinate, he began to be severe. His zeal, indeed, became so great, that in 824, he sent a solemn embassy to Louis, to renew the treaty made with Charlemagne by his predecessors, and to persuade the Roman emperor to unite with him in putting down image-worship. This letter to Louis contained a full exposure of the folly that he condemned. In the same year that the emperor received the Greek ambassadors, he assembled a council at Paris, to consider the matter; and it was there agreed, as previously at Frankfort, that the images might be retained, but that no mark of adoration was due to them. Louis, however, had one bishop in his dominions who outdid the Greek emperor in zeal against images. This was Claudius of Turin. In the year of Michael's embassy, he published a treatise on the subject; and when destroying the images in his diocese, he would not spare even the crosses, which were still had in reverence among the iconoclasts in the East. Michael Balbus particularly favoured the Jews, probably on account of their abhorrence of images; and he carried his predilections for them much farther than his cotemporary, Louis; for he even tried to force upon his subjects the observance of their Sabbath and Passover. Michael had one son, named Theophilus, when he came to the empire; but at the death of his first wife, he married the daughter of Constantine VI. taken from a monastery for this purpose, and no one complained of the breach of her vows, because it was thought important to have an heir of noble birth. The empress, however, had no children; and when Michael died, he was quietly suc-

ceeded by Theophilus ; the only son who thus inherited the empire in peace, during two centuries, A. D. 829.

When Theophilus was about to choose a wife, the daughters of the chief nobles were brought into the palace and arranged in two lines, in imitation perhaps of the fashion of the court of Ahasuerus : no Esther, however, awaited the prince's choice. In passing down this avenue of ladies, with a golden apple in his hand, which he was to give to the object of his preference, the beauty of one named Icaria drew the attention of Theophilus ; and he said to her in passing, " Women have occasioned much evil in the world." " Surely, sir," returned Icaria, " they have also been the cause of much good." Either the manner, or the matter of the reply, displeased Theophilus, and he gave the golden apple to Theodora. Icaria retired into a convent. Her rival reigned for the misery of thousands ; though the despotic character of her husband prevented her from fully displaying her own spirit during his life-time. Once, as Theophilus stood in the palace garden, he saw a vessel coming into port ; and on inquiry it was found to be his wife's property, and laden with luxuries from Syria. " How," asked he of Theodora, " can you degrade yourself into a merchant ? " and then sent orders for the vessel to be burned.

In the Western empire, the sovereigns had too little power, in the Eastern empire too much : barbarian freedom had leavened the government of the former ; Persian despotism, that of the latter. The one tended to anarchy, the other to slavery : we do well thankfully to contrast our own mode of government with both. Theophilus, having found some of his chief ministers guilty of carelessness or injustice, ordered one to be banished, another mutilated, a third scalded with boiling pitch, and a fourth burned alive. Even his show of protection to the oppressed exhibited a worse species of oppression. His own wife's brother had raised his palace-wall so high, that a poor woman, his neighbour, suffered from want of light and air. In our days such an obstruction would have been prevented or removed ; but Theophilus decreed that the complainant should have the palace for her use, and caused its owner to

only son who thus inherited the centuries, A.D. 829.

But to choose a wife, the daughter brought into the palace and imitation perhaps of the fashion of Esther, however, awaited the king down this avenue of ladies' hand, which he was to give in presence, the beauty of one named Theophilus; and he said to be occasioned much evil in the returned Icaria, "they have also good." Either the manner, or the named Theophilus, and he gave the. Icaria retired into a convent. misery of thousands; though the husband prevented her from following during his life-time. Once, in palace garden, he saw a vessel in inquiry it was found to be laden with luxuries from Syria. Theodora, "can you degrade yourself?" men sent orders for the vessel to be

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be publicly scourged. Again, when one of his servants was accused of having drunk some goat's milk, without giving any payment, the emperor ordered him to be cut open in his presence.

Some loudly praised these barbarous severities, which went by the name of justice; and Theophilus boasted that after a search of fifteen days no complaint could be found in the city against any of his officers. The last act of the emperor's life affectingly showed that a despotic temper, and not the love of justice, had guided the exercise of his power. A Persian of the royal race, with many thousands of his countrymen, had found refuge within the empire when pursued by the Moslems. The exile was favourably received, and thirty thousand Persians were enlisted in the imperial army. Theophnobus, the son of this prince, was at his death left to the care of the Greeks; and Theophilus, his early companion, gave him his own sister in marriage. Whilst the emperor was in his dying illness, the Persians wished to make their young prince the leader of their revolt, but Theophnobus escaped from the camp to his brother-in-law's palace. Not satisfied with this proof of his loyalty, Theophilus desired that his head should be brought him; and when the tyrannical command was obeyed, he gazed on the familiar features with savage delight, exclaiming, "Thou art Theophnobus," and almost immediately expired, A.D. 842. We cannot forbear to contrast with this the dying expressions of the emperor Louis I., two years before.

Theophilus was famed for his valour, but after five fruitless expeditions against the Saracens, he suffered a signal defeat, and obtained the surname of "Unfortunate." Some writers say that this emperor denied the divinity of Christ, the resurrection, and the existence of evil spirits. He acted, at least, as if he disbelieved all these truths; but, unhappily, we have too much proof in history that a creed esteemed orthodox may be held, and even contended for, in conjunction with horrible ungodliness.

In the year that Theophilus died, Constantinople was depopulated by the plague, but being a city of great commerce, and the seat of government, it was quickly filled with fresh inhabitants.

The empire fell entirely to the care of Theodora, as

her son Michael was only five years old when his father died.

Almamoun, the grandson of Haroun al Raschid, the caliph with whom Charlemagne held friendly correspondence, began to reign the year before the death of that monarch; and his caliphate, which extended from A.D. 813 to 833, is considered the most brilliant era of Arabian literature.

Mahomet, perhaps, pretended to want of learning to make his Koran appear an inspiration from God; but in that book, it is evident, he had taken advantage of all that was within his reach. One of his traditional sayings is, "A mind without erudition, is like a body without a soul. Glory consists not in wealth, but in knowledge." He and his immediate successors were, however, so occupied in extending their dominion by the sword, that they had little leisure for mental cultivation; but, when the Arabian empire had reached its utmost extent, and its princes were satiated with conquest, they gave full sway to a passion for literature, which, during a long period, appeared stronger than all others. Almamoun was the seventh of the Abbasside caliphs; and Bagdad, in his reign, presented a singular spectacle. The most eminent scholars, whatever was their faith, were honourably entertained at his court. Poets, philosophers, and mathematicians from every country resorted thither. His ambassadors heaped together with the utmost diligence the literary treasures of the conquered provinces; and camels were seen entering the city laden with the acceptable tribute of Hebrew, Persian, and Greek literature. The court itself resembled an academy, and all classes were encouraged to study. A learned Christian of the Nestorian school was the chief guide in mental pursuits; and Almamoun apologised for the appointment by saying, it was well known the wisest men were to be found among the Christians and Jews, and that he had chosen this man, not as a teacher of religion, but of science. Poetry was the original growth of Arabian genius; for even in this century an abridgment was written of the lives of one hundred and thirty poets: and, in animated description, bold metaphor, and strong expression, it is judged, even through the medium of translation, that the Arab poets, and perhaps the poetesses, of this age, have

years old when his father

Al Raschid, the caliph, friendly correspondence. The death of that monarch led from A.D. 813 to 833, of Arabian literature.

to want of learning to make him free from God; but in the taken advantage of all that was traditional sayings is, "a body without a soul. Glor knowledge." He and his in- ever, so occupied in extending, that they had little leisure for the Arabian empire had reached princes were satiated with con- to a passion for literature, which appeared stronger than all others of the Abbasside caliphs; as- mented a singular spectacle. To whatever was their faith, we his court. Poets, philosophers every country resorted thither together with the utmost diligence conquered provinces; and came laden with the acceptable tribute Greek literature. The court and all classes were encouraged; the Nestorian school was to pursuits; and Almamoun apologizing saying, it was well known the was among the Christians and Jews as his man, not as a teacher of religion was the original growth of Arabia this century an abridgment was written and thirty poets: and, in another metaphor, and strong expression, it the medium of translation, that it ap- pears the poetesses, of this age, be-

never been excelled. A little farther on in our history, we must more fully enter on the subject of the literature, arts, and sciences, cultivated by the Mahometans. During the period comprised in our present volume, their bright age, as to these pursuits, lasted; and the dark ages of Christendom passed away through a revival of letters which can be traced to learned Saracens.

Whilst Almamoun was engrossed in literary pleasures, he was in danger of losing some of his fairest possessions. Spain, as we already know, was independent; its Mahometan inhabitants bowed to the Omniade or White Caliphs; and a faction which favoured that interest allowed some Moorish galleys from Andalusia to enter the port of Alexandria. There they destroyed the partisans of the Black, or Abbasside, Caliphs, sold six thousand of the Christians who had been tolerated by them, pillaged churches and mosques, and kept their position till driven out by Almamoun himself. Even then, guided by Abu Caab their chief, they descended on Crete, and, after loading themselves with booty, intended to return to Spain; but when they came back to the sea-shore, they saw their vessels on fire. Abu Caab said that it was his own act, and eloquently contrasting the beauty of the island with the barrenness of Andalusia, and pointing to their captives to console them for the loss of their wives and children, he persuaded them to settle in Crete. They named their camp Candax; hence the present name of the island, Candia. Out of thirty cities, one alone retained its freedom and its Christian profession; and the conquerors, as they increased in strength and built fresh ships, defied the emperors of Constantinople for a century and a half. It will be remembered that African Mahometans conquered Spain. Early in the ninth century several independent states were formed in Africa. Of these, Mauritania and Fez were the most distinguished. Morocco became a splendid city, famous for learning and for useful arts. We have a familiar remembrance of their ingenuity in that mode of preparing leather termed *morocco*.

In 828, the Saracens of Africa seized on part of Sicily under the following circumstances:—Euphemius, a Greek youth, had taken a nun from a Sicilian convent, and, according to the severe laws of the empire, he was condemned to

lose his tongue; but he escaped and complained of his despotic ruler in Africa. The Saracens, ever ready for conquest, made use of this excuse for attacking Sicily. They clothed Euphemius in purple, and enabled him with a hundred ships to besiege Syracuse. The Greek traitor was slain under the walls, and the Africans were reduced to such want as to feed on their horses; but the Andalusian Moors coming to the aid of their co-religionists, the greater part of the island, after many struggles, fell under Mahometan power. Palermo was the seat of their naval and military force, and bore a threatening aspect towards Europe, and especially Italy. Syracuse preserved its fidelity to the Greek emperor fifty years longer, but was finally taken, after the most desperate resistance.

Alhakem, grandson of Abderrahman, the founder of the Mahometan empire in Spain, was reigning when Louis the Debonnair made inroad on their northern territories, and Alfonso, king of the Asturias, enlarged his kingdom. He was a cruel and oppressive tyrant; the heads of three hundred persons, executed by his order, were in one day exposed in the most public part of Cordova; and, when the citizens rose against his tax-gatherers, he massacred or banished the greater part of them. From that moment he was tortured by the remembrance of the murdered people; and solitude was so intolerable to him, that in the middle of the night he would call for his singers and dancers, or send for his ministers as if to transact some important business. Alhakem died in 821, and his son Abderrahman II. was a much-beloved sovereign. War and revolt, the descent of the northmen, a drought of two years, and a plague of locusts, afflicted, but did not overwhelm, him. He was active in war, and diligent in seeking the prosperity of his country. In the famine he imported corn from Africa, and gave to the unemployed labour in public works. He erected mosques, paved the streets, built marble baths, and brought water into the city from the mountains by leaden pipes. All persons of talent were welcome at his court; and his own poetic skill is recorded in his making answer in flowery verses to a favourite poet who spoke to him in harmonious numbers. Although his sons were placed under eminent teachers, he himself assisted in their education; and it was

his delight to be present at their disputations with the most eloquent and learned of his subjects.

The history of the Arabian and Greek empire, during this period, may be linked together by a short sketch of Motassem, the son and successor of Almamoun, under whose caliphate the Saracens, etc. often defeated the armies of Theophilus. Motassem, like his father, was an encourager of learning and science; but, perceiving that his subjects declined in martial strength as they advanced in civilisation, he determined not to delay their progress, but to find foreign substitutes. To this end he trained fifty thousand youths, either taken in war or purchased as slaves from the Turkish hordes, and formed them into a body-guard; but their behaviour so incensed the citizens of Bagdad that the caliph retired with them to a distance of twelve leagues, and formed a new seat of government, called Samaura. The introduction of these strangers was intended to preserve, but, in the event, aided to destroy, the empire of the caliphs; like the prætorian guards of ancient Rome, they grew powerful enough to treat their sovereigns and magistrates as they liked, and to raise or pull down whomsoever they pleased: their numbers were kept up by supplies from Turkestan. Motassem died in 841.

Two Mahometan travellers, who had visited India and China, wrote an account of their travels in this century. They noticed the universal custom of drinking tcha (tea) in China, the general use of silk, the manufacture of porcelain, the strictness of the police, the punishment of the bamboo, and other particulars, which prove their own correctness, and the early civilisation of the countries that they visited.

CHAP. III.

Life and Times of Charles the Bald. A.D. 840—877.

DIVISION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE.—LOTHAIRE EMPEROR.—LOUIS, KING OF GERMANY.—CHARLES THE BALD, KING OF FRANCE.—ATTACKS OF THE NORMANS.—ETHELWOLF'S VISIT TO ROME AND MARRIAGE TO THE DAUGHTER OF CHARLES THE BALD.—CHARLES SURVIVES HIS BROTHERS AND BECOMES EMPEROR.—HIS DEATH.—COTEMPORARY POPES.—LEO IV. DEFENDS ROME.—STORY OF POPE JOAN.—NICHOLAS I. AND ADRIAN IV.

LOUIS the Feeble left three sons: Lothaire, the Emperor; Louis, called the German; and Charles, surnamed the Bald. The year after their father's death they met in battle at Fontenay; Lothaire and his nephew Pepin arrayed against Louis and Charles; and forty thousand lives were sacrificed in this dreadful strife between the brothers. The eldest brother was disappointed in his desire of grasping the whole empire; the others obtained no more than they could have had without any bloodshed. Lothaire retired into Italy, and Pepin into Aquitaine, the portion of his deceased father. Louis and Charles applied to the bishops to confirm them in their kingdoms of Germany and France. In an assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, it was alleged that Lothaire had permitted many of the Saxons to return to their idols, in order to engage them to fight on his side; and his younger brothers were asked if they dared to follow such an example, or whether they would govern according to the laws of God. They answered to the satisfaction of the bishops; and one of them, in the name of the rest, said to the two princes, "Receive the kingdom by Divine authority; we exhort, we command you to receive it." Lothaire again took arms, and by the help of the Saxons, obtained some advantage over his brothers, and by treaty was enabled to enlarge his dominions, gaining, amongst other districts, that which was called after his name, Lotharingia, now Lorraine. Thus was the great empire of Charlemagne dismembered, though the brothers, at length, were forced by weakness to declare that the enemies of one were the enemies of all, and thus retained their respective possessions. Lothaire shared

the government of Italy with his sons; and their incapacity enabled many of the nobles whom they placed over towns, or provinces, to form independent dukedoms, and marquisesates, which they transmitted to their descendants. Louis, the German, managed his kingdom more wisely than his brothers; and the people prospered under his government, as he ceased from everything but defensive war. Convinced, also, that missionaries were more useful than soldiers, in the restraint of the pagans, he, like his father, aided and encouraged the labours of Anschar and his fellow-workers in the north.

Charles the Bald outlived his brothers; but he proved by no means their superior. He had his father's feebleness, without his good qualities, and his mother's restless ambition; and, though incapable of defending his own dominions, he was always desirous of extending them.

The attacks of foreign invaders form one of the chief features of this period. The Saracens harassed Lothaire; the Normans assaulted the kingdoms of his brothers. Louis and Charles knew not where to send aid; for scarcely had their troops reached the place of the pirates' descent, when they were off like lightning, spreading death and ruin elsewhere. Such was the general terror, that in all their churches this petition was inserted in the Litany, "From the fury of the Normans, preserve us, O Lord God!" In 845, the barbarians threatened Paris; and Charles fled to St. Denis with his most valuable relics, careless of his people. On Easter-day, the capital, then built wholly of wood, was seized by the Normans; and they would have destroyed it had not the king sent them 7000lbs. of silver to bribe them to depart. The money, however, empowered and induced them speedily to return; and it was only by tribute that Charles ever relieved himself from their cruel and devastating visits.

In 852, the king's dominions were increased by the addition of Aquitaine, as the nobles of that kingdom, offended by Pepin's drunken habits, gave him up into his uncle's hands. In 855, Lothaire died, after wearing for about a week the monastic habit, which he had assumed in his last illness, in the vain hope of covering his many sins. His son Louis succeeded him as emperor; and his other sons,

Lothaire and Charles, had a share of his dominions with the title of kings. All of them died without male heirs before their uncle, Charles the Bald. As if these kings were not enough, Charles, at this time, made his infant son, Louis, afterwards called the Stammerer, King of Aquitain.

In the year that Lothaire died, Ethelwolf resolved to make a pilgrimage to Rome. He had left off the cowl to wear the crown; but he retained his fondness for the ceremonials of religion, and before he set out on this expedition, he, with the consent of the Council, passed a decree liberating a tenth part of the kingdom from all taxes, and offering it "as a sacrifice to God, for the redemption of his soul, and for his predecessors." This grant was the origin of the tithes afterwards claimed by the clergy. Ethelwolf had been left a widower with four sons; and Alfred, the youngest and best beloved, was chosen by him as the companion of a pilgrimage in which he displayed all the magnificence that he could command. The King of France gave honourable entertainment to the Anglo-Saxon train, on their way to Rome, and in that city Ethelwolf sojourned for a year. He carried to the Pope a crown of pure gold, golden vessels and images, and rich dresses; to the Roman clergy and nobles he presented gold, and silver to the people. He also rebuilt the Saxon School, founded by his predecessors, and, having observed that some of the public penitents were put in chains, he procured a decree that no Englishman should be required to do penance in so degrading a manner. On his return through France, July, 856, Ethelwolf asked and received in marriage, Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald. The nuptials were celebrated, and the queen crowned at Paris, by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. The kings exchanged rich presents; and Ethelwolf took his bride home with him at the end of three months. This foreign alliance, and, perhaps, his long absence, made him unpopular in England, whilst his preference for Alfred aroused the jealousy of the elder princes. War must have ensued had not the king's peaceable disposition induced him to divide his dominions among his elder sons. He died in A. D. 857. Ethelbald, the eldest son, took his father's young widow to be his wife, but the

displeasure of the clergy and people induced him to put her away; and he died in good reputation three years after. Ethelbert, his next brother, only reigned five years; and Ethelred, who succeeded him, was obliged to give to Alfred a share in the government and defence of the country, as the perpetual invasions of the Danes had reduced it to great weakness.

We enter on the history of Alfred and his times, at the end of our present period.

After the departure of Ethelwolf from his court, the troubles of Charles the Bald continued to increase. The repeated attacks of the Normans had furnished his nobles with a pretext for fortifying their castles, and, in his weakness, he was obliged to satisfy his dukes, counts, and marquises by making their offices hereditary dignities; the bishops, too, in his reign, became lords of their several episcopal cities and the adjoining territories. The reign of Charles II. has, indeed, been called the reign of bishops; and, it appears, they entirely guided his councils. In 856, some discontented nobles, thinking Louis the German more capable than his brother, offered to put him in possession of France; and Venilon, archbishop of Sens, asserted that the king had forfeited his rights by mal-administration. Another party of ecclesiastics was in Charles's interests, and even excommunicated those who dethroned him. Louis, therefore, dismissed the army that he had assembled, and withdrew.

Venilon was brought before the king and bishops in council, and made his peace with them; and Charles having his speech prepared beforehand by his episcopal advisers and rulers, said to him, "I ought not to have been deposed before I had been judged by the bishops who gave me my authority. I have always submitted to their correction, and am willing still to submit to it." At the same time the bishops declared their intention of remaining united, "for the correction of kings, nobles, and people." A little matter may sometimes occasion grave offence; and Charles prejudiced the people by abandoning the modes of his predecessors, and wearing a robe after the Greek fashion descending to his heels, with a gold crown on his head, and a large sabre at his side. A taste for literature was not yet

lost in the family of Charlemagne ; and the favourite companion of his grandson's private hours was the most learned man of his times, John Scotus, or Erigena, so called because he was a native of Ireland. His writings had so much influence on the religious opinions of those days, that we shall speak of him in our Church History. Lothaire and Charles, the younger sons of the emperor Lothaire, both died in 868 ; and although their elder brother Louis, the emperor, had the best right to their dominions, Charles the Bald and Louis the German divided Lorraine between them, as being contiguous to their kingdoms. Adrian II. then pope, threatened to excommunicate both kings, and maintained the rights of Louis, who was engaged in defending Italy against the Saracens ; but Hincmar wrote to him, that the submission formerly paid to princes was still their due ; that anathemas ill applied would have no effect ; and that free men were not to be enslaved by bishops of Rome.

Soon after this, the Emperor Louis II. fell dangerously ill ; and the pope consulted his own interests in writing to Charles the Bald, promising to bestow the imperial crown on him, in case of his nephew's death. He passed over Louis the German, because that king drew near his end, and had left his dominions among his three sons. Adrian died before he had an opportunity of fulfilling his intentions ; but, on the occasion of Louis's death, in 875, Charles went to Rome with a large force, and with treasures which he freely lavished to gain his end. An assembly of bishops, abbots, and nobles was held at Pavia ; and their address to Charles ran in this singular style : " Since the divine favour, through the merits of the holy apostles, and of their vicar pope John, has raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously our protector and lord." He was subsequently crowned by the pope.

Charles II. had attained the dignity held by his grandfather Charlemagne ; and he also entertained the design of re-uniting the divided empire. He had three sons, besides Louis the Stammerer, already mentioned, viz. Charles, Lothaire, and Carloman. The two younger he dedicated to a monastic life, with the notion of atoning for his own sins ; but Carloman renounced his vows, and assembled a band of

men as lawless as himself, who did great mischief. He was at last taken prisoner and condemned to have his eyes put out, as an apostate from his profession ; but he escaped and found protection with his uncle Louis the German. He and his brothers, Charles and Lothaire, died before their father ; his remaining son was deficient in understanding. But these domestic troubles did not check the emperor in his ambitious career, and having obtained his elder brother's portion, he wished to disturb the sons of Louis the German in their inheritance. In coveting all, he lost all. These young princes, Carloman, Louis, and Charles the Fat, hung together, and became his avowed enemies.

In 878, Italy was again greatly afflicted by the Saracens ; and the pope, being put to tribute, applied to Charles for aid, desiring him to reverence the hand that gave him the empire, "lest being driven to despair, he might change his mind." The appeal was irresistible, and though France was paying tribute to the Normans, the king assembled his vassals for an expedition into Italy. The nobles were unfavourable to the undertaking, and by the way betrayed their leader to the army of his nephews, which lay in wait for him. Charles fled in haste, with a few of his followers, to a poor hut on Mount Cenis, and died there after a short illness, A.D. 879. Some imagined that he was poisoned by the Jewish physician who had been his father's favourite ; but this appears improbable, as Charles also had favoured that race, and his death brought them into worse circumstances.

The Gauls and Franks first became a united people in the reign of Charles the Bald ; but, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Charlemagne, they had gone backwards in learning. When the dominions of Louis the Feeble were divided, three hundred persons were employed to traverse the country, and bring back a report of its extent, population and productions ; and it was a very difficult task, as few of them could write or read.

Provence was seized by Boson, its count, who had married a daughter of Louis II. The clergy in his interest declared that he had acted by divine inspiration ; and pope John VIII. crowned him king. He transmitted the kingdom to his descendants, who reigned there for many cen-

turies, and all that was refined and elegant in France seemed to centre in Provence. The Provençals were particularly noted for their poetry and music, and were the inventors of that style of writing called romance.

But Charles had learned men about him. Besides Erigena, there was Hincmar, his chief counsellor, and the historian of these times ; and one of his courtiers, a priest, is said to have displayed a species of ingenious flattery we should find it hard to imitate, for he wrote three hundred lines of Latin poetry in honour of the king, every word of which began with the letter C ; not only his name, but his surname in the French and Latin languages, having that initial letter.

The bishops of Rome at this period called themselves the *first* bishops of Christendom ; but that distinction was a matter of warm contention between them and the patriarchs of Constantinople ; and even bishops of France, as we have seen, protested against their assumptions.

Gregory IV. died four years after Louis the Feeble ; and Sergius II. was elected in his room : but as no notice of his appointment had been sent to Lothaire, that emperor despatched his son Louis, with troops and clergy, to assert his authority at Rome. The pope met the young prince at the gates, saying, he might enter if his intentions were good ; but, if he came to oppose him, he would not permit it ; and, seeing some of the soldiers behave in a disorderly manner, he ordered the gates to be shut. Lothaire complained in vain, and, at the death of Sergius, Leo IV. was appointed pope without any regard to the imperial sanction, A.D. 847. The Saracens, at this time, sailed from Sicily with a numerous fleet, and laid siege to Rome. Lothaire brought an army against them which they defeated ; but disease and scarcity forced them to retire. As soon as they had departed, Leo laid out the church treasures in fortifying the city and hiring soldiers for its defence, formed alliances with other states, and visited all the ports in person, in order to exhort the people to repulse the invaders.

Leo was a Roman by birth, and had the spirit of one of the ancient patriots ; nor did he shrink from receiving the Saracens in person with a martial force. Many of their ships had been scattered by a storm ; but the rest had boldly

ventured on, expecting no such opposition. The troops which they carried were defeated and made slaves, and Leo was pleased to employ the hands that would have destroyed the city, in strengthening and adorning it.

Leo's death took place in A.D. 855, and *cotemporary* writers link with that event the elevation of Benedict III.; but ten different writers of a later period, some of them Papists, insert at this point the history of a female pope whom they call Joan, under the name of John VIII. The story of Pope Joan was believed for centuries, and a statue to her memory was erected among those of the popes at Rome. It is said that this ambitious and talented woman had studied in man's attire in the schools of Athens; and, by successive steps, attained the papacy, and that her sex was only discovered by the birth of a child which took place during some public procession. Much controversy has arisen with respect to the truth of this narrative; but chronological accuracy, and the silence of the Greek patriarchs, who, at this time, would have gladly seized on anything to throw ridicule on their rivals, compel some competent judges to reject it. Benedict was succeeded by Nicholas I. in 858; and this pope distinguished himself by a violent contest with Lothaire, king of Lorraine, the son of the emperor Lothaire. This prince wished to marry Valdrade, a lady whom he had long preferred to Theutberga, his wife; and, in order to procure a divorce, he accused the latter of evil conduct. Trial by ordeal was resorted to, and the queen's champion brought a ring from the bottom of a vessel filled with boiling water, without injury. Lothaire complained that some trick had been used;* and Theutberga, at last, confessing herself guilty, the divorce was sanctioned by a national council, at which Gontier, archbishop of Cologne, presided. The pope denied the legality of the proceeding, and deposed Gontier, on which the archbishop defied him, by writing a letter to the clergy, which ran thus: "Though the lord Nicholas, who looks upon himself as pope and emperor, has excommunicated us, we have withstood his foolish proceedings;" and yet further, to show his contempt of papal authority, he cast Nicholas himself out of their communion.

* The art was said to be in rubbing the part previously for a long time with a mixture of onion juice, spirits of vitriol and alum.

The Emperor Louis II. set out for Rome armed against the pope, to defend his brother's cause; but illness seized him and he turned back, believing it was the judgment of God against his proceedings. Threatened with excommunication by the pope, Lothaire consented to send Valdrade to Rome, and to recall Theutberga; but the former turned back through fear, and soon regained her place. The queen was miserable enough, and wished for the divorce; but the matter remained in this unsettled state at the pope's death in 867. Adrian II., his successor, carried on the contest; and Charles the Bald, taking up arms in the name of the Church, Lothaire was apprehensive of losing his kingdom, and went in person to Rome to seek absolution. He was the first king who had gone to plead his cause before a foreign judge, and his case was used by way of precedent in the subsequent interference of the popes with royal marriages.

On his solemn promise to separate from Valdrade, Lothaire was pardoned, and the pope gave him the sacrament—the mark of his restoration—with his own hands. His death took place shortly after his return home; and, as he had not kept his engagement, it was pointed out as the judgment of God.

The names of Nicholas and Adrian stand associated with the history of the Greek empire at this period.

CHAP. IV.

GREEK EMPIRE.—THEODORA.—ESTABLISHMENT OF IMAGE-WORSHIP.—MASSACRE OF THE PAULICIANS.—MICHAEL III.—QUARREL BETWEEN THE LATIN AND GREEK CHURCHES.—BASIL THE MACEDONIAN.—CONTEST BETWEEN IGNATIUS AND PHOTIUS.—MISSIONS TO THE CHOZARS, THE BULGARIANS AND MORAVIANS.—FAITHFULNESS OF CYRIL.—THE CALIPHS AND THE MIHIDI.

WE promised to give some account of Theodora, an empress, whose name stands on the list of saints honoured by the Greek Church. According to our judgment, no person could have a worse title; but her merits in their eyes are the establishment of image-worship, and the extirpation of the

Paulicians. For more than a century, the emperors, whatever were their faults, vigorously opposed the senseless regard shown to images ; but Theophilus was the last iconoclast ; and, in the first year of the regency of his widow, image-worship passed into a law by means of a council held at Constantinople, A.D. 843.

The Paulicians, as we have already observed, bore honourable testimony against many of the errors of the Greek Church, and long endured with the utmost meekness the persecution to which they were exposed ; but the original witnesses, who seem to have had the Spirit of God to sustain them, passed away ; and, in one or two generations, faith and patience came to a low ebb, although certain principles of truth were not abandoned. In 845, some of the Paulicians slew a governor and a bishop who were persecutors, and Carbeas, commander of the imperial guards, having lost his father in a slaughter of the sect, formed an army of Paulicians, who endeavoured to render themselves independent, both by the sword, and by treaty with the Mahometan powers. To these steps they thought themselves compelled, by the merciless persecution carried on by Theodora. It was said of her, that ‘ she resolved to bring the Paulicians to the true faith, or to cut them off root and branch ;’ and finding that they would not renounce their views, the sentence of extermination went forth. A hundred thousand persons are said to have perished by her orders. They were hung, crucified, burned, or drowned ; and all their property went into the imperial treasury. Pope Nicholas, in one of his letters, observes, concerning Theodora, that, “ on account of her manly vigour, *the Lord co-operating*, the heretics could scarcely believe her to be a woman ; and that what she had done was the more to be admired, as it was a proof of her entire obedience to the directions of the apostolical see.” Thus did Rome, and her bishop, share the guilt of this bloody massacre with the Greek church ; and this at a time when they were separating from each other, through a quarrel as to which should be the greatest. Ignatius, a son of Michael Rhangabe, was placed on the patriarchal throne through the influence of Theodora, and held this dignity for many years ; but the empress had a brother, named Bardas, who had the title of

Cæsar, and shared her power; and this prince, being refused the sacrament by the patriarch, because he had married his daughter-in-law, persuaded the young emperor to get rid both of his mother's authority, and that of Ignatius, A. D. 858.

Michael III. had the most extravagant and vicious habits, and was glad to free himself from restraint upon his expenditure and his follies. Theodora, at his desire, retired to a convent, leaving 100,000 lbs. of gold, and 300,000 lbs. of silver, in the treasury, accumulated both by prudence and robbery.

Photius, a man of high birth, remarkable genius, and extensive knowledge, was, at this time, master of the horse, and minister of state; and one of Michael's first acts was to appoint him to the place of Ignatius. Within six days the bishops hurried him through the usual steps; he was successively a monk, a lecturer, a sub-deacon, a deacon, and a priest; and on the Christmas-day he was consecrated bishop, or patriarch. Pope Nicholas excommunicated Photius, reproaching him that he had passed so quickly from a layman into a bishop. Photius pleaded the case of Ambrose; and, the following year, a synod held at Constantinople confirmed his election, and Ignatius escaped in the disguise of a slave. An earthquake, which shook the city for many days, alone prevented his enemies from pursuing him, and his partisans were cruelly persecuted; but the pope continued to stir up the bishops in the East, to oppose his rival. In 866, the Cæsar Bardas was killed in a revolt; and Photius, fearful that the death of his patron would weaken his cause, assembled a council and excommunicated the pope, alleging that he and his bishops were guilty of heresy, in departing from conformity to the Greek church. He reminded them that the names of their customs, ceremonies, mysteries, and dignities, were all of Greek origin; he then complained of their using unleavened bread in the eucharist; of eating eggs and cheese in Lent, and of their priests being shaven. He condemned, also, their doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father. This last article was, for a long time, the main ground of dispute; but in it, as we have before noticed, the Latins had the Scriptures in their favour. Whilst this quarrel was going

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on, the Emperor Michael pursued a mad career of folly, and even made a jest of the patriarch and the church ceremonies. On a festival day, he dressed up one of his buffoons in the patriarch's robes; and as he was himself, by virtue of his imperial dignity, numbered among the twelve metropolitans, he obliged the rest to follow him mounted on asses, in their ecclesiastical garments, to meet the patriarch as he came forth in procession at the head of his clergy. The emperor and his profane companions created the utmost disorder by their shouts and gestures, feasted and drank out of the consecrated vessels, and made a mockery of the sacrament, by administering a mixture of vinegar and mustard. The whole of Michael's religion seemed to be summed up in his zeal for image-worship; he broke open the tomb of Constantine Copronymus, the most zealous of the iconoclastic emperors, in order to burn the bones that had lain there for a century; and he would only receive the crowns awarded to him in the chariot-race, after they had been placed on the head of some favourite statue. The rival factions of the hippodrome revived in the days of Michael, and he himself wore the green livery. The most skilful charioteers were his favourites, and, throwing off the stateliness of his predecessors, he feasted at their houses, or stood godfather to their children. Pleasure was his only pursuit. The news of an invasion would not interrupt him in the chariot-race; and he forbade the lighting of the beacons along the coast, which were the signals of an enemy's approach, because he did not like such frequent alarms. In order to relieve himself from care, Michael had chosen for his associate Basil, surnamed the Macedonian, an officer whom he had employed to destroy Bardas; and Basil, on finding that the emperor intended to put him to death, assassinated him at midnight, whilst overcome by wine, A. D. 867.

No one regretted Michael, as Basil was far more popular; but when he presented himself at St. Sophia, Photius boldly refused him the sacrament, saying that his hands were stained with the blood of his benefactor. Basil ordered a hundred churches to be built, and dedicated several of them to St. Michael, to atone, it is said, for his guilt; but, wishing to get rid of his reprover, he allowed a general council to be held at Constantinople, by the request of Pope Adrian,

to consider the respective claims of Ignatius and Photius. In 869, three hundred Greek and Latin bishops came together, few of them understanding each other's language; but the pope's legates presided, and Photius was judged to be an intruder. The Latins call this the Eighth General Council; it was the last in which they met the Greeks; and the differences between them were, for the time, laid aside. The design of the pope was to show his own superiority; but the five patriarchs of the East, in signing the sentence that excluded Photius, took care that their names should stand above that of Adrian. Ignatius was now recalled, and retained the patriarchate for nine years, when he died, at the age of eighty. Photius retired to a monastery, where he probably devoted himself to literary pursuits. His critical account of two hundred and eighty different authors, with many of his epistles, and learned and religious treatises, are still in being. His commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul is preserved (in manuscript) at Cambridge.

Basil had obtained the sole power in a violent manner; but he bore the character of a just sovereign, desirous to save, but not afraid to punish a criminal. By economy, he replenished the treasury which had been emptied by Michael, and, having established an equal system of tribute to cover the necessities of the state, he used his private revenues to meet his own expenses. The laws called Basilics—a digest of Justinian's Code in the Greek tongue—were begun by Basil, and finished by his son and grandson. Under Basil's command the Greek armies again became formidable, and defeated both the Saracens, and the Paulicians, who, by their means, had preserved an uncomfortable independence in the mountains of Asia Minor. The emperor had often expressed a wish to shoot three arrows through the head of Chrysocheir, the Paulician chief; but, as he eluded all pursuit, Basil could only obtain the dead body, which he caused to be hung on a tree, in order to gratify his foolish revenge.

Basil died of an accident in hunting. A stag had entangled its horns in his girdle, and, in order to save him, an attendant divided it with his sword. The effects of the fall proved fatal to the aged emperor; and we would wish to discredit the supposition that he ordered his faith-

ful servant to be beheaded (A.D. 886). Ignatius died before the emperor; and Photius, by his consent, was restored to the patriarchal throne.

Whilst the sons of Louis the Feeble were reigning so ill in the West, there was a missionary work going on in the North, favoured, at least, by Louis the German, on which the blessing of God seemed to rest; and it is with delight that we observe there is missionary labour of an equally striking character, in connection with the Greek church, and the rulers of the Eastern empire.

We made mention of the savage tribe called Chozars, in the reign of Justinian II. They had occupied the coasts of the Black Sea from the time of Attila, and gradually spread over the vast steppes between the Volga and Dnieper, to the borders of Persia. One of the kings, through intercourse with Jews, had embraced their religion; and though the people were at that time divided between Paganism and Christianity, they did not oppose the change, and were governed by a succession of Jewish kings for many years. They had, however, a law that no king should reign more than forty years,* and that if one of their sovereigns lived a day longer, though freely abdicating the throne, he should only be allowed to choose the manner of his death.

In the reign of Michael III. the khan, or king, of the Chozars, sent an embassy to Constantinople, asking for teachers, as some Greek colonists had led his people to desire Christian instruction. Two brothers, named Cyril and Methodius, of a noble family of Thessalonica, were at this time desiring service in some Pagan country; besides their native Greek, they knew Latin and Slavonic, as the latter language was common to the many tribes of the Slave nation, some of whom held intercourse with their native city. These young men had finished their education in the capital; but, having some real religion, it appears that the image-contest, or the contentions of the patriarchs, sickened them of public life, and they entered a convent to

* Saul, David, and Solomon, each reigned forty years; and the law is supposed to have been founded on this circumstance.

continue their preparation for missionary service. Cyril gladly went among the Chozars, and when the people would have loaded him with gifts, he begged them rather to deliver to him the Greek prisoners of war; and he then returned to Constantinople, to show the success of his efforts.

Shortly after, Cyril and his brother were sent among the Bulgarians. These people, whom we have described in their most savage condition, were long the plague of the Greek empire; and, only the year before Charlemagne's death, they massacred thousands in taking Adrianople, and carried away a multitude of Macedonians as slaves. Among these, was the infant Basil, afterwards emperor. He grew up to manhood as a captive, and by the hardships which he endured, and the submission to which he was compelled, acquired the hardness of body and the flexibility of mind which led to his subsequent elevation. He, at last, fought his way to Constantinople with some of his companions; but he entered the capital in such poverty, that he slept the first night on the steps of a church, and received food from a charitable monk. He then entered the service of a cousin of the emperor Theophilus, who was appointed governor of the Peloponnesus, and whilst in that country, was adopted by a wealthy matron, whose costly gifts enabled him to support his orphan brothers and sisters, and to purchase large estates in Macedonia. The Bulgarians, at this time, were in peace with the Greeks, and, when Basil returned to the capital, a Bulgarian ambassador was at the imperial court. Michael, then emperor, was known to be fond of seeing feats of strength; and the ambassador challenged him to produce any Greek who could compete with a certain wrestler in his train. Basil, who had been under Bulgarian training, was introduced, and, to the emperor's delight, overthrew the barbarian in the first onset; and afterwards, when the Macedonian displayed equal skill in taming a beautiful horse which no one else could train for use, Michael made him his equerry. The sequel of this dismal history is already known.

The sister of Bogoris, king of Bulgaria, being made prisoner in the reign of Theodora, took up the Christian profession: and, on her release, when a lasting peace with the

for missionary service. Cyril, the brother of the emperor, and when the people would not listen to him, he begged them rather to be prisoners of war; and he then, to show the success of his

his brother were sent among the people, whom we have described in a previous condition, were long the plague of the land, only the year before Charlemagne massacred thousands in taking away a multitude of Macedonians, was the infant Basil, afterwards a manhood as a captive, and he endured, and the submission to him acquired the hardness of body and mind which led to his subsequent elevation to Constantinople with some of the emperor's army. He then entered the capital in such poverty as to light on the steps of a church, and became a charitable monk. He then entered the service of the emperor Theophilus, who was then in the Peloponnesus, and whilst in that country a wealthy matron, whose costliness he reported to his orphan brothers and sisters, was taken into the emperor's service in Macedonia. The Bulgarians, who were at peace with the Greeks, and, when the emperor returned to his capital, a Bulgarian ambassador was sent to Constantinople. Michael, then emperor, was known for his strength; and the ambassador was a Greek who could compete with him in his train. Basil, who had been a monk, was introduced, and, to the surprise of the emperor, he threw the barbarian in the first onset. The Macedonian displayed equal skill, and the horse which no one else could train was brought down by him his equerry. The sequel of this is well known. Basil, king of Bulgaria, being made prisoner, the emperor's daughter, Theodora, took up the Christian religion, and a lasting peace with the

empire was concluded, she entreated her brother to follow her example. Her words, however, were of no avail; but during a grievous famine that occurred in Bulgaria, in A.D. 845, he was touched by the charity of some Greek Christians, and invited some missionaries of their church.

In A.D. 850, Cyril and Methodius entered the country; and their first care was to prepare a translation of the Scriptures in the Slavonic language. The work was so much the more difficult, as they had to form an alphabet* which would express the sounds of a tongue hitherto unwritten; but they asked help of God; and, as soon as they had prepared a portion of the Bible, they found some willing learners; and even the king himself was pleased to receive instruction in reading. The pupil was in a state of intellectual childhood, and the teachers treated him as a child, even making pictures for his amusement. Bogoris was a great hunter, and usually liked to see representations of the chase; but one day, he asked Methodius to paint something calculated both to alarm and instruct. The missionary, accordingly, tried to make a picture of the separation between the righteous and the wicked in the judgment-day; and, it is said, Bogoris was incited from that time to more diligent attention to his instructors. He was, at last, baptised by the name of Michael, in honour of the emperor; but, though the ceremony was performed by night, his Pagan subjects revolted. Bogoris-Michael then set up a cross as his standard, and all who were favourable to Christianity, and to him, gathering around it, he defeated the rebels, and in A.D. 862, the Bulgarians became nominally a Christian people. At this time, Cyril left his brother to carry on the work, and returned to Constantinople, but the contentions that were then at their height, made him glad to leave it, in order to enter on a third sphere of missionary labour. This was in Moravia.

Charlemagne and his son Louis had employed Latin priests among the Moravians; but they had laboured to little purpose, and Ratislaus who became their king, A.D. 850, and was baptised at that time, resolved after

* The names given to the letters of the Slavonic alphabet form a prayer.

many years to send to Constantinople. He had either heard of the success of the Greek missions to the Chozars and Bulgarians, or he wished to detach his country from the influence of the princes of the West. Cyril called for his brother's help, and, being liberally furnished by the emperor and patriarch, they set out for Moravia. "Day by day," says my author, "during four years, these missionaries went through the towns and villages preaching salvation only in Jesus, and expounding both the Old and New Testament in the native tongue; for the Moravians also were of the Sclavonic race." This was a different plan from that which had been pursued by the Latin priests, and it had a different result. Ratislaus himself, like the king of Nineveh, laid aside his crown, and prostrated himself on the ground, seeking the pardon of his sins. The brothers wept for joy; and their hearts were enlarged in prayer for the people among whom they laboured. Schools were founded, and churches built; and the king's residence was formed into an episcopal see.

In the meantime, the Bulgarians, having lost their first teachers, sent to Rome for help; and the two priests who went to visit them, returned to the pope, telling him that Cyril and Methodius had spread the seed everywhere, and had taught even children to read the Scriptures. Rome had not then forbidden the use of the Bible; and Nicholas, expressing his joy, invited the two brothers to come to him. His object was to get the newly formed churches under his own control, and thus to weaken the power of the patriarch. In A.D. 867, Cyril and Methodius went to Rome with some of their converts, taking with them some relics, said to be those of Clement, which were demanded for a church built by the Romans. The citizens went out with great pomp to welcome the missionaries, chiefly, it appears, as the bearers of these remains.

Adrian II. had then become pope, and he loaded the brothers with honour, in hopes of gaining power over them and the churches they had planted; but, in this dangerous position, they did not altogether fail. In an assembly of bishops, it was proposed to them to substitute the Latin for the Sclavonic tongue in the Bulgarian and Moravian churches; but Cyril, cleaving to Scripture, however he might

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Constantinople. He had either his
Greek missions to the Chozars and
to detach his country from that
of the West. Cyril called for i
g liberally furnished by the empe
out for Moravia. "Day by da
ng four years, these missionar
s and villages preaching salvat
ounding both the Old and Ne
tongue: for the Moravians also w
This was a different plan from th
d by the Latin priests, and it ha
us himself, like the king of Nineve
d prostrated himself on the grou
his sins. The brothers wept for pe
enlarged in prayer for the pen
oured. Schools were founded, a
king's residence was formed into

the Bulgarians, having lost their
for help; and the two priests w
turned to the pope, telling him th
had spread the seed everywh
children to read the Scriptur
forbidden the use of the Bible: a
his joy, invited the two brothers:
object was to get the newly form
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th. In A.D. 867, Cyril and Method
some of their converts, taking w
d to be those of Clement, which w
h built by the Romans. The citie
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then become pope, and he loaded
in hopes of gaining power over the
y had planted; but, in this dang
altogether fail. In an assemb
ed to them to substitute the La
gue in the Bulgarian and Morav
leaving to Scripture, however he m

mistake the meaning of the text which he quoted, boldly
exclaimed: "Think, my lords and brethren, of the Apostle's
rule. Forbid not to speak with foreign tongues. I have
followed it, and you combat it." And, when one of his an-
tagonists observed, that the Apostle did not mean they should
chaunt the prayers in a foreign tongue, Cyril wisely replied:
It is written, "Let every thing that hath breath praise the
Lord! When I found these poor people quite ignorant
of the way of salvation, the Spirit of the Lord put it into
my heart to announce the sweet word of God in their
mother tongue, and, by that means, I gained many to the
worship of the true God. Judge then, beloved brethren,
if it be wise to draw back from this path." The mission-
ary's plea availed, and a decree was passed at Rome, allow-
ing the use of the Slavonic language in the worship of all
the churches formed by Cyril and Methodius. Cyril died
at Rome, in 868, never having received the episcopal ordi-
nation intended for him. Methodius was consecrated arch-
bishop of Moravia and Pannonia, and returned to his work
with fresh spirit. Neither Moravia, nor Bulgaria, was re-
signed by the Greek patriarch; although he had a sharp
contest with the pope, for the dominion of these Christian-
ised regions. John VIII. excommunicated Photius, in
displeasure about this matter; but that pope was, it is said,
beaten to death by hammers, by an opposite party: and the
rival patriarch was deposed by an adverse faction, and died
miserably.

No less than seven Caliphs succeeded each other, during
the reign of Charles the Bald. Motavaktel, who reigned
the longest (847—861), was a tyrant to his own subjects,
and a persecutor both of the Jews and Christians; the
former he compelled to wear broad belts of leather, to
distinguish them from Mussulmans. His Turkish guard, to
whom he trusted in his cruel course, at length destroyed
him at the instigation of his son Mostanser. The parricide
became Caliph, but wasted away through remorse, and died,
probably of poison, in the first year of his reign. His death
seems to have been hastened by the following circumstance.
One day, as he was admiring a piece of tapestry, represent-
ing a horseman with a diadem on his brows, he turned to

ask an attendant to decipher the inscription over it. He hesitated ; but, as the Caliph would be obeyed, his slave read as follows : " I am Siroes, the son of Chosroes, I murdered my father, and I retained the royal dignity six months."

The three following Caliphs were all murdered by their professed guards.

The African provinces flourished under Obeidollah and his successors ; who took the name of Mihidi, or directors of the Faithful. They could not call themselves Caliphs, because their relationship to Mahomet was exceedingly obscure. It is related of one of these sovereigns, that, on being asked from what branch of the prophet's family he drew his title, he drew out his scymetar, saying, " This ;" and throwing gold among his soldiers, he exclaimed : " These are my children."

This branch of the Saracenic family became, like the rest, addicted to literature ; and the manners of the Moors, both in Spain and Africa, were gradually softened by their mental cultivation, and their adoption of industrial pursuits.

CHAPTER V.

Life and Times of Alfred the Great, A. D. 872—901.

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS.—STORY OF RAGNAR LODBROK.—ALFRED'S EARLY HISTORY.—HIS CONTESTS WITH THE DANES, ADVERSITY, AND FINAL VICTORY.—HIS LOVE OF CHRIST.—HIS EFFORTS FOR THE INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL CULTURE OF HIS FAMILY AND PEOPLE.—HIS LAWS AND GOVERNMENT.—CONTEST WITH HASTINGS.—HIS DEATH.

THE early history of all countries, except that which the Bible supplies, is of necessity doubtful ; for writing is not an art common in the infancy of any nation, and even where ancient chronicles exist, they are, in their first stages, so mixed with fable, and so full of contradictions, that it must ever be difficult to separate truth from falsehood.

The most ancient records of the northern nations of Europe are of the wildest character, being poetical fragments of writers who believed, not only in unseen gods and goddesses in another world, but in many supernatural beings

Imagination has
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portions of history
We wish rather to ascertain
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of the Northmen, or Danes
Lodbrok is the most famous
Northern chiefs ; but some
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existing on earth. Imagination had peopled their woods and mountains, and rocky shores, with creatures possessing marvellous power, and wearing strange appearances; and the Satanic arts, known by the names of magic and witchcraft, were in full exercise among the great supporters of their mythological system.

On the legendary portions of history, it is not our province to enter. We wish rather to ascertain the plain truth; but as it is not possible to have a fair view of the circumstances of Alfred, without forming some idea of the people with whom he had to contend, we shall here attempt to give a farther account of the Northmen, or Danes.

Ragnar Lodbrok is the most famous name in the history of the Northern chiefs; but some historians suppose there were three of the name of Ragnar, whose deeds are all attributed to the individual so called. It will, however, be sufficient for our purpose, to make some reference to the deeds so gloried in, and chiefly in their bearing on England. Ragnar's history is chiefly gathered from a frightful poem called the Quida, or Death-Song, of Ragnar Lodbrok, in which this warrior is supposed triumphantly to recount the adventures of his life. It was not unusual for the worshippers of Odin to sing with their last breath their own praises, that is, to tell out the bloody deeds whereby they supposed they had earned a reward after death. O how happy is it when the dying Christian can sing with heart or voice the praises of his Redeemer, and anticipate the recompense of reward, won not by himself, but by his Saviour's sufferings! It is painful to turn from this thought to the awful record before us; but it should make us thankful that we live in times when we may read, rather than experience, the desolation that men such as Ragnar inflicted on our country. This chief had been a sea-king from his youth, and had been, according to his "Death-Song," concerned in all the ravages committed along the coasts of Europe during many years. His wife, Aslauga, was of the same spirit as himself, and brought up his children to emulate, or exceed, his daring actions; and envy at their success, in other quarters, is said to have prompted him, even in his old age, to make another attempt upon England. That part of Northumberland, called Deira, was in the hands of Ella, a British chief, when he was

CHAPTER V.

of Alfred the Great, A. D. 872—901

OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS.—
OK.—ALFRED'S EARLY HISTORY.—
DANES, ADVERSITY, AND FINAL VICTORY.—
IST.—HIS EFFORTS FOR THE INTELLIGENCE
OF HIS FAMILY AND PEOPLE.—
—CONTEST WITH HASTINGS.—HIS DEEDS

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wrecked, with a part of his fleet, on that coast ; and as he and his warriors could not escape, they met Ella and his troops with the utmost boldness ; and it was not till almost all his followers were slain, that Ragnar was taken alive. The British chief doomed his captive to the most cruel and lingering death ; for, according to the Quida, Ragnar was cast naked into a deep pit with a number of vipers, and left to expire in the torments occasioned by their venomous fangs. It was not strange that circumstances such as these should be celebrated in verse by the best of these northern poets—and extraordinary talent for poetical description is displayed in the "Death-Song:"—besides, the aim was to excite Ragnar's countrymen to revenge ; and vengeance, we shall shortly see, they fully executed.

The poem is still extant in the original language. The following extracts from a translation may suffice to satisfy the curiosity of the young reader, and to sicken the heart of the horrors of war, however disguised.

"I lifted up my lance and brandished my blood-stained sword from afar.

Within twenty years, eight Jarls adorned my triumph at the mouth of the Dwina.

The bloody sweat of death swelled the sea which it stained,
The warriors gave up the ghost.

Fifty-one times my lance—that terrible messenger of death—
called my people to battle,

From my boyhood it was my joy to plunge my lance in human blood."

Referring to England—

"We hewed with our swords ; hundreds, I declare, lay round the rocks :

Hard came the storm on the shields, till they fell to the ground in Northumbria's land,

We had the music of the sword in the morning for our sport,
Many fell into the jaws of the wolf ;

The hawk and the wild beasts plucked the flesh ;
Blood fell profusely into the sea—into the clear wave."

Surprise is then expressed that he should die in a land from which he had so often returned in triumph, and where he had so largely feasted the beasts of prey. After anticipations of revenge, the song ends thus:—

"Little do I expect any one will be more famous than myself.

See Odin sitting in the circle of heroes !

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They invite me. I come not with words of fear.

We shall drink ale out of the large hollowed skulls.

Grim dangers surround me. The vipers dwell in the palace of my heart,

I will die without a groan. I shall quench my thirst among the gods.

The goddesses invite me home.

The moments of life glide away. These are the smiles of death."

The spirit of the Destroyer, which breathes in these lines, was not left unchecked.

Whilst Ragnar's war-boats had been covering the sea, taking out of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, some of the fiercest spirits, there was more opportunity for the propagation of Christianity in the North; and Eric, king of Jutland, allowed the freest preaching among his subjects; and he was so much under Anschar's influence, that he would take no important step without consulting him. The missionary and his pupils took every opportunity of penetrating into the more Northern regions; whilst the most savage Northmen were used as a scourge abroad. Soon after the death of Charlemagne, a settlement of Danes had established themselves in Ireland, under a Norwegian chief, named Turgesius; and, during thirty years, this savage ruler directed the attacks of his piratical countrymen. The whole island groaned under the oppressions of the invaders; and, yet, its princes waged such perpetual war with each other, that they had no strength to drive out a foreign foe during this century. It was otherwise in England, in the times on which we now enter.

The history of our native country has its peculiar interest; and, as we are more familiar with the localities in which its great events have taken place, a reality is stamped upon it which the best description of an unvisited scene cannot give: besides, as we tread the same soil, we seem to identify ourselves with the interests of those who formerly called it theirs; and we notice their deeds, and enter into their passing prosperity, or adversity, with a particular concern. This feeling possibly arises out of the narrow selfishness of our nature; but the knowledge of its existence causes us to enlarge in taking up the history of England, whilst our

limits compel us in general to abridgment.* It has been observed, that a historian, who doubted the truth of the Bible (Mr. Hume), readily quotes Anglo-Saxon writings of questionable authority, passing over their apocryphal character, and their manifest contradictions. It is certain that mere fragments remain which can be looked upon as true records; for the Anglo-Saxons, like their Northern neighbours, dealt largely in poetry and fiction. We will give only those details which seem least liable to suspicion. The history of Alfred's youth is very interesting, when we see in it his preparation for the particular station which he had to occupy, and the formation of a mind which was to have extensive influence over others. Before he accompanied his father to Rome, he had been sent there in the fifth year of his age, with several attendants; and the pope, it is said, either at Ethelwolf's request, or on a report of his death, anointed the head of the favourite child, according to the mode common at the coronation of kings. The incidents that occurred between the fifth and eighth years of the young Alfred's life must have left a strong impression on the mind of an ordinary child; and one of his superior intelligence could not fail to be powerfully affected by them.

Rome, and its antiquities—a thousand years fresher than they are now—had thus been laid open to his youthful curiosity; the papal court, in its daily increasing magnificence, where the lordly pope had poured the oil on his young locks, or received his royal father and the pompous train of Saxons, was a scene that he could not forget; and then there was his residence in France, replete with other novelties: the king, Charles the Bald, and his Greek robe and golden crown—the nuptials of King Ethelwolf his father, and, lastly, his return home with a young mother-in-law, who, it appears, was all kindness to him. But after Alfred had been thus favoured and exalted, the jealousy of his brothers threw him into obscurity; and, until his twelfth year, little is known of him. There is, indeed, a tradition that he passed part of his time in Ireland with a lady

* On referring to the table of contents, it will be seen, that from this point, the history of England is given in distinct chapters; and these being marked for the young reader, may, at any time, be studied consecutively.

renowned for saintship, to whom his father sent him on account of his weak health; and, if so, his mind must have been farther enlarged, and variously improved, by another change of scene, for we already know the religious character of our sister island at this period, and its political confusions.

But, whatever knowledge Alfred might gain from observation, he had, up to this time, learned nothing by reading, for he had been kept in ignorance of that art: he listened, however, with untiring delight to those who could read or recite the Anglo-Saxon poetry; and the interest which he found in it made him heartily embrace the first suggestion of his mother-in-law, that he should learn to read. It is related, that as Judith was one day seated among her stepsons—the two elder of them were already kings—she offered the beautiful manuscript which she held in her hand to the first among them who would learn to read it. Alfred alone was urged to seek a teacher, and quickly earned the proffered reward. No Latin master could then be found in all Wessex, and the young prince was obliged to confine himself to the scanty literature of the Anglo-Saxons, and he had to regret in later life that, whilst he had leisure, he was shut out from the treasures which he afterwards discovered were to be found in Latin authors. From his childhood, Alfred is said to have had religious impressions, and perhaps these might be traced to the influence of his parents, both of whom were in those days esteemed for piety; his serious thoughts were also strengthened by his bodily ailments. It is related, that once when he was hunting near Liskeard, he came to a church which was the burial-place of St. Gueryr—a name implying that some healing power was attributed to the deceased—and, having dismounted, he continued a long time in prayer for the removal of a disease which had clung to him from infancy; and he especially asked of God that he might not, by leprosy or blindness, both of which he then feared, become disgusting or useless to others.

His desire was granted, for his health slowly amended, and, though in after years he became subject to another disease, it never laid him aside, but had probably a chastening power over his own spirit, thus making him more instead of less useful to others.

Alfred saw his three elder brothers wear the crown in succession, and, although Ethelred deprived him of the portion left him by his father, he did not fail to assist him in all his undertakings. It was a season of extreme danger: the avengers of Ragnar Lodbrok, or men having the spirit ascribed to him and his children in his "death-song," threatened England; and though Ethelred had the dignity of Bretwalda, or, as we say, king, four distinct Saxon governments still existed, having for the most part separate interests; and communication was so difficult that they could not act unitedly.

The Northumbrians felt the first shock of the most powerful Northern force that had yet landed on the shores of England, and though civil war which had till then raged with violence was hushed, and the rival chiefs together faced a foreign foe, they were slain; and Ella, it is said, was treated with most savage cruelty in revenge for the sufferings that he had inflicted on Ragnar. The Danes from that time were masters of Northumbria, which included Durham, Northumberland, and Scotland, as far North as the Frith of Forth: they appointed as king, Ingwar, said to be a son of Ragnar, who reigned from the Tyne to the Humber. Little, it appears, was known in Wessex of the conquest of the North of England, for about this time, A.D. 867, Alfred married Ealwitha, a lady of Mercia; and the prolonged festivities which followed his nuptials, laid the foundation of a most painful disease, which afflicted him during the rest of his life. It is supposed, from the description of his sufferings, to have been an internal cancer which first attacked him at this season. His physicians could neither alleviate the pain nor understand the cause, and it wore out his frame by slow degrees. If the agony ceased for an hour, the dread of its return tormented him during the short respite; but we should little conceive, in reading of his actions, that he had any bodily ailment.

Alfred's wife made him happy in his domestic life, and it was a relationship of which he afterwards wrote in the highest terms; but he was not permitted to remain in quietness, and his brother, after giving him an inferior regal dignity, called him, at the request of Burrhed, king of Mercia, to assist in checking the progress of the Danes. Mercia

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him happy in his domestic life, and of which he afterwards wrote in a letter that he was not permitted to remain in the country, after giving him an inferior reward, at the request of Burrhed, king of Mercia, the progress of the Danes. Mar-

was the central, and, next to Northumbria, the most extensive of the Saxon kingdoms; and its chief cities, Leicester, Lincoln, Stafford, York and Chester, were seized and occupied by the higher class of Danish warriors, who, under the name of the Five-Burghers, greatly harassed the English population by their strong and commanding position. But in Lincolnshire, the enemy met with strong resistance, and a little village, still called Thrikingham, is said to mark the place where three Danish kings were slain.

But the Danes had settled themselves in a chain of strong posts across the island, and occupied stations on the sea-coast, at which they continually received re-inforcements of their countrymen; and, in the fourth year of their residence, they committed the most cruel ravages, and burned down some of the finest monasteries which contained stores of books and other treasures. From the beautiful Abbey of Croyland, few escaped to tell the tale of destruction; but it was afterwards restored to its original grandeur.

East Anglia, the small kingdom comprising Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge, was, at this time, governed by Edmond, a king noted for gentleness and humility; his royal village was near Diss, in Norfolk. It is difficult to reconcile the opposite accounts of his defending his people with great valour, and his suffering the desolation of his country in the most passive manner. The latter story is of so unusual a character, that we subjoin an outline of it.

The country was on fire around him, the highways strewed with corpses, but Edmond did not bestir himself. At length a messenger arrived, requiring him to submit to Ingwar and his religion, saying, that as the ocean-storm served him but for oars, and the lightnings dared not touch him, king Edmond might be well content to be his servant. A bishop advised Edmond to escape; but he replied, that life would be worthless to him if separated from his people, and dismissed the messenger, telling him that the example of the Lord whom he revered, alone prevented him from destroying the bearer of such a mandate, and that he might say to his master, King Edmond was not afraid, for though his body might be killed, the freedom of his mind could not for an instant be controlled, and his spirit would fly to heaven undegraded by the submission demanded.

When the furious Ingwar arrived, he caused the gentle king to be manacled and bound to a tree, to be scourged and made a mark for the Danish arrows, urging him, under these torments, to deny his faith; but Edmond continued unmoved, and the savage conqueror, wearied with his firmness, at last ordered him to be beheaded. The corpse was privately buried by his affectionate people, at a place afterwards called St. Edmond's Bury, and the name of Edmond, used from generation to generation in Norfolk and Suffolk families, is an added proof of the respect entertained for the memory of the martyred king. Ethelred and Alfred had aided with their forces in preventing the Danes from taking full possession of Mercia, but they had no assistance in the defence of Wessex. Wessex, at this time, included all the Southern counties, except the British kingdom of Cernaw or Cornwall. The royal brothers met the intruders with their whole force at Ashdown, (probably near Reading), and a thorn-bush which grew in the midst of the field where the battle raged most furiously, was surrounded with heaps of corpses, when the Anglo-Saxons were left in possession. Several of the most terrible of the Danish leaders fell, but the invaders continually renewed the struggle. In an ensuing conflict, Alfred's ardour is said to have been nearly fatal to him; he had pushed on before his brother, who would not leave his tent till the priest had finished the usual prayers, and he was on the point of destruction, when Ethelred came to his relief. In another battle, fought in 871, Ethelred received a wound, and, the injury to his frame being aggravated by his troubles, he died soon after.

Alfred was unwilling to be king in such difficult circumstances, doubting his own abilities for the office, but he was at once preferred to his brother's young children. In the year of his accession nine pitched battles were fought between the English and the Danes, and skirmishes took place almost daily; the ferocity of the foes with whom Alfred had to contend was fully tested, but he repulsed them again and again. Burrhed, king of Mercia, was, however, entirely defeated, and gladly left the country to spend his remaining days in the English college at Rome, a building intended for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims or travellers, which had been raised from its ashes by Ethelwolf.

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s by Ethelwulf.

It was now a contest between the Danes and Saxons, as formerly between the Saxons and the Britons, for the possession of the island; but the people of Wessex alone remained at open war with the invaders; and, during seven years, Alfred often tried negotiation as well as fighting. But the Danes were not to be trusted, whether they swore by their bracelets which they esteemed sacred, or by the relics which were esteemed most venerable by the English; and though the king built vessels, and by his fleet destroyed or captured many of their ships, fresh swarms of Northmen contrived to land; and, before the spring of 878, the Danes had made an encampment at Chippenham, in the centre of Alfred's kingdom, and ravaged it on all sides. Many of the inhabitants escaped to France, many submitted, and others, like the king himself, went into concealment. This part of Alfred's history is obscure; but it appears that the first years of his reign were stained by harshness towards his people, and by carelessness in his moral conduct. His biography, as written by Asser, his own friend—in itself a most interesting and trustworthy document—lies, in its present state under suspicion, because it appears to have interpolations taken from the legend of St. Neot, written a century and a half later, and evidently a fabrication. Neot is said to have been an abbot of the royal family of a very holy character, and we are told that he often reproved the king, his relative, foretelling that he would sorely suffer if he did not depart from unrighteousness. "Now, loved child," said he to Alfred, "hear me if thou wilt, and turn thy heart to my counsel: thy sins with alms redeem, with tears abolish." This specimen may suffice to prove the melancholy darkness that prevailed with regard to God's only mode of putting away sin. Whatever were the ways in which Alfred went astray, through following youthful lusts, it is plain that God's hand was upon him for good; and, through adversity he was brought back, as all the Lord's erring ones are sooner or later. The discipline of sorrow through which the young king had to pass was doubtless necessary to make him a blessing to his people. A favourite story, borrowed from the doubtful narrative referred to, must not here be omitted, for it would not have been invented, or received, had it been inconsistent with what was

known concerning the king's endurance of adverse circumstances. When Alfred first made his escape, he went over hedges and ditches to avoid the enemy, and found shelter in the cottage of Denulph, a herdsman, who supposed him to be one of the king's Thanes. Here he led an unquiet life through the evil temper of his hostess; and one Sunday, having neglected to turn some bread which was baking on a pan full of fire, and which she had desired him to watch, the king was bitterly reproached by Denulph's wife, and she asked him if he were so lazy as not to attend to the cakes which he was ready enough to eat, who was likely to entrust him with more important affairs? The fallen king sighed, silently turned to the Lord, imploring his pity, and thus not only bore her taunts with meekness, but diligently served her as long as he remained under her roof. When restored to the throne, he remembered the kindness of Denulph, and knowing him to be a man of ability, desired him to give himself to study, and afterwards made him bishop of Winchester. As soon as the Danes grew weary of searching for him, Alfred collected his family and a few faithful followers and retired to a boggy island, at the meeting of the rivers Thone and Parret, which was on this account called the isle of Athelney, *i. e.* nobles. There were but two acres of firm ground, and there they built a dwelling; the communication with Somersetshire was by means of a bridge, which they carefully fortified, and the forests and morasses that lay around rendered it impossible of access, except to those who knew the road. From this retreat the king sent out messengers, who gradually awakened the patriotism of the vanquished Saxons, and rekindled their hopes; and often, at the head of a chosen band, he issued forth and surprised the Danes, returning with such celerity to his obscure abode, that they knew not the quarter from whence the danger proceeded, nor the dignity of the assailant. Another pretty anecdote is related of Alfred's graciousness whilst in Athelney. A poor man having found his way to the gate, whilst the king was sitting by his wife's side, reading as he was wont, Scripture, hymns, or historical poems concerning his ancestors, he desired the only Thane in waiting to supply the beggar's wants; and, when told that the whole party were out in search of food, and that only a little bread and

wine remained in their store, Alfred again desired that the poor man should be satisfied, saying, his need was the greatest.

The king had been nearly a year in concealment, when tidings reached him of the reviving spirit of his subjects. The earl of Devon and his men held a castle on the river Taw, which was attacked by Hubba, the only surviving son of Ragnar, on his return from a harassing campaign against the Britons of South Wales. The earl sallied forth with his warriors, and Hubba, with most of his followers, was slain; moreover, the victors obtained a rich booty, as well as a standard called the Reafen, or Raven, to which the Danes attached magical value.*

At this point comes in a romantic story of Alfred's going in the disguise of a minstrel, harp in hand, to spy out the state of the Danes, before he determined on a vigorous struggle for national freedom. His skill in music and singing made him a welcome visitant to the Danish tents, and, it is said, that Guthrum, the king, was entertained by the royal minstrel. Either in this way, or in some less remarkable manner, Alfred ascertained the careless security of the enemy, and named a day, and a place, for a meeting with all the Saxons who would yet bear arms in their country's defence. In Selwood forest he found himself surrounded by crowds of warriors, eager to gaze on their long-lost king and ready to unite with him in one desperate effort; the temper which had made them careless of obeying him was altered, his absence had taught them his value, and they were weary of the savage Pagans who had for twelve years been treading down their country and their religion.

In the first general engagement with the Danes, Alfred was entirely victorious, and showed greater superiority in using his victory than even in gaining it. He spared the lives of the vanquished when they came within his power,

* The tradition runs that this Raven, with its spreading wings, was woven by the daughters of Ragnar in one noontide: they were, at least, very industrious. The wings moved when victory was certain, and were still if a defeat was at hand. This was not the only banner that had powers deemed miraculous. In that age mechanical arts were known to few.

and offered them the desolated districts of East Anglia, and Northumbria, as their own settlement, on condition that they would make a home in England by tilling its soil, and adopting its religion. Baptism was the proposed sign of assent; Alfred offered himself as godfather, and Guthrum, with thirty of the chief Danes, having submitted to the ceremony, as an earnest, probably, of the obedience of the rest, the king entertained them many days, and dismissed them with presents.

The ceded territory was called Danelagh, *i. e.* Dane-law, having its own laws and rulers, but holding the king of England as supreme; and Guthrum, chief of East Anglia, and Guthred, chief of Northumbria, continued faithful to Alfred as long as they lived. Thus he earned the reward of his generosity, and the settlers who became attached to the soil aided to ward off the attacks of fresh invaders. War was a calamity that Alfred deplored, and not an occupation that he coveted, yet, to guard against farther danger, he established a regular militia, appointing his subjects to take by turns the cultivation of the land and military service; he also increased his naval force, and employed the Frieze-landers, as better seamen than his own people, to man his first-rate ships.

Under these arrangements, peace was enjoyed nearly thirteen years; and it is in this interval we may take a view of Alfred as one of the best kings that ever reigned in this, or any other country. The "Shepherd of his people," the "Darling of the English," the "Wiseest man in all England," the "Truth-Teller," are some of the epithets which may describe the esteem and love which he gained. We begin with noticing that love of Christ, which we believe made him to differ from others, and which is, in fact, the only solid foundation of everything that is Christian in conduct. "Thus said Alfred, England's comfort. O that you would now love and long after your Lord. He would govern you wisely. I mildly admonish thee, whether thou art poor or rich, that thou wholly reverence thy Lord Christ, love Him and delight in Him, for He is Lord of life. He is one God above all goodness. He is a bliss above all blessedness, etc. And though one had the rule of all this world, and of all the wealth in it, yet could he keep his life but a

short while. All thy happiness would but work thy misery, unless thou couldest purchase thee Christ."

Being aware of his own ignorance, and that ignorance far deeper prevailed among his people, Alfred's first care was to draw around him capable teachers; and, whilst he rebuilt the ruined cities, he more ardently tried to repair the intellectual and moral ruin of his country. Grimbald, a man of good morals and learning, skilled in vocal music, came at his call; he was remembered as having shown Alfred kindness when a child in France. Asser, the first scholar of Wales, and a man of piety, he found it more difficult to entice, as he did not like to leave his charge for the sake of worldly gain, but when he was once settled at court, he became the king's warmest friend. Two monasteries, with Exeter and all its parishes, were the reward of his services.

From Asser, the king learned Latin, having accidentally adopted a system which is found in our days so much to facilitate the acquirement of a language. Alfred was accustomed to carry in his bosom a book of psalms and hymns; and when his instructor made a quotation that pleased him out of any Latin writer, he asked him to note it on a blank leaf with the translation affixed. The pages being filled, Asser proposed to fold a sheet of vellum, on purpose for such extracts, and it was from this new manuscript book that his royal pupil first learned to translate: moreover, he continued the practice of writing down extracts, or observations of his own, and thus formed a valuable manual. As soon as he could translate from the Latin, Alfred determined to put before his people such works as he deemed of most value. He attempted a complete version of the Bible, but only accomplished a portion of it; but, with his own hand, he turned into English Bede's valuable History, the Ancient History and Geography of Orosius,* Pope Gregory's Pastorals, or Instructions to Pastors, and the Consolations of

* Orosius was a Spaniard, who wrote a compendium of Universal History to the fifth century, the best that existed in Alfred's time. The royal translator enriched the geographical part of his work by adding the discoveries made by his voyagers towards the North Pole, and round the Baltic, and the accounts given by travellers whom he sent into Bulgaria, Sclavonia, Bohemia and Germany.

Philosophy, written by Boethius. The last was a favourite work; and the king enriched the translation by many original ideas, and almost made it his own by his mode of paraphrase. This royal author also composed a book of original Parables, now lost, and a great deal of verse; but it was in prose writing that he excelled. These were Alfred's attempts to impart knowledge to his people, and he took the greatest pains to oblige them to learn to use books. He gave no preferment to the illiterate, and constrained such as previously held office in church or state, to apply themselves: if any one advanced in life found it impossible to learn to read, some reader was assigned to him that he might not be uninstructed. In the smaller circle of his own family the king carried out his own views of education. Edmond, his eldest son, was crowned as his successor, but died before him; Ethelfleda, his eldest daughter, was reputed the wisest lady in England. Edward, afterwards king, and his sister Alfritha, were carefully brought up at home, and were remarkable for dutiful behaviour and gentle manners: they were taught to read Saxon books, and learned poetry, particularly hymns. Ethelweard, the youngest son, was sent to a public school with many noble children, and became a learned man. We may judge of Alfred's ordinary mode of teaching his family, by his last words to his son Edward, "My dear son, sit thee now beside me. I feel that my hour is coming. We must soon part. I shall to another world, and thou wilt be left alone in my wealth. I pray thee, for thou art a dear child, strive to be a father and a lord to thy people. Be thou the children's father, and the widow's friend. Comfort thou the poor and shelter the weak, and with all thy might right that which is wrong. And, son, govern thyself by law; then shall the Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so shall he help thee better to compass what thou wouldest."

We must now consider Alfred as a legislator. His code of laws was not original—he was too modest to invent new laws—but he says that he selected what he liked, and such as he thought the most just among the statutes of his predecessors, and with the consent of his council set them forth for general adoption. He was not, as it has been supposed, the

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originator of the divisions of England into shires, hundreds and tythings, nor the inventor of that regulation which associated the people in tens, mutually responsible for each other's good behaviour ; still less did the trial by jury proceed from his wisdom : he was, it appears, more bent upon watching the working of existing laws, and remedying anything practically oppressive, than in perfecting what is called "the Doom-Book." His reputation for justice was such, that he was perpetually appealed to from other tribunals : if the judges erred wilfully he punished them, if they made mistakes by ignorance he privately instructed them. The standard of moral feeling throughout the country rose to such a height, that we are told when golden bracelets were hung up in the public roads as a test of the general honesty, there was no hand put forth to steal them.

First in Alfred's selection of laws stood the Ten Commandments, selections from the statutes which follow them in the book of Exodus, and the directions of the apostles concerning the Gentiles. Thus he declared publicly and plainly his respect for the word of God, as occupying the first place in his own thoughts. "If these commands be obeyed," said Alfred, "no other doom-book will be required." The principle of English law, that every man is to be deemed innocent till he be proved to be guilty, may be traced in the spirit of Alfred's government ; and this beloved king used to say, it was just that the English should ever remain as free as their own thoughts.

The secret of Alfred's ability to accomplish so much, lay in his diligent economy of time and money, and his unyielding endurance of incurable disease. As he had no clock to measure the lapse of time, he had wax candles made of equal sizes, each of which burned four hours ; all were twelve inches long and marked at every inch, so as to point out the expiration of every twenty minutes throughout the day and night : cases of white horn were afterwards made for them, to avoid the waste caused by the draughts in the royal tent, or dwelling, and thus originated the lantern. To other useful inventions the king gave his attention ; he understood architecture, ship-building, and workmanship in gold and silver, and his genius enabled him to set mechanics and artizans to work.

Alfred divided his revenue into six parts, giving one portion to the noble attendants who waited on him a month in turn, another to architects, and another to foreigners, according to their merit. The remaining half of his income was mainly used for the poor, for the public schools, and for the church. His generous treatment of foreigners induced many to resort to his court, or reside in his kingdom : both living and dead he was esteemed as a very remarkable sovereign even out of his own country. Abel, patriarch of Jerusalem, sent letters and presents to the good king ; and probably from his messengers Alfred heard the facts, which induced him to send a bishop with presents to the Syrian Christians in India. The occasion of his embassy is obscure, and we know of no other result from it than the bringing back of spices and gems into England.

The last years of Alfred's prosperous reign were disturbed by a formidable descent of the Danes under Hastings, the most famous pirate of his age. He had been repeatedly bought off the coasts of France by Charles the Bald ; but, after the death of that monarch, he ravaged the sea-coast till the very desolation he had caused prevented his return to the same shores. He had been repulsed by Guthrum on attempting to land in England, but when, after the death of that quiet chieftain, A.D. 893, he appeared again with 330 sail, he found many restless spirits ready to join in his hostilities, and tried to make himself king of the Danes in England. The contest was very severe, but, in the midst of it, Alfred treated his foe with generosity, once and again sending back his wife and family who had been seized in the Danish camp : on the first occasion he had the children baptised and loaded with presents. But nothing softened the spirit of the ferocious Hastings, and "England," said a monk, "seemed as if it were harassed by the sons of Satan." A pestilence also raged for three years, occasioning great mortality. In a naval battle off the coast of Devon, Alfred tried some of his new vessels, higher and longer than any before built, and was victorious : after the engagement, two of the enemy's ships were cast ashore, and then, alas ! Alfred failed in mercy, for he ordered their crews to be hanged, in order to intimidate other pirates. Even after Hastings was compelled to fly, other bodies of Danes remained in arms,

and the naturalized Danes were so disturbed, that Alfred would not allow them a native chief.

Peace was at last re-established, and even the Welsh bowed to Alfred's authority; but his disease had been gaining ground, the renewal of war had probably increased his sufferings, and in the full vigour of his faculties, in the fifty-third year of his age, he departed this life, A.D. 901.

It is an interesting fact, that Alfred was engaged about a version of the Psalms at the time of his death. It is not extravagant to suppose there would be a peculiar sympathy between his spirit and that of King David; there was, by the same grace, in both, a feature all the more remarkable, on account of their dignified station—a full conviction of their own utter weakness and inability to help themselves—and hence profound humility and earnest calling upon God.

Alfred, like King David, prayed or sung psalms many times in the day, or night, and, even after he came to the throne, did not relinquish his habit of going into a church, for the sake of praying alone; this he sometimes did in the night. Alfred's character has been thus described: "He was humble to all, affable in conversation, mild in transacting business, venerable in aspect, serene in countenance, moderate even in his walk, sincere, upright, calm, temperate and charitable." We believe that nothing short of the grace of God could have made Alfred what he was, a light in a high place.

CHAP. VI.

Times of Alfred the Great.

FAMILY OF CHARLES THE BALD IN FRANCE.—CHARLES THE FAT, EMPEROR.—GENERAL CONFUSION.—CHARACTER OF THE POPES.—LEO VI. THE PHILOSOPHER, GREEK EMPEROR.—MOHAMMED I. IN MAHOMETAN SPAIN.—THE DECLINE OF THE CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD.

DURING the most prosperous part of the reign of Alfred, the continent of Europe offers nothing to our view but calamity and disorder. The family of Charles the Bald

deserve no notice, except as carrying on the chain of history. His son Louis II. or the Stammerer, only survived him, as king of a part of France, twenty months. His poor health and feeble character hindered him from effecting anything. The sons of Louis II., viz. Louis III. and Carloman, who reigned conjointly, died respectively in 882 and 884, leaving no children. Louis III. was only seventeen when his father died. The ecclesiastical peers obtained farther power from him, and the kingdom of Provence and Arles being assigned by them and Pope John VIII. to Boson, a distant relative, the young kings found it in vain to try to dispossess him. Louis was cut off in the midst of his heedless course. Having one day met, as he was riding, the beautiful daughter of a French nobleman, he called her to him; but frightened at his royal freedom, she did not answer him, but fled to her father's house. The king pursued her, and seeing the door open, intended to ride through it, but it was lower than he had supposed, and he received a blow on his head which threw him back. He desired to be carried to the convent of St. Denis, hoping to be restored by the intercession of the saints, but his back was found to be broken, and he died there. The death of Carloman was caused by an accident not dissimilar to that which carried off the emperor Basil two years later; and it is one of the many instances of that dangerous ardour with which kings used to pursue the sport of hunting. An attendant, intending to defend Carloman from a boar which endangered him by its fury, wounded him in the leg with his sword. Mortification followed, and he died a few days after, aged only eighteen. The second wife of Louis II. gave birth to another son after his death—Charles, afterwards called the Simple; but as he was yet a child when his brothers died, and the country in a very disturbed condition through civil war and the attacks of the Normans, the nobles offered the crown to Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German, who was already emperor. In this manner, the empire of Charlemagne, excepting the provinces of Arragon and Provence, which had their own kings, was again united under one head: this head was, however, almost powerless. He is said to have been a glutton and a coward, and liable to fits of depression amounting to insanity. In his youth he had revolted against

his father; and some priests who wished to fill him with horror at his unfilial conduct, persuaded him that he was possessed with a devil, and that it was necessary to go through the terrible ceremony of exorcism. To this he submitted; but it appears that his weak mind never recovered the dismal impression it left upon him. Having no courage to resist the Normans, Charles pretended to cede one of his provinces to their chiefs, and invited him to a banquet, but shortly after he was treacherously murdered, and his countrymen, stirred up to madness, entered France, 30,000 in number, laid siege to Paris, and remained before it two years. Eudo, Count of Paris, son of Robert the Strong, the most powerful noble in the time of Charles the Bald, fortified the city and sought help from the kings, and Goslin, a bishop, daily ascended the ramparts, planted on them the standard of the cross, pronounced a blessing on the defenders of the walls, and, not contented with exhortation, armed himself with a battle-axe and showed the greatest valour: he died before the end of the siege. In 887, Charles came to the relief of the city with a powerful army, but, instead of fighting with the Normans, he bribed them to raise the siege, and permitted them to remain in Burgundy till the money was paid. This, and other acts, made him so unpopular, that he was deposed both in Germany and France, and no provision being made for him, he was supported by the charity of the archbishop of Mentz, during the few weeks that he survived his deposition. The clergy to whom Charles had been most obedient and friendly, honoured him almost as a saint. An abbot then living, says, "he was a most Christian prince, fearing God, and obeying his commands with all his heart. He gave abundant alms; he was constantly occupied in prayer, indefatigable in repeating God's praises, and *he put all his hopes* and all his trust in the Divine grace. He therefore regarded the tribulations of his latter years as a purifying trial, which was to secure to him the crown of life." Other monkish annals relate that "the heavens were seen to open to receive him, so that it might be made evident, that he whom men had despised, was the sovereign the most acceptable to God." It is quite possible that the unfitness of this poor king for his station arose out of his anxiety about his eternal portion, and we know of a

sovereign in modern times afflicted with derangement of mind, whose state towards God was very desirable.

In A. D. 888, Charles IV. (the Simple), son of Louis the Stammerer, was crowned king of France at the age of fourteen; Arnulph, a grandson of Louis the German, had Germany; and two powerful dukes, named Guy and Berenger, descended on their mother's side from Charlemagne, divided Italy between them.

Eudo, Count of Paris, contended for the sovereignty of France, but he died in 898, and the history of France—we may say of the empire—remains a complete blank till some years after the death of Alfred. As one has said, we may be grateful to the chroniclers who have been silent concerning a period of such confusion.

The insignificant character of many of the popes, and the brevity of their dominion, will prevent us from naming each one in succession. The rapidity with which one after another passes away—a remarkable feature in the history of the popedom—can neither be attributed to the age at which many of them were elevated, nor accounted for by the fact that many came to a violent end: probably the conflicting feelings brought into action by a position that differed from all others, and the excitement arising out of the exercise of an assumed official character of such great pretensions speedily wore out the greater part of the popes of Rome.

John VIII., though obliged to flee from the face of the Saracens, held councils in the kingdom of Louis the Stammerer, wherein he spoke greater things than before. He excommunicated Guy and Berenger for sharing Italy; tried to make Louis emperor; and declared that the powers of the world should not dare to seat themselves in the presence of bishops unless desired. Two popes, of little note, succeeded him; and then followed Stephen V., who bore a reputation for learning, humility, and other good qualities. He did not interfere in political affairs; and it was to him that Alfred sent many embassies and presents. He died in 891; and Formosus, his successor, was of a very different spirit. He was ready to crown any pretender who could support his claims by arms, taking care to retain the supremacy himself. He placed the imperial crown on the heads of Guy and

Berenger in succession, as both triumphed in turn; and when Arnolph took Rome by assault, he was obliged to confer the like honour upon him.

The high-sounding title Emperor of the Romans meant, however, nothing; for Arnolph had not a single house in Rome, and no part of Italy, Spain or France, nor was even all Germany, under his dominion. The Romans, however, took the oath of allegiance to him, saying, "I swear by the holy mysteries that, saving my honour, the laws of my country, and the fidelity I owe to *my Lord Formosus*, the Pope, I will be true and faithful to the Emperor Arnolph."

A.D. 900. At the death of Arnolph, who on the whole bore a good reputation, his son Louis, then four years old, was declared emperor, in a little village of Germany, where some bishops and nobles assembled for his coronation; but the Romans were indignant, and never owned him. He died in 911, leaving no male heirs; and thus ended the German branch of Charlemagne's family. The empire was in fact a complete chaos, and the state of Rome was in keeping with the dismal confusion that reigned elsewhere.

Stephen VII., a man long at enmity with Formosus, became pope at his death, and caused the embalmed body of the deceased to be disinterred, and again clothed in pontifical robes to be brought before a council. The usual forms of a judicial proceeding were followed; the charge was, that Formosus, once bishop of Porto, had been guilty of exchanging his bishopric; and the lifeless body was condemned to lose its head and three fingers of the right hand. The sentence was executed, and the remains cast into the Tiber, A.D. 897. The friends of Formosus excited the people of Rome to avenge this horrible sport with the dead, and Stephen was fettered and imprisoned, and strangled in his confinement, A.D. 901. His deposition was followed by a violent contest which lasted many years; and the faction who had opposed him caused the remains of Formosus to be drawn up out of the river, and buried a second time with pontifical honours.

Sergius III., the son of Theodora, a woman of infamous public character, was the next pope.

We turn to the Greek empire after the death of Basil the Macedonian, A.D. 886. His son, Leo VI., surnamed the Philosopher, succeeded him; and as he was the author of several books, we have at least one learned sovereign to compare with our own Alfred. But whilst Alfred put forth useful matter, we find nothing creditable flowing from the pen of Leo. He wrote a treatise on the art of ranging men in battle, and oracles in a prophetic style, founded on the dark arts of divination and astrology; and as he was a pupil of the learned Photius, he imitated his master in writing on some theological subjects, whilst he descended to the most childish superstitions.

Even third marriages were disallowed by the Greek Church; but Leo VI. having had three wives and no children, took a concubine named Zoe, and after she gave birth to a son, wished to make her his lawful wife. Photius refused to sanction the marriage, and was dismissed to a monastery. Nicholas, his successor, was equally firm, and he only suffered the infant Constantine to be baptized on the understanding that Leo would separate from his mother. The emperor failing to fulfil his engagement, the patriarch excommunicated him; but Nicholas was opposed by his own bishops and the Latin Church, and displaced for a more yielding prelate. Zoe was at last declared empress, and her infant received the title of Augustus. The apartment in the palace occupied by the empress mother was lined with porphyry, hence the royal children were said to be born in the porphyry; but the title of Porphyrogenitus was applied to this child, afterwards Constantine VII., as a distinct surname, probably in order to place his rights to the crown beyond dispute. Leo VI. sank into luxury and indolence, whilst Alfred remained self-denying and active. Alexander, his brother, who shared with him the imperial purple, was immersed in folly and vice, whilst Alfred rose far above the level of his age. The latter proved in measure the truth of one of his own sayings, "When we lead our lives as God hath taught us, we then best serve ourselves; for be assured that he will support us."

Under Mahommed I. the Mahometan power in Spain continued to decline; and to Galicia and Asturias, the Chris-

tian king, Alphonso III., added Old Castile, Estramadura, and great part of Portugal. Mahommed was a persecutor of his Christian subjects, but a man of letters and a friend to genius. It is related that his secretary, during a violent thunderstorm, found him playing with some little children, and on being asked what he wanted in such weather, replied in verse, that his lord knew where there were children there was safety,* and that a banquet might still farther allay their fears. Poetry was agreeable to the sovereign, and he ordered a feast; but in the midst of it, in a strange kind of sport, which was not unusual in the revels of these despots, he desired a child whom he held on his knee to throw a cup at the secretary's head. In this rough amusement, wounds were often inflicted; but on this occasion the minister eluded the blow, and addressed the child in original verses with so much wit and good temper that he was dismissed with rich presents.

One summer evening Mahommed was sitting in his palace garden conversing with his ministers, and one of them made a fine speech about the happiness of a royal lot. Having tried it for thirty-seven years, he replied, that the path might seem to be strewed with flowers, but even the roses had their thorns; "besides," he inquired, "is it not the lot of the mightiest prince to leave this world as naked as the poorest peasant? The term of our lives is in the hands of God; but to the good that term is the commencement of everlasting bliss."

Mahommed retired to rest that night and awoke no more on earth, A.D. 888. Who are the good?—is a question that this wise monarch could not have answered, as the youngest reader of this book, knowing the Bible, is able to do.

Two of Mahommed's sons reigned successively, and continued the wars and the pursuits of their father.

The Caliph Motamed who reigned from 870 to 892—the best part of the reign of Alfred—succeeded in reducing the strength of the Turkish guards, who had been so dangerous to his predecessors, and he again made Bagdad the capital, and established the court in its former splendour. A sect,

* The Mahometans then, as now, believed that the presence of an innocent child might save a guilty man from destruction.

however, arose in Arabia, at the close of his reign, called Carmathians, who declared this pomp inconsistent with the religion of Mahomet; and their formidable violence, with the multitude of opinions that sprung up concerning the Koran and its interpretation, contributed to shake the throne of the caliphs to its foundations. Persia and Turkistan at this time were separated from the caliphate, and obtained independent rulers. Carmath, the leader of the sect called by his name, multiplied by ten the daily prayers prescribed by Mahomet, and allowed the use of wine, and the flesh of many animals forbidden by their prophet. Under the title of Imam, he claimed the blind obedience of his followers, and a fifth of their annual income. Taher, who succeeded him as Imam, rose into still greater power, and attacked the next Caliph, Motadhed, with a hundred thousand men; but, having approached too near the gates, with only five hundred of his followers, his retreat was cut off, and the caliph's troops surrounded him. Their general, however, wishing for some reason to spare the Imam's life, sent a messenger advising secret flight. Taher replied, "Go and tell your master he has three thousand men, but not three like mine;" and, to prove their entire subjection to his will, he bid one to throw himself into the Tigris, a second to shoot himself, a third to cast himself down a precipice. All three sacrificed their lives at his command, probably believing thereby to secure eternal salvation. Then said Taher to the messenger, "I spare thy life that thou mayest go and tell thy master what thou hast seen, and say to him he shall see a greater sight than these, even himself chained among my dogs!" The Imam, in fact, escaped, and the following day defeated the caliph's general in battle, took him prisoner, and fastened him to his dogs. He then retired from Bagdad; but in the reign of Moktafi, the next caliph, the Carmathians attacked and plundered the pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and slew twenty thousand by the orders of the terrible Taher. Such was the weakness of the caliphs, and the disorder of their crumbling empire, at the close of the flourishing reign of Alfred the Great.

CHAP.

Christian Profession

SILENT OF GUIDES. —

—SILENT MISSIONS. —

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CHAP. VII.

Christian Profession in the Ninth Century.

RESPONSIBILITY OF GUIDES. — THEIR CHARACTER IN THIS AGE.

— NESTORIAN MISSIONS. — ANSCHAR, CLAUDIUS, CYRIL, AND
METHODIUS, CONSPICUOUS LIGHTS. — JOHN SCOTUS, GOT-
TESHALCUS. — CONTROVERSIES ABOUT TRANSUBSTANTIATION
AND PREDESTINATION. — THE BENEDICTINE RULE. — INFLU-
ENCE OF THE MONKS. — LEGENDS. — CATENAE. — CAUSES OF
ERROR.

AN opposite course leads to an opposite end. They that be wise—the wise teachers of others—shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; they that shall break, and teach men to break, one of the least of Christ's commandments shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever; but, if the blind lead the blind, shall they not both fall into the ditch?

In every age the professed guides of others are under the greatest responsibility; and to these we first turn our attention. The ambitious men who occupied the high places of Rome and Constantinople, and vied with each other which should be the greatest in Christendom, have been noticed in the preceding pages; but we have to mention the deceitful manner in which the Popes established their supremacy.

A collection of epistles, called decretals, said to be written by the early bishops of Rome, was put forth under the name of Isidore of Seville, a respectable bishop of the sixth century, and therein it was assumed that the Lord Jesus Christ had appointed the Bishop of Rome to be the supreme legislator and judge of the universal church, that all bishops derived their authority from him, and that councils could not determine anything without his consent. These decretals were produced in the contest between the popes and the patriarchs, and though many of the Latin bishops exposed them as frauds, and opposed the principles

they were designed to establish, they were at length received as genuine and authoritative, and laid the foundation for the subsequent despotism of the popes. They were respected officially, even when they were hated personally; and vices, which from their enormity would have ruined the credit of any other dynasty, did not lessen the confidence reposed in the supposed successors of St. Peter at Rome.

The corruption of the clergy was extensive and enormous. In the East they contended violently with each other, and all, except the Armenian and Nestorian priests, maintained the *duty* of image-worship. In the West, the higher clergy lived in luxurious indolence, or appeared in the battle-field, according to the laws of feudal tenure; and the inferior clergy were for the most part illiterate and sensual. That there were bright exceptions, however few, we cannot doubt; for, scanty as our information is, some names remain on record.

Details of the operations of the Nestorians are wanting; but theirs was eminently a missionary spirit: and, in this century, Christians of that profession abounded in Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Persia, and Chaldea. Even in China there were churches enough to warrant, according to their rules, the creation of several metropolitans. Let us hope the name of Christ was not so widely spread in vain.

We have already spoken of the missionary labours of Cyril and Methodius, who sought in a pagan country some escape from the corrupted atmosphere of Constantinople. We must here add a few words about Anschar, their contemporary, for it is good to place together in our minds men of a like spirit, labouring in distant countries at the same time.

The memory of Anschar is still respected in the North, as one of the first who attempted to enlighten those dark people; but though he penetrated into Sweden, and met with some success, so that it is said he returned to his own diocese followed by the blessings of Olave, the king, and the people, the traces of his work almost disappeared for a long series of years. In Jutland, too, where he was yet more successful in the reign of Eric I., the ally of Louis,

the German, the worship of Christ was forbidden under Eric II., surnamed Barn, or the child. War and piracy delayed the expected declaration of the Jutes in favour of Christianity; but at length Anschar received a message from Eric, saying, that he wished to live in good understanding with him, and in the grace of Christ, and he was received most respectfully at his court. The king, however, was not baptized till Anschar was no more. Towards the close of his thirty-five years of missionary labour, he was heard to say, the work might be interrupted through the sins of those engaged in it, but could not fail, as the name of the Lord must be declared for salvation to the ends of the earth. Anschar established convents and schools, and formed establishments for the poor and sick, visiting them himself, and sharing with them his last mite. Besides this, he seated the poor at his own table, and served them before he eat himself; nor would he send any away, "through fear," he said, "of afflicting Christ in one of his poor members." According to the Benedictine rule, he wore a coarse garment, lived on bread and water, and worked with his own hands; and as all the labourers whom he sent forth into Sweden or Jutland were desired to adopt the same simple habits, and to require nothing from their new converts, the scantiness of the means did not prevent an enlarging of the sphere of labour, as it does in our days. But, far from thinking that his own works would purchase heaven, Anschar, in the midst of his devotedness, sometimes desponded, and one day, when much cast down under a sense of sin, he was comforted, as if by some voice saying to him, "Only believe. Believe firmly. God will keep his double promise, he will pardon thy sins, and perform all things for thee." Such, indeed, is ever the voice of the Spirit of God to the trembling sinner who turns to Jesus for pardon and rest.

As Anschar lay dying, a circle of praying friends gathered around him, and his last words, ere he fell asleep, were, "O God, have mercy on me, a poor sinner." A.D. 865.

Erimbert, his successor in the archbishopric of Ham-burgh, held that see for twenty-three years; and by his charity mitigated the sufferings of those around him during the fierce attacks of the Normans. It was some time before

the diocese of Hamburg fell under the enslaving laws of the papal power.

We have spoken of teachers, in whom there seemed to be the savour of Christ among pagans; we turn with pleasure to one who witnessed for truth in the midst of Christendom. Claudius, bishop of Turin, already referred to in the image-contest, was famed for his knowledge of the Scriptures; he wrote three books of commentaries on Genesis, four on Exodus, several on Leviticus, and one on Matthew, said to contain many excellent things; also, an exposition of all the epistles of Paul. He testified by word and pen against many of the prevailing superstitions. "To worship an image," said Claudius, "is equally an error, be it called Jupiter or Peter; if man might be worshipped, it would be less absurd to worship him whilst living, as man is the image of God; but if the work of God may not be adored, much less may that of men." He said also, if crosses were to be adored because the Saviour was nailed to one, then they might adore mangers, because he was laid in one; or swaddling clothes, because he was wrapped in them; nay, the Lord's command was not to adore the cross, but to bear it. But a man who had so deeply studied the Bible might be expected to set forth truth, as well as to expose error; and, according, we find that Claudius taught that Christ is the only proper Head of the Church, and that salvation is by faith only: he severely condemned the doctrine of human merits, and the exaltation of tradition to a level with the written word: he also set forth the fallibility of the Church, the equality of the apostles, and the sinfulness of idolatrous practices: he forbade the worship of saints, and showed the folly of praying for the dead. Finally, he pointed to the Lord Jesus Christ as the sole and all-sufficient object of dependence, and exposed the various lying refuges set up by false teachers, such as creature-righteousness, pilgrimages, human intercessions, etc.

It speaks well for Louis the Feeble that such a man as Claudius was his chaplain, and his favourite: he died one year before that monarch. The valleys of Piedmont lay within the diocese of Turin, and the instructions of Claudius probably helped to form for the Lord's praise a body of

simple Christians who were bright witnesses for the truth in the darkest age of Christendom.

Claudius, Anschar, Cyril, and Methodius, placed as conspicuous lights along this dark century, not only cheer the Christian mind in its review, but leave a conviction that there must have been many unknown and obscure ones who would not give God's glory to another, as strongly marked out in His sight as the seven thousand unnoticed by Elijah.

We must again refer to John Scotus—the Irishman—the favourite of Charles the Bald. At that king's request he made an elegant translation of a book sent to his father by Michael Balbus—the pretended work of Dionysius the Areopagite. It was an attempt to Christianise the notions of the philosophers, who held that the soul by means of contemplation, might unite itself to God, and be lifted above all sensible objects; it had been long a guide-book among the Greeks; and Erigena contrived to make it equally popular among the Latins. The system had its peculiar evils, but probably his attachment to it helped him to confute a gross error put forth at this time by one Pascasius Radbert, a monk, viz.:—"That after the consecration of the bread and wine at the Lord's supper, nothing remained of them but the outward figures; and that in their room the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, and that was raised from the dead, was *really and locally present!*" This doctrine was called Transubstantiation, or the Real Presence. Erigena was employed by Charles the Bald to draw up an answer to this extravagant idea; and in his treatise declared plainly that the bread and wine were "the signs and symbols of the *absent* body and blood of Christ." Other theologians, engaged in this controversy, were of wavering opinions.

Shortly after, another controversy arose on the deep and solemn subject of predestination. Gotteshalcus, a German monk, who had deeply studied Augustine, revived his views in public preaching; and Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, the most learned among the Latin writers of this age, accused him of gross heresy. Gotteshalcus wrote a justification, but was condemned at a council at Mentz, and sent to Hincmar, to whose diocese he had once belonged, to be tried again. The monk maintained his views

before another council, both from the Scriptures and from the works of Augustine, one of the much esteemed fathers; but the doctrine was unpalatable to them, and he was sentenced to be scourged with great severity in their presence. Whilst he was thus tormented, his book of proofs was put into his hand, and he was required to drop it into the fire before the scourge was removed; but although, under the force of pain, he burned his own hand-writing, the same truths were written in his mind; and during a confinement of nearly twenty years he never relinquished them. Even with his last breath he declared his sentiments unchanged, although Hincmar had sent to persuade him to recant, in order that he might die in communion with the Church. He was, consequently, denied what they called Christian burial. Hincmar, during forty years, had great influence in the political world; but neither his worldly power, nor the ready pen of Erigena, could prevent the views of Gottfeshalcus from gaining ground. One council condemned, another defended the teaching in question; and the firmness of the prisoner, through a protracted course of suffering, gave weight to his doctrine. In 860, the bishops of fourteen provinces, with Remi, archbishop of Lyons, at their head, declared for the teaching of predestination, as held by Augustine and Gottfeshalcus. In this century, monasticism rose into still greater esteem in the West; and Louis the Feeble made attempts to reform the monasteries throughout France by the introduction of the discipline of St. Benedict. For the time it became general, but faded before the close of the century.

We have such frequent occasion to refer to the Benedictine rule, that it may be well to give a brief outline of it once for all. It was contained in seventy-three chapters, and prescribed for every action in the lives of those who put themselves under it. There was something attractively honest in its outset; for instead of inviting any one to embrace the rule by any concealment of its requisitions, those who asked admittance were obliged to stand four or five days at the gate; and even when received into the strangers' room, and into the inner apartment of noviciates, the labours, fasts, vigils, and mean fare, were set before them in the most forcible manner. Three times in the course of the year of noviciate

the rule was read to them ; and if at the last they resolved to profess, they were led to the altar in presence of all the brethren in the convent, and made to promise constancy, purity, and obedience. If the novice were unable to write, another subscribed the engagement for him, after he had made against it the sign of the cross—and he then laid it on the altar, repeating Ps. cxix. 116—"Uphold me according to thy word, that I may live, and let me not be ashamed of my hope." It was then thrice repeated by the brotherhood, with "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and the newly professed knelt at the feet of each, asking his prayers, and received from each in succession the kiss of peace. The habit of the order was then put upon him. From that day he was, as certain authors observe, "a piece of mechanism," having no power over his own property or actions. If he disobeyed, he was twice privately admonished ; if a third time, publicly reproved ; if a fourth, excommunicated, whipped, and made to fast ; if he shewed no contrition, expelled, with a terrible curse on his head.

The daily services were as follows :—at six, nine, twelve, three, half-past four, and six o'clock—periods called the diurnal hours—a certain number of psalms were chaunted so as to go through the psalms in a week ; and to these were added canticles and responses. If engaged in the fields, they observed the appointed hours—if near the monastery, they assembled in the oratory. Before retiring to rest they all met to celebrate another service. At two in the morning, even in winter, they rose for the performance of the vigils ; and, till the service celebrated at six in the winter, and at sunrise in summer, called the matins, they were employed in learning the psalms and in sacred reading or meditation. Thus four hours were given to religious exercises whilst the rest of the world was asleep.

The meals were only two, dinner and supper. Flesh was forbidden, and each of the monks cooked for a week in his turn. Each monk had two tunics, two cowls, and a scapulary. They changed their garment, probably, only for the night. Filth was considered a part of the humiliation of a thoroughly devoted monastic ; and the patience with which some endured the vermin that covered them is highly extolled by their biographers. Ten or twenty monks slept

in separate beds in the same dormitory, which was lighted by a lamp, and superintended by an aged brother, called a dean (*decanus*). After confession no word was to be spoken in the dormitory, but one was to read aloud, and mental prayer was prescribed as the last engagement.

Their moral and spiritual code is thus briefly summed up:—To honour all men—to do as we should be done by—to deny ourselves, so as to follow Christ—to discipline the body—not to follow pleasures—to love fasting—to fill the poor with joy—to clothe the naked—to visit the sick—to bury the dead—to rejoice in tribulation—to console the afflicted—to keep aloof from the world—to hold the love of Christ *beyond every other tie*—not to be angry—not to neglect charity—not to swear—to utter the truth always—not to return evil for evil—to suffer injury with patience—to love one's enemies—to bless those who curse us—to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake—not to be proud—nor a wine-bibber—nor a glutton—nor a sluggard—not to murmur or to slander—to trust in God—to ascribe whatever is good in ourselves, not *to our own merit but to God*, always remembering, however, to take credit to ourselves for any evil we may do—to feel the last judgment—to dread hell—to have death daily before our eyes—to *long with a spiritual lust for eternal life*—to watch our actions every hour of our lives—to feel that God is everywhere—to *open our evil thoughts to Christ*, and to some spiritual elder—to keep one's tongue from evil speaking—to refrain from much speaking—not to jest—not to love laughter—to hear with pleasure holy reading—to be frequent in prayer—to confess past sins with tears and groans—not to fulfil the desires of the flesh, but to hate our own will—to obey the precepts of the abbot in all things—not *to aim at being thought holy*, but to be really such—to fulfil daily God's commands—to love chastity—to hate nobody—to avoid jealousy, envy, contention, and pride—to reverence the old—to love the young—to pray for our enemies, for the love of Christ—not to let the sun descend on our strife—never to despair of God's mercy, etc. On the duties of obedience, silence, and humility, especially the latter, Benedict particularly enlarged.

The above is sufficient to prove how much the author of this Rule had studied the practical part of the word of

God ; yet there were many admixtures of error to mar the beauty of the truth ; and it was evident that the great aim was for the sinner to work out a righteousness of his own, to do something to get the favour of God, and to try to make the flesh holy, the vanity of all which, every one taught of God must most deeply feel. The abbot, the great preserver of discipline, was to be elected by the monks from among themselves, on account of merit only ; under him was a prior (*prepositus*—a monk placed over the rest), and several deans, or overseers of tens. There was an officer to show hospitality, one to watch over the sick, one to take charge of the provisions, one to take care of the revenues, and a porter at the gate to receive strangers.

It may well be conceived that the observances of so strict a Rule soon became burdensome, and the restraint was cast off again and again, so that the deepest moral corruption pervaded the monastic order. Nevertheless, the general reputation of the monasteries was such, that, on the one hand kings and nobles were found to leave their dignities for the cloister, and many who could not make the sacrifice during their lives, desired at least to die in the monastic garb ; and on the other hand, monks and abbots were drawn from their retirement by the ruling powers, because they expected to find in them ambassadors, and ministers of state, whose holiness would ensure the prosperity of public affairs.

The troubles of the State, which we have already detailed, necessarily affected the Church, which was so combined with it ; the miseries, too, that prevailed throughout the world found their counterpart in the allied system.

All was distress and confusion ; but, in the midst of it, people were not running to God, but away from Him. Such is the folly of every heart unguided by his Spirit. Priests, who wished to make a gain of needy and ignorant souls, urged that the times were so bad it was necessary for each person, and for every church, to choose some patron-saint to watch over their particular interest, that the apostles and saints so long revered were not sufficient to care for all who needed their help, and that there were others equally fitted to watch over souls. Accordingly, the histories of real and fictitious persons were written, and adorned with miracles, invented for the purpose of increasing the reputa-

tion of the saints, who were to be introduced to public notice ; and in order to give reality to these narratives, the writers of them showed the bones, the clothes, or the furniture, which were said to have belonged to the departed saints ; sometimes the ground which they had trodden when on earth, or that wherein their corpses had been laid, was pointed out as worthy of reverence ; and healing virtues were attributed to every thing that had stood in connection with them. Every priest was anxious to extol the merits of that particular shrine at which he served, in order to obtain more valuable offerings.

Sometimes a history was given, but no relics produced ; and then, after fasting and prayer, it was declared that God had revealed the place where lay the holy ashes, and great joy was evinced in the discovery of the pretended treasure. The Latins paid to the Greeks considerable sums for bones, said to belong to certain primitive saints, which are preserved to this day ; but it is averred that many fragments of skeletons, which were the remains of Pagans and of brute animals, were at this time sold at a high price, under such pretences.

In honour of different patron-saints, different days were set apart, and a variety of ceremonies ordained ; and some of the ingenious learned employed themselves in writing books to show that these "divine offices," as they were called, had a spiritual signification. Other idle writers employed their ingenuity in an allegorical interpretation of Scripture, in which originated the most serious errors ; for it was held that, besides the literal meaning, every text had three, four, or even more hidden meanings, and that the plainest expression contained some mystery.

Some teachers fortunately had not sufficient originality or self-confidence, to put forth their own interpretations, and obtained something of value by forming what was called a *Catena*, that is a chain of commentaries compiled from the writings of such men as Athanasius and Chrysostom. Photius himself, in this manner, compiled a *Catena* on the Psalms and the Prophets ; and most of the Greek clergy in this age were satisfied with *Catenæ*, and did not trouble themselves to explain the Scriptures.

The lack of Scripture study, and the study of Scripture in the pride of human intellect, alike leads to errors ; some

err not knowing the Scriptures ; many through wresting them to their own destruction. Both classes come under our view, as we contemplate Christian Profession from age to age.

The multitude, in the period through which we are passing, had not the key of knowledge within their reach ; and such as had it, for the most part but partially unlocked the sacred treasures, and crushed or distorted them in their unholy grasp.

CHAP. VIII.

Life and Times of Edward the Elder and Athelstan, A. D. 901—941.

EDWARD'S CONTEST WITH ETHELWALD.—THE LADY ETHELFLEDA.—EDWARD'S TRIUMPHS.—HIS CHARACTER.—HIS FAMILY.—ATHELSTAN, HIS SON.—ATHELSTAN'S DELIVERANCE FROM PRINCE ALFKED, AND DESTRUCTION OF PRINCE EDWIN.—COMBINATION AGAINST HIM.—HIS TRIUMPH AT BRUNABURG.—HIS CONNECTION WITH OTHER PRINCES.—HIS CHARACTER, CHARITIES, AND LAWS.—HISTORY OF HACO, KING OF NORWAY, ATHELSTAN'S PUPIL.

THE son and grandson of Alfred the Great demand our attention before any other sovereign of this period. We begin, therefore, with Edward the Elder, so called because he was the first Anglo-Saxon king of that name.

Alfred had been preferred before his elder brother's children, because of his shining talents, and the troubles of the times ; besides, the laws of succession were not clearly settled, as happily they are now ; those children were, however, now grown up to manhood, and Ethelwald, the eldest, opposed his cousin Edward.

He armed his partizans, and professed he would either conquer or die in Wimbourne, the first town of which he obtained possession ; but when Edward approached with an army, he fled by night to the Danes, in Northumbria. Care-

less of the prosperity of the country, the Danes proclaimed Ethelwald king, thinking they should be gainers through a civil war; but Edward was powerfully supported by his sister Ethelfleda, and the Earl of Mercia, her husband; and after several contests, Ethelwald fell in battle. The consequences of his ambition did not, however, end with his death, as the enmity between the Anglo-Danes and the Saxons had increased during this struggle. Ethelfleda, or, as she was commonly styled, the "Lady," was as conspicuous in these times as the king himself; and, little as we can admire so unfeminine a character, we must allow that she was a woman of remarkable talents, as well as of masculine spirit. After the birth of the first child—a daughter named Elfwina—she refused to live with her husband, because she found that a wife's duties and a mother's cares were incompatible with her military pursuits; and after the earl's death, which occurred in 912, she bore the title of king, and governed Mercia with royal power during the remaining eight years of her life. Edward, indeed, lost possession of London and Oxford, which belonged to Mercia, but Ethelfleda made Worcester her capital, and fortified Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, and several other towns, not only securing her dominions against the Danes, but regaining from them several important places, particularly Derby and Leicester. One of her martial adventures was the taking of Brecknock, and the capture of the wife of Madoc, a British king, whom she obliged to pay her tribute. The military skill and the political sagacity of Ethelfleda assisted her brother; but, at her death, he did not allow Elfwina, his niece, to reign in Mercia. This young princess, it appears, far from sharing her mother's enmity to the Danes, was on the point of marrying their chief; but Edward prevented a step so dangerous to his own interest by carrying her into Wessex, where she ended her days as a nun. Ethelfleda was buried in the porch of a monastery at Gloucester, built by herself and her husband.

It is to be remembered that Alfred's children, from their infancy, had been accustomed to the sound of war with the Danes; the necessity of resisting them must have been a part of their education; and, if ever war might be tolerated,

it was the defensive warfare in which they and their father were engaged. Edward, after many struggles, was entirely successful. Not only the Danish chiefs submitted to him with all their host, but the kings of the Britons in Cumbria, Wales, and Cornwall, and the king of the Scots, did him homage as "Father, Lord, and Protector;" and the whole country was in peace before his death. Edward, like his father, desired the intellectual advancement of his people, and, by his aid, the public schools of Oxford and Cambridge began to flourish. The continuance of war, however, interfered with the order of the church, and for seven years four bishoprics lay vacant; being threatened, as it is said, with excommunication, on account of this neglect. Edward called a council to fill up these sees, and at the same time created the new bishoprics of Wells, Crediton, and Padstow: the latter was intended for the enlightenment of the Cornish Britons. Edward was esteemed for his honour and integrity; and it is said of him that being one day asked to do somewhat, he replied, that he would *if he were able*; by which he meant to imply, that he could not do anything inconsistent with his royal dignity, or contrary to the rules of truth and justice.

In his youth, Edward was attracted by the rare beauty of Edgwin, a shepherd's daughter, whom he met by accident. She was brought up as a lady by his nurse; but they were not, on account of her low birth, lawfully married. They had, however, three children, the eldest of whom was named Athelstan, that is, the Gem, probably on account of his beauty. At a very early age Alfred ennobled him, and with his own hand clothed him in a purple robe, and placed in a girdle studded with gems a falchion in a sheath of gold—this ceremony, which was a kind of knighthood, gave the boy, according to ancient custom, the rights of an independent warrior. In his youth, whilst there was peace with the Northmen, Athelstan sailed over the North Sea, learned the ancient Norse tongue, and acquired some of the Scandinavian usages and hardihood. On his return to England, he lived with Ethelfleda, his aunt; and, by accompanying her in her campaigns, was instructed in the art of war, and inured to danger.

By Alfreda, his first wife, Edward the Elder had two sons

and six daughters, and by Edgiva, his second wife, two sons and two daughters ; but of all his children he preferred the son of Edgwina, and, perhaps, conceiving him the fittest to reign, made him his successor.

Edward died at Farringdon in 925, and was buried at Winchester, the place of his father's interment.

Athelstan was thirty years of age when his father died. He was tall and comely, and, when he became king, was wont to plait his long flaxen tresses with threads of shining gold. He was, however, a man of sense and talents ; and the most remarkable sovereign of his age. The Mercians at once recognised his title, the nobles of Wessex did the same, and he was crowned with great pomp at Kingston (i. e. the king's town) upon Thames. This was the usual place of coronation for the kings of Wessex ; and the fragment of rock on which they stood, as the form of taking possession of their kingdom, was at no very distant period preserved in the churchyard of that place. Alfred, another prince of the royal family, had his adherents, and a conspiracy was made to seize Athelstan and put out his eyes ; but, the plot being discovered, Alfred denied his guilt, and, in order to make his attestation of innocence more solemn, offered to make oath in the presence of the pope. The king allowed him to go to Rome for that purpose, and the prince, having solemnly sworn that he was innocent in St. Peter's Church, dropped senseless before the altar, and three days after died in the English college to which he had been carried. His death was considered sufficient proof of his guilt and perjury, and Christian burial was denied him till Athelstan's pleasure should be known ; the king, however, refused to wreak his vengeance on the dead, and contented himself with confiscating Alfred's estates for the benefit of a monastery at Malmesbury. "Nor do I know," said he in this grant, "anything more just than to bestow the possession on God and St. Peter, who caused my rival to fall in the sight of all men, and conferred on me the prosperity of my kingdom." The circumstance, however, left in Athelstan's mind a liability to suspicion ; and, many years after, when his brother Edwin was accused of having taken a part in this

conspiracy, he vainly pleaded his innocence; and the king determined to get rid of him. King David sent Uriah into a place where he might perish by the hand of others, rather than his own, and it was not uncommon for persons in the middle ages, to attempt to free themselves from responsibility, by employing some foreign agency in the execution of their purposes. Athelstan, on this occasion, sent Edwin and his armour-bearer to sea in a leaky boat, without sail, oar, or rudder; and, though it drifted on the shore of France and the attendant escaped, the prince perished, as he had thrown himself into the sea through the fear of a lingering death by hunger. When Athelstan heard that his brother was lost, he began to suffer remorse; and during seven years he did penance, and founded an abbey (at Middleton, Dorsetshire), where he desired prayer to be made for his soul and that of Edwin, night and day.

The repentant sinner who carries about in his bosom the forgiveness of God, can bear the censures of his fellow-worm in patience; and he who knows that his sin has been blotted out by no less a propitiation than the blood of Christ, can heartily join with God and man in its condemnation. Alas! it was not thus with Athelstan. Shortly after the death of Edwin, the king's cup-bearer, in handing him wine, made a slip with one of his feet, but quickly recovering himself with the other, he said, 'See how one brother helps the other!' The king, having still a guilty conscience, thought that this speech was intended as a reproof to him, and he caused the cup-bearer to be put to death. If this man were, as it is thought, the person who had falsely accused Edwin, his violent dealing returned on his own head; but his sentence proved that, however Athelstan might be humbling himself before men, he had not, as David, deplored his blood-guiltiness before God. True repentance for a crime prevents its repetition, and checks any severity of feeling towards one who brings it to remembrance.

Athelstan had been made king under the belief that he would be the best defender and ruler of the country, and he did not disappoint the nation's expectation. Modern Wales was at that time divided into three British kingdoms. The south-western portion of England made a fourth. All

resisted in vain the forces of Athelstan. Edwall, one of the Welsh kings, was compelled to surrender his dominions; but after he had done homage to Athelstan in his court at Hereford, he was restored, on condition of paying heavy tribute. "Better it is to make a king, than to be a king," was Athelstan's saying. The other kings he made vassals, and Wales annually furnished to the king's hoard (Anglo-Saxon word for Treasury) 20lbs. of gold, and 300lbs. of fine silver; and sent, year by year, 25,000 head of cattle into the royal meadows, and a present to the king of the swiftest hounds and keenest hawks that were bred in a country of famous huntsmen. Up to this time, Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall had been inhabited, partly by Britons, partly by Saxons; and the lower class spoke the ancient British language. Athelstan drove all the Britons beyond the Tamar, and they soon fell completely under Saxon dominion, though they long retained their own tongue.

Athelstan, like his father and grandfather, was of a peaceable disposition. He did not fight for the sake of fighting; and he gave his own sister Editha in marriage to Sithric, king of the Danes, on condition of his being baptised, and living in amity. He, however, broke through these bonds, and rebelled, and though he died shortly after, other chiefs remained to assert Danish independence. These were his sons Anlaff and Godfred, and Reginald, son of Guthred. These Northumbrian princes defied Athelstan, and were supported by Constantine, king of the Scots; they also engaged Howel, called the Good, a Welsh king, in the revolt. Athelstan severely chastised the Scots, and compelled their king to give up his crown, and receive it again as his vassal; but Constantine, in wounded pride, rebelled again and again, broke every promise, and entered into an alliance with Anlaff, who had stirred up some of the Irish kings against the king of England. The Welsh united in their cause, and formidable fleets from Norway and the Baltic came to the aid of the Danish leader. Six hundred and twenty vessels, under the command of Anlaff, sailed into the Humber, they were all filled with chosen warriors; and never had such a combination of foreign force appeared before in England. The whole island was alive to the

importance of the struggle, and in Europe it excited wonder and interest: the Sagas, or historical poems of the north, celebrated its details, as well as the Saxon chronicles. Athelstan tried to gain time by negociation, and offered large rewards to any who would join his standard. Thorolf and Egil, two noted pirates, who were on the seas with three hundred warriors, enlisted in his service. At this moment, it is related that Anlaff visited the English camp in the same manner that Alfred had penetrated into that of the Danes. Athelstan, ignorant of his person, was charmed with his music, and gave him a purse of silver; but one who had formerly served under Anlaff's banners, discerned the chief under his disguise, and followed him out of the king's tent. His suspicions were confirmed by seeing the supposed minstrel bury in the ground the purse which he was too proud to keep, and then hastily depart. The soldier mentioned his discovery, and was upbraided by the king for not seizing the foe; but he replied "The same oath that binds me to thee, O king, once bound me to Anlaff: had I betrayed him, thou mightest have expected the same treachery from me." Athelstan accepted the excuse, and followed the advice to remove his tent to another spot.

That night a bishop arrived with his followers, and encamped in the place deserted by the king, and, when the attack began, the Danes fell upon them, and supposed that Athelstan was slain. A furious contest followed, and Thorolf with his strong arm and huge sword dealt death around him. The assailants retired, and a day and a night elapsed before the struggle was renewed. A place called Brunaburgh, in Yorkshire, is described as the scene of the decisive battle between Athelstan and the invaders. The two armies were almost equally matched, and they fought from sun-rise to sun-set. It was a dreadful day. Five kings and seven northern jarls fell in the strife, and Constantine had to mourn the loss of his son. Anlaff, with a poor remnant, escaped to Ireland, Athelstan remained master of the field, and his victory was long sung as the greatest that had ever been gained by the Saxons in England.

Constantine himself was pursued, and part of Scotland added to Athelstan's dominions, A.D. 938. Athelstan only survived this tremendous battle three years, but they were

years of peace and prosperity, and his fame extended into foreign lands. No king of England was ever in more intimate relation with continental powers.

Bretagne, or Brittany, that part of Gaul once colonised by fugitive Britons, suffered like the rest of those coasts from the ravages of the Normans; and, among the oppressed Britons who took refuge in England, was Alan, the son and heir of the king. He was brought up in the court of Athelstan, and, shortly before the battle of Brunaburgh, placed by him on the throne of his fathers. Haco, son of the king of Norway, was sent to Athelstan for education, and even on the throne bore the name of Adelstan's Zucht, *i. e.* Athelstan's pupil.

The sovereigns of Germany and France formed alliances with him, as we shall hereafter relate, by marrying his sisters. The kings of Scotland and Wales, and the Irish and the British kings were obliged to acknowledge his power.

We have already given the worst part of Athelstan's private history, and it is but correct to add that he was generally remarkable for fraternal kindness, just in judgment, and gracious in his manner; and that he attributed all his prosperity to God. A Latin copy of the Gospels, said to have been given him by the emperor of Germany, his brother-in-law, is preserved in the British Museum; also a book which he used containing psalms and hymns. He gave a proof of his value for the Scriptures by employing some Jews to make a translation from the Hebrew into the Anglo-Saxon tongue. His charity to the poor was apparent in requiring every one of the reeves or stewards of his various farms, yearly to feed one poor Englishman, "if he can be found" (an expression which betokened great national prosperity) "in his town, and if not, to seek one elsewhere"; also, to redeem, every year, one criminal, "for the mercies of Christ and the king's love"; and if the reeve failed to do these things, he was fined accordingly. The royal estates were also chargeable with a certain contribution in food and clothing.

By Athelstan's edicts, a bishop was obliged to attend in every court of justice, to see that equity was observed; the bishops were also required to regulate the quantity of work to be done by slaves, lest masters should require too much;

for, said the decree, the freeman and the slave are "equally dear to the Lord God, who bought them all at the same price." In order to encourage study and commerce, Athelstan awarded the rank of thane, or gentleman, to every one who, by dint of learning, should enter the clerical order, and to every merchant who had made three sea-voyages on his own account. Besides personal estates, the king's revenue at this time arose from judicial fines.* Athelstan showed his high sense of justice in the opening of a council, held at Exeter, by remitting all fines payable to himself, if the offenders would satisfy their accusers before a certain day; thus showing that he would not avariciously seek to profit by their offences. "It is not my will," said he to his officers, "that ye get anything for me by indirect means."

According to the existing idea that great benefits were to be derived from the services of the priests, it was Athelstan's desire that fifty psalms should be sung for his benefit in all the cathedrals and monasteries every Friday, and not for him only, but for "all who willed as he willed," and that psalms should be sung for others "as they deserved." This king's reign, which lasted sixteen years, is said to have been "little in time, great in action." He died, without children, A.D. 941.

Haco, the Norwegian prince, was brought up by Athelstan as a foster-son, and educated in the Christian religion; and, when his brother Eric Blutaxt (*i. e.* bloody-axe) was expelled, on account of his cruelty, from the paternal dominions, Athelstan sent a fleet with his pupil, then sixteen years of age, and placed him on his father's throne, A.D. 928. The young king's mode of government was extolled,

* The Anglo-Saxons, like other barbarian nations, had a curious scale of fines, proportioned, as they supposed, to the gravity of the offence committed, or the seriousness of injury sustained. Every man, according to his rank, was valued at a certain price, which was to be paid by one who took his life, part to the relatives, part to the king. Every wound and every limb had its fixed price: thus, a wound of an inch long under the hair was liable to a shilling fine, a wound in the face two shillings, and so forth. Money was then, perhaps, ten times the value it is at present.

and the earliest written laws of the North proceeded from him. By means of clergy from England, he also established some congregations of professing Christians, and he caused the national festival, called the Yule, or mother-night, to be held at Christmas, in honour of Christ, to whose name his people were almost strangers. At length, Haco declared his intention of making Christianity the national religion; but Norway was not ripe for such a change, and the people of Throndenland (Drontheim), the capital, were especially opposed to it. The king persisted, and, in a general assembly, he addressed his subjects, saying, "I present to you all, my order and my prayer, that you should be baptized and believe in one God, the son of Mary, and celebrate the seventh day; that you should abolish idol festivals, and fast every sixth day." The people, it appears, commonly regarded Christ as some new god, whom they might add to their own objects of worship; but they were not ready to give up their sacrifices, or to rest two days in the week. Some said that under these laws the land would not be tilled, and that their slaves, weakened by fasting, could not work. The debate was carried on, till a rich farmer told the king that if he pushed the thing to extremes they would choose another sovereign. The pagan warriors clashed their arms, in token of such a determination; and it was agreed among them that Haco should only retain the throne on condition of doing sacrifice at the next Yule feast.

When the day arrived, the king went through the Christmas services in private with his friends, and was then compelled to join the public festival. It required more strength than Haco possessed, to stand such a trial. The first day he drank of the cup filled in honour of their false gods, making on it the sign of the cross, to save himself, as he thought, from participation in the popular worship; the next day he was required to eat of the flesh of the horse that was sacrificed, and after long refusal consented to hold his mouth open over the vessel that contained it, in order to receive some of the fumes. He only escaped the usual kingly office of sacrificer, through a friendly minister who became high-priest in his stead. At the next Yule feast, Haco, with a troop of professed Christians, attempted resistance in arms, but being overcome, he saved his life by

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eating the horse-flesh, and emptying three cups in honour of
 Thor, Odin, and Bragi.

From that time he renounced his attempts to force
 Christianity on the people, but continued in secret the
 practices that he had learned in England. Haco long survived
 his foster-father; and it is said that towards the close of his
 life he had much trouble about his concessions to the idola-
 ters. The sons of his elder brother rose against him, and
 were upheld by Harold Blaataud, king of Denmark; and, in
 963, Haco, having received a mortal wound in battle, recognised
 them as heirs of the kingdom. In his dying days he said, "If
 I survive, I will sacrifice my crown to the Christian faith, and
 go into a Christian country to do penance for my sins, and
 to strengthen my faith;" and, when asked by his friends
 whether his body should be carried to England for burial,
 he replied, "I have lived like a pagan, and desire to be
 buried as one, and not as a Christian."

CHAP. IX.

Times of Edward the Elder and Athelstan.

CHARLES THE SIMPLE. — SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS IN
 FRANCE. — CHARLES IMPRISONED. — RAOUL KING; AND HUGH,
 WITH REGAL POWER. — HUGH'S EMBASSY TO ATHELSTAN. —
 LOUIS IV. (THE STRANGER). — ATHELSTAN'S NEPHEW BECOMES
 KING. — THE HUNGARIANS SETTLE IN EUROPE. — THEIR FRIGHT-
 FULL APPEARANCE AND RAVAGES. — LOUIS IV., CONRAD, HENRY
 THE FOWLER, SUCCESSIVELY EMPERORS. — MARRIAGE OF ATHEL-
 STAN'S SISTER TO OTHO, THE HEIR OF THE EMPIRE. — MISERIES
 OF ROME. — CONSTANTINE VII., GREEK EMPEROR.

CHARLES THE SIMPLE, when opposed by Eudo, had taken
 refuge in England, and there married Edgiva, the daughter of
 Edward the Elder. He was not wanting in personal valour, or
 decision of character; but he had not the wisdom to govern or
 preserve his dominions. There were many formidable sea-

rovers in his days, but, after Hastings was removed, none made themselves so terrible as Rollo, the son of a Norwegian chief. Weary of his repeated and desolating attacks on the coast, the king of France attempted to make him his friend; and in 912, Francon, archbishop of Rouen, laid before the pirate the following proposals:—Charles, on his part, offered him a large province, to be held as a fief of the crown of France, and promised him his daughter in marriage, if the Norman, on his side, would do homage and take up the Christian profession. Francon took the occasion of preaching to him of heaven and hell. After some consultation the treaty was agreed on; and Rollo, with a number of his followers, was baptised at Rouen. The ceremony of homage, however, he refused to perform, on finding that it would oblige him to kiss the king's toe, and with difficulty consented that one of his warriors should do it, in his stead*. The Norman, who was deputed to be his representative, was, it appears, as proud as his chief, for he seized the king's foot with such rudeness, under pretence of lifting it to his lips, that Charles was overturned amidst the assembled nobles. The insult was passed over as an accident, for the king dared not offend his new vassals. The result of his whole arrangement with the Nornans might lead us to substitute the surname of Wise for that of Simple, only Charles probably did not foresee the good results of his amicable conduct.

Rollo received the surname of Robert at his baptism, and, as duke of Normandy—a name given to the province

* The ceremonies used in conferring a fief were three—homage, fealty, and investiture; but the dukes of Normandy from this period did homage without putting themselves under feudal obligations. Theirs was called simple homage in contradistinction to liege homage which required service. In doing homage the vassal (from the Celtic *gwas*, a servant) uncovered his head, ungirded his belt, laid aside his weapons, and placed his hands, kneeling, between those of his lord, promising to serve him with life and limb and worldly honour, in consideration of the lands held under him. The compact was sealed with a kiss. The oath of fealty followed, the ceremony and language differing little from that of homage; but whilst the latter could be received only by the lord in person, the oath might be made to his deputy. There were nearly a hundred varieties of form of investiture. Sometimes the lord, or his deputy, put the vassal in actual possession of the land, sometimes delivered to him the symbol, such as a turf, a stone, a branch, or whatever appeared suitable.

after Hastings was removed, none as Rollo, the son of a Norwegian, and desolating attacks on the attempted to make him his friend; the bishop of Rouen, laid before the king:—Charles, on his part, offered to hold as a fief of the crown of France a daughter in marriage, if the Normans would do him homage and take up the Christian religion. He took the occasion of preaching.

II. After some consultation the king sent Rollo, with a number of his followers. The ceremony of homage, however, on finding that it would cost too much of his toe, and with difficulty consented that his vassals should do it, in his stead. He was appointed to be his representative, and as chief, for he seized the king's sword under pretence of lifting it to his head, and returned amidst the assembled vassals over as an accident, for the king was now vassals. The result of his visit to the Normans might lead us to suppose that of Simple, only Charles profited of the results of his amicable conduct. The surname of Robert at his baptism—Robert the Simple—a name given to the present

from the settlement of Normans—became one of the peers of France. From that time his former habits were entirely laid aside, and no Norman vessel was allowed to approach his shores, except it brought industrious colonists. He had known the hardships and cruelties of a rover's life from his childhood; and, when he saw the superior profits of peace and industry, he steadily maintained the one and encouraged the other. In a few years his province, which he portioned out among his warriors in feudal tenures, wore a flourishing aspect. The sturdy pirates became honest settlers and obedient subjects, and they actually guarded France from farther invasion. Robert shone both as a legislator and a peaceful prince, and he did not fail in allegiance to the king though he had resented the outward token of it at first required of him.

Charles left the management of his affairs to a favourite, named Haganon, who made him very unpopular; but when other nobles set up Robert, brother of Eudo, to be king (922), the duke of Normandy refused to unite with them, saying he was as incapable of abetting as of suffering an injury. In 923, Charles gave his rival battle, and slew him with his own hand; but, fearful of the results of this act, he fled to the castle of Herbert, count of Vermandois, his professed friend. Hugh the Fair, son of the deceased Robert, had married a daughter of Louis the Stammerer, and Charles the Simple was, therefore, his brother-in-law. He and other nobles engaged Hubert to keep the king a prisoner, and every thing fell under his control. Hugh, however, allowed Raoul, duke of Burgundy, to take the title of king; but all the real power was his, and he is said to have been the greatest man who never wore a crown. His first wife being dead, he desired to marry another king's daughter, and sent an embassy to Athelstan to request one of his sisters in marriage. Adulph, son of the count of Flanders, who had married King Alfred's youngest daughter, was the bearer of the message, and carried with it splendid presents from Hugh to his cousin. Athelstan was fond of magnificence; and though his own sister, the wife of Charles the Simple, was at his court, on account of the misfortunes that had befallen her husband, he did not refuse an alliance with the man who had usurped the regal power. Hugh bore

conferring a fief were three—the dukes of Normandy from this time gave themselves under feudal obligations in contradistinction to liege homage in homage the vassal (from the king) laid his hand on the king's head, ungirded his belt, laid aside his arms, kneeling, between those of his lord, and life and limb and worldly honour were put under him. The compact was then followed, the ceremony and homage; but whilst the latter was being made, the oath might be made in a hundred varieties of form of investiture, put the vassal in actual possession of him the symbol, such as a sword, appeared suitable.

other surnames besides the Fair ; he was called the Great, from his high stature, and the Abbot, because a part of his revenues arose out of some rich abbeys. His presents to Athelstan were a dazzling diadem, the lance of Charlemagne, the sword of Constantine, some fine horses richly caparisoned, a vase of onyx, beautiful emeralds, with such perfumes as had never been brought to England before : some relics were also added. Athelstan sent away his sister with presents little less valuable than those that he had received.

The object that Hugh had in view was doubtless to make Athelstan overlook the claims of his sister Edgiva, and her son Louis, who remained in his court ; but no sooner did the king of England hear that Charles the Simple had died in prison—poisoned, as it was supposed, by the count of Vermandois, his treacherous host—than he made efforts to secure the throne of France for his nephew, A.D. 929. The project, however, could not then be accomplished. The duke of Normandy would have supported him, but he died in 932. William, his son, surnamed Longsword, succeeded him, and was as wise a prince as his father. In 935, Raoul, the nominal king of France, died without children ; and, after some months, Hugh consented to recall the exiled widow and son of Charles the Simple. Deputies were sent from France to salute the young Louis, as king. Athelstan expressed his joy, and gave him and his mother Edgiva an escort of Saxon bishops and nobles when they left England. The prince, then aged sixteen, was received with the greatest respect by Hugh and the people, and crowned king as Louis IV. The surname *Outremer*, or “beyond the sea,” was given him—we more familiarly call him Louis the Stranger. The young king had a powerful rival in Hugh, and was not at all popular in France. The interest of Athelstan was his main support ; and when Hugh, at the death of his English wife, married the daughter of a third king, the emperor of Germany, his power was increased, and his mind yet more alienated from the Stranger.

Louis, in ability, was very superior to any of his predecessors since Charlemagne ; but the want of honesty and sincerity rendered him useless to his country. He, as well as Hugh, married a sister of Otho, emperor of Germany,

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but none of their connections prevented them from coming
to an open rupture. Civil war raged for many years after
the death of Athelstan.

Louis IV., the last of the Carlovingian race of German
sovereigns, was declared emperor at the age of seven (A. D.
900), and died when only eighteen. The title was his, the
power was in the hands of the princes who called him their
chief. A new race of barbarians desolated the empire during
his reign, and continued their ravages during half a century;
they were called the Hungarians, and gave the name of
Hungary to the province of Pannonia, of which they took
possession; they greatly resembled the ancient Huns. In
889, they were first perceived issuing from the marshes at
the mouth of the Dnieper; and an ancient German annalist
relates, that they had thrice tried to bring Asia under sub-
jection, but had never felt the yoke themselves. According
to the habits of the Scythian tribes, they carried their families
in covered waggons, and drove their flocks before them as
they journeyed from place to place. Hunger had apparently
urged them onwards, but they knew the arts of war, and
when they had tasted the sweets of conquest, their appetite
for it was not to be repressed.

Arnolph, the emperor, being at war with Svatopluk,
king of Moravia, engaged a Hungarian chief named Arpat
to assist him: his country long suffered from his rash em-
ployment of such savage allies. Arpat, undertaking to
subdue Svatopluk, sent to him an ambassador with twelve
white horses, having their saddles garnished with gold, de-
siring that king to give him earth, grass, and water. So
peaceful an embassy, and so simple a request, excited no
alarm, and Svatopluk sent two barrels filled with water
from the Danube, and a sack full of herbs. Arpat, however,
declared that, as far as the spot from whence the grass and
water came, the country was his, and at once set himself to
the conquest of it. Svatopluk was the nephew of Ratis-
laus, and his associate in the government of Moravia, which
then extended far beyond its present bounds into Austria
and Hungary. Ratislaus, as we know, had made a religious
profession, but his natural spirit was not broken; and when

Svatopluk consented to do homage to the Emperor Louis, he was so indignant that he sought to take away his life. God, however, did not suffer him to prosper in his wicked design. His nephew discovered it, seized him, and sent him in chains to the emperor. Louis deprived him of his sight, and sent him to a convent, where he ended his days : it is possible that his downfall was intended for his blessing. Svatoopluk's quarrel with the emperor Arnolph was about Bohemia, a fief of the empire, for which he refused to do homage ; he was slain by the Hungarians towards the close of the century. Methodius lived to see these sad events ; but the form of Christianity was so widely spread before his death that he had seven bishoprics under his control.

The Hungarians destroyed a great deal of his work ; but the little that remained had, at length, a beneficial effect upon the conquerors. The savage state of these barbarians, when they first appeared in civilized Europe, made them a most terrible scourge ; and some, who imperfectly studied prophecy, concluded they were the Gog and Magog armies described by the prophet Ezekiel. They rode horses of incredible swiftness, and darted their arrows from bows of horn ; they wore no hair except a few long tufts at the top of the head : they ate raw flesh and drank blood, and tore out the hearts of their prisoners of war, to use as a medicinal remedy. The women were as savage as the men. They were composed of seven bodies, each containing not less than 30,000 armed men, and the castles built by their several leaders gave the name of Siebenburgen to the province of Transylvania. They burned the cities, massacred or enslaved the people, both in eastern Bavaria (now Austria) and in Pannonia (now Hungary) : they slew the priests and monks, and left not a single church standing. Four bishoprics entirely disappeared ; not a single Christian inhabitant was found in them at the end of thirty years. The Hungarians even extended their ravages to Hamburg, where they met the Normans, robbers and destroyers like themselves, and, returning along the Rhine, they wasted the country, and spread into Italy, as far as Pavia, which they gave to the flames. In the height of these calamities, the insignificant youthful emperor, Louis IV. died, Charles the Simple was proposed as his successor, but rejected as unfit ;

ented to do homage to the Emperor, and Otho, duke of Saxony, to whom the crown was offered, so important that he sought to take away his life, begged, on account of his advanced age, that it might rather be placed on the head of Conrad, duke of Franconia. Conrad was elected in 912, by the deputies of the Franks, the Suabians, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and the Lorrainers, the five nations included in the empire; but Arnolf, duke of Bavaria, invited the Hungarians to assist in opposing him, and brought upon his own people such sufferings as we have already mentioned. Conrad died in 919, and proposed as his successor the son of that Otho who had procured his elevation. He was accordingly chosen. This prince, Henry I., duke of Saxony, is commonly called Henry the Fowler, because of his fondness for fowling; and it is said he was in pursuit of birds when elected to the empire. He may be considered the founder of the Germanic empire; for that which was so named before his time was but an assemblage of petty states, loosely bound together, over which the emperor had little control.

Methodius lived to see these sad effects of Christianity was so widely spread in the empire. He had seven bishoprics under his control, and his subjects destroyed a great deal of his work. What remained had, at length, a beneficial effect on the manners. The savage state of these barbarians appeared in civilized Europe. made the empire more civilized; and some, who imperfectly executed the law, were the Gog and Magog, as the prophet Ezekiel. They rode horseback, and darted their arrows from their bows, and no hair except a few long tufts at the temples. They ate raw flesh and drank blood, and their prisoners of war, to use as a name, were as savage as the beasts. The women were as savage as the beasts, and each contained the seed of seven bodies, each containing seven men, and the castles built by them were named Siebenburgen to the emperor. They burned the cities, massacred the people, both in eastern Bavaria (now Austria) and in Hungary: they slew the king, and not a single church standing. Christianity disappeared; not a single Christian remained at the end of thirty years. They extended their ravages to Hamburg, and the cities, robbers and destroyers like wolves, along the Rhine, they wasted the land into Italy, as far as Pavia, which was in the height of these calamities. In the year 955, Charles the Great, emperor, Louis IV. died, Charles was his successor, but rejected all

In his first engagement with the Hungarians, Henry was entirely defeated, and obliged to retreat to a strong fortress. They spread like a deluge as far as the Elbe. Seeing the country's weakness, the emperor determined to purchase peace by paying the barbarians an annual tribute; and for nine years he thus kept them off, whilst he diligently prepared for subsequent safety and resistance. His arrangements entirely altered the face of Germany. Up to that time the only towns lay along the Rhine and the Danube, and the population was scattered in detached dwellings, or mean unprotected villages; but Henry caused every place which had a church to be walled round, and obliged a ninth part of the neighbouring peasantry to reside within the walls. Those left outside brought in a third of their harvest, and had barns and dwellings within, to make use of in time of danger. These enclosures appeared, at first, a kind of bondage, but, by degrees, the citizens learned industry and useful arts; and, as the emperor ordered that all solemn meetings, marriage festivities, and traffic, should be held within the walls, they became reconciled to the confinement.

Henry's next means of security was the increase of his army, by offering a general pardon to all banditti who would enlist in it; he also created marquises, after the

example of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers, and supplied them with soldiers and provisions. The institution of the military games, called tournaments, in which the nobles vied with each other in the skilful use of arms, is also attributed to Henry.

When the emperor thought his mode of defence complete, he called a general assembly, and asked his people if they would continue to give up their treasures, and those of the church, into the hands of the barbarians, or attempt to free themselves from the yoke? They returned the answer which he desired, and in the ninth year he dismissed the Hungarian messengers, who came for the usual tribute, empty-handed.

In 933, the oppressors entered Germany with their whole force, and Henry, then in declining health, rose from his sick bed to lead his army against them. He exhorted his troops to fight boldly against the Hungarians, as the enemies of God. A standard, called the banner of the archangel Michael, was unfurled for their encouragement; and, as they advanced to battle, the Greek chaunt called *Kyrie Eleison* (O Lord, have mercy) was loudly sung. The two armies met at Merseburgh, and the Hungarians were totally defeated with terrible slaughter, and such as escaped left most of their prisoners behind them.

The year before this battle took place, Henry sent ambassadors to Athelstan to seek one of his sisters in marriage for Otho, his son and heir. The king of England accordingly sent two of the princesses into Germany with a magnificent train. Otho chose Editha; and Adiva, her sister, was married to the duke of Aquitain.

Henry carried on other successful wars; and his fame was so great that the pope, Leo VII., offered to anoint him with the title of Augustus, at Rome, if he would relieve Italy from civil war, by becoming its master. He set out with this intention; but an apoplectic seizure compelled him to turn back, and he died at Mansleben, A.D. 936.

We do not here commence the history of Otho, Athelstan's brother-in-law, because we place him at the head of our next period, as being the most remarkable sovereign of his age.

The times of Alfred's son and grandson were times of indescribable wickedness and misery at Rome. Marozia and Theodora, women of vile character, had such unbounded influence, that for many years they raised to the popedom whom they pleased, and made the popes either the tools or the partners of their criminal passions. In 913, John X., Theodora's lover, took up arms against the Saracens, and with help from Constantinople drove them out of Italy; he also prevented Berenger from making himself master of Rome. But some years after, Marozia married Guy, duke of Spoleto, Berenger's rival; and, wishing to get the entire power, she caused the pope to be seized and smothered to death, A.D. 928. Being mistress of Rome, she then raised to the papal chair Leo VI., but caused him to be murdered a few months after. Her next tool was an obscure person, who only lived two years; and she then procured the elevation of her own son at the age of twenty-five. He was called John XI., and acted under her direction. Shortly after, Marozia was suspected of the murder of her own husband; and as soon as he was dead, she married Hugh, who had made himself king of Lombardy, and put him in possession of Rome. But Alberic, the son of her first husband, and his successor in the dukedom of Spoleto, raised an army and drove Hugh out of Rome, and both Marozia and her son died in prison.

In 936, a Roman, called Leo VII. became pope; and it was he who invited the Emperor Henry I. into Italy, to calm the existing tumults. He is described as a man of great zeal and piety; and the least appearance of morality must have been conspicuous at Rome amidst such abounding iniquity. The light, whatever it was, was speedily withdrawn, as he died in 939, shortly before the death of Athelstan.

Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus) bore the title of Augustus from the commencement of this century till his death in 959. His particular tastes, and want of ambition left the exercise of imperial authority in other hands; and there is little occasion to refer to him in the general history of the empire. At the death of his father and uncle, the

government was left to Zoe, his mother ; and, whilst she and her favourites sacrificed the public good to their own interests, Constantine continued his studies.

The Bulgarians twice besieged Constantinople during Zoe's regency, defeated several of her generals, ravaged Macedonia and Thrace, and took Adrianople. The need of a stronger arm was felt.

In 919, Romanus Lecapenus, a naval general, on his return from a successful expedition against these barbarian foes, was invited by the people to deliver them from the oppressions of the empress and her ministers, and to take the guardianship of the young prince. He at once took the supreme command, with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, and received the appellation of the Father of the Emperor.

Romanus was an ambitious man ; and, not satisfied with his own elevation, he successively bestowed the imperial title on his three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine ; and though he gave his daughter Helena to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the hereditary emperor held the fifth instead of the first rank in the state. He was of an amiable and religious turn of mind, and inclined to quiet pursuits ; therefore he neither resented the injustice, nor excited the jealousy, of Romanus. Reading and writing, music and painting, occupied his time in a retired quarter of the imperial palace, and it is said he increased the small revenue that was afforded him by the sale of some of his pictures. One of his literary works was the life of the emperor Basil, his grandfather ; and, though he had no spirits for active engagement in war or government, he wrote a discourse on the art of arranging a land army and naval force in order of battle, and two books giving an account of the state of the empire in his time ; he also wrote a treatise on the art of governing—said to be intended for the instruction of his son Romanus—in which he investigated the origin of several nations, and gave their history with a series of their princes and rulers.

Not content with being an author himself, this learned emperor in his later years drew to the court various literary persons, and went to much expense in endeavouring to revive the study of the arts and sciences. He caused the writings of the ancients to be collected, and employed a

number of able pens in making extracts from them ; he hoped, probably, by giving the Greeks a taste, to make them seek after the whole ; but it came to pass, through their indolence, that they were satisfied with these selections, and the original works were so neglected that many of them were completely lost, and their merits can only be judged of by such fragments as were at this time preserved.

In the latter part of his life, Constantine VII. is said to have indulged in sloth and intemperance : his learning, however, and other good qualities, gained him the respect of the people ; and, though he never was a blessing to them through wise rule, he was not a curse to them, like some emperors, by exercising oppression. A few years after the death of Athelstan, a bloodless revolution removed from the palace Romanus and his sons ; but it left the power in the hands of Helena, as Constantine was disinclined to make use of it. Romanus, from the time of his elevation had ceased to display either the martial spirit or the moral virtues that had previously attracted popular regard. The Bulgarians obtained such advantage that they even proclaimed their khan emperor in the suburbs of the capital, A.D. 922. After they were repulsed, the Russians appeared, as we mention elsewhere, and, though unable to attack the city, they pillaged all the coasts of Asia Minor. Romanus, like many other princes, ruined himself in exalting his children ; and, at the death of his eldest son, the two younger conspired to dethrone him. Whilst he rested at noon—an hour when strangers were denied access—they privately introduced some armed men, who threw a monastic dress over the reposing emperor, and forcibly conveyed him to an island in the Propontis—a settlement of monks. In the tumult that followed, Constantine Porphyrogenitus seemed the only object of public concern. Romanus and his sons had wearied the people by their vices ; and when Helena either revealed to her husband that her brothers intended to murder him, or falsely accused them of such a design, Stephen and Constantine were seized and carried away to the same island to which they had banished their father. Romanus met them on the beach, and reproached them for the filial ingratitude and folly which had caused their common ruin, and then, with a bitter smile, offered them a share of his vegetable diet

and a drink of water—the hard monastic fare for which they had exchanged the luxuries of the imperial palace, A. D. 944.

CHAP. X.

THE ARABIAN EMPIRE.—ITS MOST BRILLIANT PERIOD IN SPAIN UNDER ABDERRAHMAN III., 912-961.—CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD.—MOCTADI'S ARMY AND PALACE.—FANATICISM OF THE CARMATHIANS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FATIMITE DYNASTY IN EGYPT, AND THE BOWIDE DYNASTY IN PERSIA.—AL RADHI, THE LAST OF THE CALIPHS DISTINGUISHED FOR POWER, MAGNIFICENCE, AND LEARNING.—TENDENCY OF THE KORAN.—SCRIPTURAL PORTRAITURE OF MAHOMETANISM.

THE period through which we are now passing is one of remarkable brilliancy through the whole range of Mahometan dominion from West to East—a brilliancy, indeed, which thenceforwards rapidly declines: we shall take this opportunity of describing a little more particularly, the outward show, the comforts and refinements, and the solid learning, which appeared throughout the Arabian empire, in the darkest and dullest age of Christendom.

In our last volume, we gave an anticipatory glance at this period in Spain, and some trifling repetition will here be excusable. Abderrahman III., great grandson of Mohammed I., and a descendant of the first Abderrahman, came to the throne in A. D. 912, and his well-known character and great endowments, caused him to be hailed with joy throughout Mahometan Spain. He was the first of his family to assume the titles of “the Prince of the Believers,” and “the Defender of the Faith of God,” thus taking upon himself all the honours and rights of a Caliph. The partizans of the Abbasside Caliphs were highly excited, but their jealousy was of no avail; and from that time the name of the Caliph of Bagdad was omitted in the public prayers of Spain, and no other successor of Mahomet than their own sovereign riveted the obedient eye of the nation. Abderrahman was as celebrated for his stern justice as Brutus in more ancient

times. Abdallah, his eldest son, conspired against the life of Alhakem, his youngest, and the father sentenced him to death. Alhakem in vain besought him that his brother might be spared. The Caliph replied, "Thy humane request becomes thee well, and if I were a private man it should be granted; but as a king I owe to my people and my successors an example of justice. I deeply lament the fate of my son; I shall lament it through life: but neither thy tears nor my grief shall save him."

But his people thought his rigour extreme in this instance; and a dark shade fell over Abderrahman's own mind from the time of his son's execution. To a poet who wrote him some consolatory verses, he replied in mournful poetry, expressing his regrets. The encouragement that was given to commerce and agriculture occasioned great prosperity in Spain; and the Caliph's revenue is said to have amounted to six millions sterling. He maintained a large army, and a considerable naval force, and undertook great public works in many of the chief towns. His most splendid erection was his own palace near Cordova, already described; it took nearly half his reign to complete, and cost one half year's income. Architecture was an art in which the Saracens excelled: their materials, obtained from the cities which they ruined, were fashioned by them into novel forms, and they were the originators of the Gothic style. The famous palace of Alhambra, in Granada, still remains as a memorial of their art, the ceilings, the floors, and the paint scarcely injured after the lapse of centuries. But far more pains were bestowed on the interiors of their buildings, than on their outward ornament. No expense was spared to promote ease or comfort; and their fashion of admitting the light from above, and not allowing windows which would command a prospect of external scenery, seemed intended to detain the eye on the highly embellished walls and ceilings, and the internal decorations of the apartments, as well as to ensure their privacy. The ornaments were of the most gorgeous description; the rooms were glittering with gold, and gay with the most brilliant colours; blue, red, golden-yellow, interspersed at times with white, were their favourite hues, but they occasionally used purple, green, and orange. Modern artists have been unable to equal either the harmony

or brilliancy of the Moorish painting. The buildings were usually adorned with ornamental scrolls, on which were inscribed choice sentences from the Koran, or from the works of Arabian poets and moralists. The inscriptions in their palaces were either in praise of God, or of the different sovereigns: some of them were specimens of extravagant flattery addressed to the reigning despot. The splendour of the Moorish dwellings was, if possible, eclipsed by that of the apparel of the ladies, especially as they appeared at the moschs. Their passion for dress was excessive; and one of their own writers describing their gorgeous robes, adorned with gold and precious stones, likens them to the flowers of spring bespangling a beautiful meadow. The early Mahometans thought that the laws of the Koran against images forbade an indulgence in the fine arts; and, in their first buildings, they only used that style of ornament called Arabesque, ornamental scrolls, flowers, and leaves, rejecting the figures of men and animals; but, by degrees, these scruples were abandoned, and they cultivated both sculpture and painting. Abderrahman had a statue of his favourite wife. The whole of this sovereign's intercourse with Constantine was of an amicable nature; he needed Greek artists to complete his designs; he imitated the luxuries of the imperial palace, and his fame brought him rich embassies from Constantine Porphyrogenitus. They both preferred literature to war. Abderrahman, during his whole reign, which lasted nearly fifty years, gained no territory from the Christians: he was seldom, however, entirely free from war either with them, or some rebel within his dominions. This was the sovereign who, in reviewing all his greatness, could only remember fourteen happy days in half a century of years. His son, Alhakem, was excessively fond of literature, and continually employed agents in purchasing scarce and curious books; he himself wrote to every author of reputation for a copy of his works, for which he paid liberally, and such books as he could not buy he caused to be copied. The unfinished catalogue of his library filled forty-four volumes. Either at this time, or somewhat later, 280,000 volumes were accumulated in Cordova, and more than seventy public libraries were to be found in Andalusia.

The Arabian orators, poets, and tale-writers were emi-

nent for original genius. Their annalists were extremely numerous; and one full history of Spain occupied six authors successively, and was only completed after the labour of 115 years. Biography occupied its own place on their book-shelves; and the history of distinguished camels and horses formed another subject for their busy pens. Encyclopedias, pharmacopeias, gazetteers, and dictionaries of science were first formed by Saracenic industry. Their public libraries had globes and books of travels. Their ardent pursuit of astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, philosophy, and medical science, has been already mentioned. The Jews, who were famous as physicians, studied at the Saracen schools of medicine. In the useful arts of agriculture, gardening, metallurgy, and the preparing of leather, they were equally successful. They polished leather, both black and red, to the brilliancy of a mirror, and made use of it as a writing-material. To the Saracens also is attributed the invention of the lute: and the organ, the flute, the harp, the tabor, the mandoline, and, perhaps, the bagpipe, were in common use among them. One of their musicians, it is said, could excite his audience either to tears or laughter, and then lull them to sleep. We are here speaking not exclusively of Spain, but of Mahometan talents and habits from West to East. Rhyme and the Morris-dance are still common English remembrancers of the song and dance of the Moslems.

Moctadi, caliph of Bagdad (908—932), for many years Abderrahman's cotemporary, seems to have rivalled him in magnificence and taste. His army, including horse and foot, consisted of 160,000 men; his state-officers wore splendid apparel, with belts shining with gold and gems. Seven thousand black and white attendants served in his palace and seraglio; and the porters and doorkeepers were in number seven hundred. Barges superbly decorated were seen on the Tigris waiting his pleasure. In his palace hung 38,000 pieces of tapestry, 12,500 being of silk embroidered with gold; the carpets were 22,000. A hundred lions, each having a keeper, formed a part of the royal display: and, among other objects of a rare and costly nature, was a tree of gold and silver, with birds of every sort also formed of gold and silver on its many

branches ; and, by machinery, the branches moved, and the birds warbled.

All this magnificence was spread out before the eyes of ambassadors from Constantinople for the honour of the caliphate ; but Moctadi was, in fact, himself a mere pageant : he was twice deposed, and reinstated by the Turkish guards. He was at last stabbed by an assassin, hired by his own brother, whom he had thrown into prison.

It is a singular fact, that Moctadi's mother presided in a criminal court ; but the consideration shown to females in some periods of Mahometan power, might arise out of the honour paid to Mahomet's widow, Ayesha, whose word was as law. Moctadi was distinguished for the relief which he gave to his Christian subjects from certain oppressive exactions. He was, however, a weak and dissolute prince. At the beginning of his reign, Almadi, a descendant of Hosein, the son of Fatima, became master of Western Africa, and was the first of a long race of Fatimite caliphs. The Carmathians too, under the terrible Taher, stormed and plundered Mecca, put to the sword 30,000 Mussulmans, and defiled the Caaba. Rahes, the caliph who succeeded Moctadi, was blinded and deposed by the Turkish guards after he had reigned two years ; and on the Friday, instead of reciting public prayers in the grand mosch of Bagdad, his voice was heard at the door, saying, " Remember him, who, once your caliph, now implores your alms." Al Radhi, his nephew, was placed on the throne, A.D. 934. He was the last caliph who possessed any considerable temporal or spiritual power. " The last," says Abulfeda, the Arabian historian of these times, " who harangued the people from the pulpit, who passed the cheerful hours of leisure with men of learning and taste, whose expenses, resources, and treasures, whose table or magnificence, had any resemblance to those of the ancient caliphs." In the second year of his reign, his power was reduced to a mere shadow, by the election of Raik, one of his officers, as a chief among the guards. The title of Emir Al Omara (or chief of chiefs) of Bagdad, was bestowed on him ; and, like the mayors of the palace, or the counts of Paris, in the time of the sluggish kings of France, this officer was henceforward the true sovereign. He alone disposed of the treasure, the troops,

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and the offices of the state; and, as the Caliph's deputy, even officiated in the public worship. The Emirs kept the Caliphs, as it were, prisoners in their own palace, nor did they respect the life of the nominal head of their religion, if he did not attend to their desires.

Raik persuaded Al Radhi to pay the Carmathian chief 50,000 pieces of gold, annually, that he might let the pilgrims go to and from Mecca without molestation. Radhi's vizier was the inventor of the modern Arabic characters; and some copies of the Koran being written in it were considered the most beautiful that had ever been seen. Envious of Raik's power, the vizier wrote to Jahkin, a Turkish chief, to come and take his place. His letter fell into the Emir's hands, and the writer was sentenced to lose the guilty member that had traced it. Some entreated that the hand which first had formed such beautiful characters might be spared; but Raik, instead of mitigating the severity of the sentence, deprived the vizier both of his hand and his tongue. Jahkin, however, came to Bagdad, and superseded Raik as Emir. Radhi died soon after of dropsy, the consequence of excess. He is numbered among the Arabian Poets, and was also renowned for his eloquence; he was affable and liberal, especially to the learned; but withal he was the prey of indolence and voluptuousness, temptations into which the unwarlike Caliphs usually fell. At the death of Radhi, the once undivided Mahometan empire consisted of ten parts. Raik, who had fled from Bagdad, made himself sovereign of Bassorah, Cufa, and the neighbouring parts of Arabia. Syria, Egypt, and the rest of Northern Africa, except the coast opposite Spain, which belonged to the Spanish Caliph, formed sometimes one sovereignty, sometimes two, till the Fatimite Caliphs at last prevailed. Chorasán had its sovereign; so had Georgia, and the neighbouring countries. The Carmathian Imam had a part of Arabia. Persia was divided between two brothers of the Bowide family, one of them reigning at Shiraz, the other at Ispahan. Under their sway, the language and genius of Persia revived.

We must add a few words concerning Egypt. After its first separation, it was again united to the Caliphate of Bagdad; but, in 968, Moez, the Fatimite Caliph of

Western Africa, extended his dominion to the banks of the Nile, and suppressed the name of the Caliph of Bagdad in the public prayers, introducing in its stead his own. His son, Ayez, tried to add Syria to his possessions; but the people of Aleppo, finding themselves besieged by an Egyptian army, and ill-defended by their sovereign at Bagdad, called in the aid of the Greeks, and drove out the invaders. Ayez died of a surfeit caused by drinking buffalo's milk. In his illness, he sought the prayers of Christians and Jews, as well as Mahometans, desiring them in three bodies to ascend a neighbouring mountain, and there pray for "a wretch, who knew not the extent of his own power." At the commencement of the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt, a new city was built at Cairo, about three quarters of a league from the old town. The astrologers were consulted as to the most favourable time, and, according to their directions, the workmen were prepared to lay the entire foundation of the new town simultaneously, as soon as the planet Mars was seen in a certain point of the heavens; but the superstitious people noticed that a crow settled on the measuring line at the instant the work was commenced, and regarded it as an omen of the future overthrow of the place. The houses, in general, were low and mean, and the streets narrow; but the interior of the Caliph's palace was splendidly ornamented, and the moschs were very numerous and rich. To every mosch, as in other Mahometan cities, a school was attached, and Cairo soon rivalled Bagdad and Cordova in the multitude of its learned men, and the proficiency of its students. It has been said of the Saracens, that in their conquests, they made a garden a wilderness; but, in their different settlements, they more than restored whatever they had destroyed. This latter observation doubtless holds good with regard to everything of literature, art, and science; but they swept away a religion, and a standard of morality which, however fallen from its original purity, they by no means replaced. Strict obedience to the Koran would have obliged its professors not to stop short till they had put the whole world under its bonds, or rendered it a field of blood. The polygamy which Mahomet's law, in contradiction of the pure and perfect law of Christ, allowed, was a fruitful source of crime and misery and confusion.

tended his dominion to the banks of the Euphrates, and introduced the name of the Caliph of Bagdad, introducing in its stead his own. His dominions extended from Syria to his possessions; but the people of the country, themselves besieged by an Egyptian army, were rescued by their sovereign at Bagdad, and drove out the invaders. He was cured by drinking buffalo's milk. He was aided by the prayers of Christians and Jews, desiring them in three bodies to sustain, and there pray for "a wretched man of his own power." At the fall of the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt, a new dynasty arose, about three quarters of a century later. The astrologers were consulted as to the future, and, according to their directions, were prepared to lay the entire foundation of the new empire, as soon as the planet Mars should appear in a point of the heavens; but the astrologers said that a crow settled on the mountain where the work was commenced, and regarded as a sign of the future overthrow of the place. The new empire was low and mean, and the palaces of the Caliph's palace were splendid. Moschs were very numerous and magnificent. In other Mahometan cities, a school of learning soon rivalled Bagdad and Cordova. The learned men, and the proficiency in the sciences, were said of the Saracens, that in the East there was a garden a wilderness; but, in the West, they were more than restored whatever was lost. His latter observation doubtless is applicable to everything of literature, art, and science, except away a religion, and a standard of morality. It never fallen from its original purity. Strict obedience to the law of God is the professors not to stop short till they are under its bonds, or rendered free. The polygamy which Mahomet's law has made a pure and perfect law of Christ, allowed of crime and misery and con-

It is said that Abderrahman II., a prince in whom his people gloried, left forty-five sons and forty-one daughters. A venomous religion, bearing a great show of reverence for the unity and majesty of God, involving so many millions in its deadly snare, cannot be expected to have passed unnoticed in that wide range of prospective vision, which the Lord gave to his servants the prophets (see Amos. iii. 7). We believe, therefore, that a full portraiture of Mahometanism is to be found in the Bible. Dan. viii. 23, 25, and Rev. ix., are commonly judged to contain its history; but these Scriptures may yet have a future meaning. To this subject we may have occasion to return, in noticing the farther triumphs of the followers of Mahomet.

As the moth to the candle, weak man rushes to the light that lures him to destruction, but, without divine guidance, turns not to that Blessed One in following whom we have *the light of life*. The whole history of the Mahometan Empire, like that of the Greeks and Romans, proves that man may attain to the utmost skill in the use of language without learning to speak that which is well-pleasing to Him who formed the tongue, that he may arrive at a high pitch of refinement of manners without having his conversation in any manner God-ward, and that he may carry literature and arts and sciences to a point we may call perfection, and yet, in the judgment of God be reckoned without *understanding* (see the book of Proverbs for the Scriptural meaning of this word; see also Jer. ix. 23, 24, and Ps. xlix. 20). "Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish."

CHAP. XI.

Otho I, and his Times. A. D. 936—937.

ACCESSION OF OTHO I.—BOHEMIA, INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—STORY OF WENCESLAUS, AND HIS BROTHER BOLES-LAUS, THE CRUEL.—DENMARK, UNDER GORM THE OLD AND HAROLD BLAATAND.—OTHO'S CONTESTS WITH THE HUNGARIANS, AND THEIR FIRST RECEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—ITALY AND ROME IN THE DAYS OF OTHO.—HIS DEATH.—LOUIS OUTREMER.

IN the earliest diets of Germany, as in the national assemblies of France, every free-man had a right to be present; and the king came to consult his subjects about their common interests. But, by degrees, the nobles and the higher clergy rose to the rank of princes having separate territorial jurisdictions, and the diet became an assembly of these heads of states of which the Emperor was accounted chief; the free cities also had their representatives. Otho's title was confirmed by the hereditary princes, bishops, and deputies of the chief cities, according to a promise made to his dying father, and he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 986. He reigned thirty-six years; and during this period earned the titles of the Gréat—the Conqueror of Italy—and the Restorer of the Empire of Charlemagne. He is said to have been very amiable in his private life, and possibly the severity which he used in his attempts to christianise pagan nations and to purify Rome, arose out of a zeal to extend the outward blessings of Christianity, which was not tempered by Christian knowledge. His care to provide instruction for the barbarians by erecting bishoprics, and supplying them with the best teachers that he could find, and his diligence in multiplying schools throughout his dominions, convince us of his sincere desire to be a benefactor, and not merely a conqueror, or a ruler.

Otho began his reign with an upright administration of home-affairs, and efforts to preserve peace with foreign princes. A council was held at Worms almost immediately after he became emperor, to settle the distracted affairs of Bohemia—a country made dependent on Moravia by the Emperor Arnolph, when that kingdom came into friendly relations with the empire.

We must go back a little in the history of Bohemia, to understand the circumstances in which Otho was required to be arbiter. Bohemia was wrapped in pagan darkness after Christianity had spread through Moravia, and when Boriwoy, the duke, went to do homage to Svatopluk, he found himself, as a pagan, judged unworthy to sit at table with a Christian king: he also heard that Svatopluk was in high favour at the imperial court because of his new profession. With merely worldly views Boriwoy applied to Methodius for instruction in Christianity, but, we are told, he found a greater good than he sought, and returned home joyful, having believed with his heart. He could not, however, persuade his people, and being opposed by them, he returned to Moravia with Ludmilla his wife; and there obtaining more knowledge, was better prepared to be useful to others. Svatopluk was intending to restore the duke by force, when the Bohemians recalled him, finding they suffered from his absence. On his return he took with him several Moravian teachers, and his family were baptized with a great many of his subjects. Churches and schools were built, and the useful translation of Methodius made the Scriptures known in another Pagan country. Wratislaus, the next duke, was favourable to Christianity; but he married Drahomire, a bigoted pagan; and of their two sons, Wenceslaus, the elder, was brought up by his Christian grandmother Ludmilla; and Boleslaus, the younger, fell under the influence of his mother. At the death of Wratislaus, the Christians rallied round his eldest son, the pagans around the youngest; and Drahomire, in order to deprive the former of their chief support, sent persons to strangle Ludmilla. For thirty-six years she had laboured to spread the name of Christ; and when the messengers of death arrived, she only asked them to alter the mode of execution that she might have the privilege of shedding her blood for Christ, in acknowledgment of his blood shed for her: she was accordingly beheaded. Wenceslaus was a witness of this last scene; and the impression that his grandmother had given him in favour of Christianity could not be effaced. His mother tried to deprive him of all instruction; but he managed to receive the visits of the clergy by night, and obtained the Scriptures.

Drahomire began an exterminating persecution; but the Christians, after some hesitation, took up arms. She then began to burn the churches, even that which contained her husband's remains; and the nobles seeing that total ruin impended, determined to divide the country between the two brothers.

Wenceslaus is represented by his biographers as the model of a royal saint. His memory was held sacred by the Bohemians, and their kings retained his image on their coins. He rebuilt at his own expense the churches destroyed by his mother, and gave the names of Methodius and Ludmilla to two which he erected at Prague. Attracted by his religious fame, monks and priests came to him from all parts of Germany, bringing him books and relics; and he did not fail to reward them. He delighted to help the poor, to clothe the naked, and to visit the sick; he was mild and affable to all, and surpassed all around him in diligence, devotion, and domestic virtue. By day, he pursued the duties of his royal calling; by night, he prayed and sang psalms. Moreover, according to the practice of the more austere monks, he wore a rough hair-cloth under his other garments, observed strict fasts, and went daily barefoot to church in all weathers, carrying his offering; and in the time of harvest he went with a few noble attendants to reap the wheat which was used in making the bread of the sacrament.

This account, however coloured by partiality, or tintured by that which the superstition of the age alone rendered admirable, sufficiently proves that Wenceslaus was no common character; and we have an interesting mark of his desire to obey the Lord, in the fact of his never pronouncing sentence of death upon any criminal, because he interpreted the words "Judge or condemn not," in their literal sense.

It is not surprising that when the two brothers were summoned to appear before Otho, that emperor treated Wenceslaus with marked distinction; and, being anxious to re-unite the divided province of Bohemia under a Christian ruler, he insisted upon crowning him king with his own hands. To the credit of Wenceslaus, it is, however, recorded, that though he was the eldest, he did not wish

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represented by his biographers as saint. His memory was held sacred and their kings retained his image built at his own expense the church, and gave the names of Metze to which he erected at Prague. Afterwards, monks and priests came to him, bringing him books and relics; he rewarded them. He delighted to be naked, and to visit the sick; he surpassed all around him in piety and domestic virtue. By day, he pursued his royal calling; by night, he practised piety, according to the practice of the saints, he wore a rough hair-cloth under his garment, observed strict fasts, and went daily to church in all weathers, carrying his offering; and he went with a few noble attendants, which was used in making the bread of

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to be exalted at his brother's expense. Boleslaus was ambitious and revengeful; and, from the moment that the emperor excited his jealousy, he sought his brother's life. Some assassins employed by him slew the new-made king as he was entering a church.

Otho, for many years, carried on war with Boleslaus, who was surnamed the Cruel, on account of this fratricide; he only obtained peace by promising tribute to the emperor, and religious liberty to his subjects, A.D. 950. We are informed that he repented of his murderous deed, and in sign of penitence caused his young son to be baptized by the name of Christian, and devoted to a monastic life; he also spent his last years in propagating Christianity in his dominions; and, the year before he died, gave his sister Dombrouka in marriage to the duke of Poland, on condition of his making a Christian profession. After the nuptials, the duke Mieczlaus was baptized with several of his nobles. A.D. 966.

We have observed Otho's concern for the establishment of Christianity in Bohemia; we shall see him equally anxious with respect to Denmark. Gorm the Old (so named because he reigned nearly fifty years), became chief king of Denmark in 883, and subdued all the petty kings. His wife Thyra knew something of Christianity, and long kept him from being a persecutor, but being defeated by the imperial troops, he connected all the Christians in his country with his enemies, the Germans, and declared their profession a capital offence. The clergy were killed or banished, and the Church in Denmark seemed ready to perish, when Harold Blaaland (black-tooth), the king's son rose up to protect it, at the risk of his life. In 934, Gorm purchased peace with Henry I. by ceding a part of his territories, and promising no more to oppose the preachers of the Gospel. At this time there was a good archbishop of Bremen, named Unnis. He laboured most diligently as soon as the way was open. The queen Thyra received him with joy, as did Harold, who then shared his father's government; but Gorm died an idolater, about the time of the death of Athelstan. Harold Blaaland reigned like his father, nearly half a century; and though he never

gave any signs of real regeneration, and remained to the end addicted to piracy, he tried to civilize his people by laws, and favoured Christianity in order to soften their ferocity. The Emperor Otho was in friendly intercourse with Unnis, and made the Christian profession in Denmark more outwardly respectable by introducing several new bishops; but Harold complained, because, at the same time, he meddled in political affairs. In 968, he attempted to retake a district seized by Otho, but the emperor defeated him in battle, and, as conditions of peace, Harold and his wife, and their son Sweyn, were obliged to be baptized. The latter was called Sweyn-Otho, because the Emperor was his god-father; but he grew up, as we shall hereafter relate, a persecutor.

We must now refer to Otho's contests with the Hungarians. These barbarians, after being shut out of Germany by Henry the Fowler, long distressed the Greek empire; but some knowledge of Christianity had reached them, and fifty years after their first alarming entrance into Europe, Bologudes, one of their chiefs, went to Constantinople to demand baptism. His good reception induced Gylas, another chief, to follow his example; and on his return, a zealous monk was sent with him, created by the patriarch bishop of Hungary. Gylas proved his sincerity by ceasing to attack the empire, and freeing his Christian prisoners; but Bologudes pursued an opposite course, and, being taken prisoner by Otho, was crucified. It was probably in revenge for the cruel death of that chief, that the Hungarians renewed their incursions into Germany; and Otho's danger was so much the greater, as the dukes of Swabia, Lorraine, and Bavaria, who were in arms against him, made alliance with the barbarians. In 955, they entered the country, boasting that except the earth opened under their feet, or the heavens crushed them from above, they could not be conquered; but they were checked at Augsburg by the bold defence of Ulric its bishop; and Otho, having subdued the rebel dukes, induced his people to unite in facing the common danger, and led a powerful army into the plains in which the Hungarians had formerly been defeated. His camp presented a striking

of real regeneration, and remained a pirate, he tried to civilize his people, and spread Christianity in order to secure the Emperor Otho was in friendly intercourse. The Emperor made the Christian profession in the year 968, and was made respectable by introducing several reforms. The world complained, because, at the same time, he was engaged in political affairs. In 968, he attempted to seize by Otho, but the emperor died, and, as conditions of peace, Harold Godwinson Sweyn, were obliged to be his son. Harold Godwinson Sweyn-Otho, because the Emperor; but he grew up, as we shall hereafter see.

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spectacle; mass was celebrated there—the emperor himself prostrate on the ground confessed his sins—all fasted and prayed, and forgave each other's mutual offences. It was the feast of St. Lawrence; and whilst Ulric tore off a piece of his episcopal robe and raised it on a lance as a banner, assuring the soldiers that the saint would overthrow their enemy the devil, Otho vowed, if he got the victory, he would turn a new palace that he was building at Merseburg into a church to be consecrated to that saint, and make the place a bishop's see. When the army was wound up to a pitch of superstitious excitement, Otho, holding the lance given him at his consecration, uttered a short prayer, and made the first charge upon the enemy. The battle was terrible; several German chiefs fell, and two bishops were carried off the field dangerously wounded; but Otho was victorious, and the Hungarians were slain by thousands, or drowned in the waters of the Lech: 60,000 had come to the battle, only 7,000 escaped, and from that time the nation ceased to disquiet their neighbours. The remnant of the ancient Christian church left in Pannonia had in measure leavened the pagan mass; Gylas, who had not joined in the invasion of Germany, still lived, and probably influenced other chiefs towards Christianity. Geysa, who was chosen duke in 972, married Sarolta, the daughter of Gylas, and by her persuasion he received Christian teachers at his court, and showed kindness to Christians, though severe to his other subjects. Sarolta, when a pagan, rivalled the men of her country in drinking and horsemanship, and in a furious moment had killed a man with her own hand; but, on assuming a Christian profession, her brutal habits were laid aside, and all her ardour of temperament was used in the propagation of that religion which had wrought this change in her mode of life. On hearing that Geysa was peaceably disposed, Otho sent Bruno, a bishop, to offer him his alliance, on condition of his allowing the freest preaching throughout the country. Several marks of friendship passed between them; and the Hungarian chief was baptized in the year that Otho died, A.D. 973.

Otho's connection with the affairs of Italy and Rome, remains to be related. After the deposition of the emperor Charles the Fat, Berenger, duke of Trieste, was thirty years the chief of the princes of Italy, and his successors bore the title of king. Lothaire II., the third of these kings, died childless in 950, leaving a young widow named Adelaide. Berenger, marquis of Ivrea, Lothaire's guardian and successor, desired that the queen should become the wife of his son, and when, on account of his deformity, she refused, he violently deprived her of all her possessions, and confined her in a tower on the lake Garda. Her almoner contrived to make a secret subterranean passage, by which she escaped with her attendant priest, and in a fishing-boat they reached the neighbouring forest, where they lived for some time on fish. She afterwards found refuge with an Italian chieftain. In the beginning of her misfortunes, Adelaide had implored the aid of Otho; and when he became a widower, through the loss of his English wife, he determined to seek in marriage the queen of Italy. He accordingly led an army against Berenger, compelled him to do homage for his possessions, and brought home Adelaide as his wife.

She made a good empress; but her step-son, Ludolph, in his jealousy of her influence, engaged some of the turbulent nobles to unite with him in a rebellion against his father. The emperor, however, was far their superior, and Ludolph being besieged in Ratisbon, was reduced to such extremity, that he gladly accepted permission to retire with a few followers. Again he rebelled, but quickly repenting, he contrived to throw himself at his father's feet whilst he was hunting, saying, "I return like the prodigal son, have pity on me; I have often deserved to die, but if you permit me to live, my future obedience will prove my repentance." Otho, like the father in the beautiful parable to which the young prince so affectingly referred, embraced his son, wept over him, and restored him to his favour. In 959, Ludolph was sent into Italy, to punish Berenger for breaking his oath of allegiance; but he died on the expedition, and the emperor took the event so much to heart, that he delayed going forth in person, and the duke got possession of all Lombardy. In 955, Adelaide, at the age

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age of fifty, gave birth to a son, and Otho, who was at this
time called into Italy by the pope, would not set out till he
had persuaded the Germanic diet to nominate the infant
Otho as his successor.

The popes during the reign of Otho must be briefly de-
scribed. Leo IV., whose good reputation we have men-
tioned as something extraordinary, did not long survive his
elevation. Stephen VIII., the next pope, was the emperor's
relative; but his German origin, and his ferocious spirit,
disgusted the Romans, and his face was so injured by an
attack made upon him in the streets, that he could never
again appear in public. About this time Boleslaus sent to
Rome to seek a bishop for Prague, but when his ambas-
sadors perceived that one pope was set up against another,
and that priests were fighting with each other in support
of the man of their choice, they returned without making
known their request. In 942, Martin III., a Roman, be-
came pope, and for four years there was no disturbance;
he built many churches, and founded charitable institutions.
His successor, Agapetus, held the popedom from 946 to
956, with the reputation of being a holy man; and it is
certain that during those ten years Rome had peace. At
his death, Alberic II., son of the infamous Marozia, pro-
cured the elevation of his son Octavian, then only eighteen,
and not in orders till after his election. In remembrance of
his uncle John XI. he was called John XII., and from that
time the popes commonly assumed a new name on the day
of their consecration. This young man, like the rest of
his wretched family, led a vicious life, and finding himself
powerless against Berenger and his son, the Marquis
Adelbert, he sent a letter to Otho, entreating him, for the
love of God and the holy apostles, to come and deliver
Rome "from the fangs of two monsters."

When Otho, with a large army, reached Pavia, Berenger
had fled, and the nobles and clergy having deposed the
tyrant, the archbishop of Milan crowned the emperor king
of Lombardy. On arriving at Rome, he was crowned by
the Pope, and an act was drawn up, written in letters of
gold, in which the Romans bound themselves never to elect
a pope, save in the presence of the emperor or his commis-
sioners; and Otho confirmed the donations made to the see

of Rome, on condition nothing should be done to contravene his authority or that of his descendants. The document was dated February 13, 962, and was signed by seven German bishops, five counts, two abbots, and a number of Italian priests. It is still preserved. Otho pursued Berenger, seized him, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment; but John XII., in the meanwhile repenting of having made the emperor master of Rome, received the marquis Adelbert, and conspired with him to throw off the yoke. Otho returned, and in 964, the pope was brought to trial for various crimes, as well as for his breach of faith. The German and Roman lords, forty bishops, and seventeen cardinal priests assembled in St. Peter's church to hear the case. John was convicted of sacrilege, adultery, and cruelty. He was accused of entirely disbelieving the religion of which he pretended to be the supreme chief, and of invoking the devil and heathen deities. The council deposed him, but left him at liberty; and, as his family had great influence, he stirred up the Romans, and dislodged Leo VIII., the pope elected in his room, as soon as Otho went to another part of Italy. Another council, called by John's authority, deposed Leo, and declared that neither bishops nor cardinals, much less the emperor who was a layman, could degrade a pope. The cardinal who had read the charge against John had his right hand cut off, and the registrar of the sentence was deprived of his tongue, his nose, and two of his fingers. Yet the agents in these barbarous proceedings quoted Scripture, and used the name of the Holy Ghost as their guide; and by some wholesome regulations deceived many as to their real spirit. About three months after this council was held, John XII. going on still in his wicked ways, was killed by a man whose wife he had taken away. The Romans still rejected Leo, the emperor's pope, and set up in his stead Benedict V.; and when Otho himself arrived, the gates were shut against him, and he was told that the prefect and senate of Rome, whose dignities had long been only nominal, had taken the government of the city. After a severe siege, the Romans surrendered; and, by the emperor's orders, the prefect was seated naked on an ass, and whipped through the streets, and then thrown into a dungeon where he died of hunger;

a part of the senators were hanged, and the consuls banished. Benedict laid aside his robes and was sent into exile, and Leo VIII., being restored, joined the Roman people and clergy in promising the emperor all that he demanded. They owned his right to choose a successor to the kingdom of Italy, to confirm the election of a pope, and to grant investiture to bishops. At the death of Leo, John XIII., a man of decent reputation, was appointed through Otho's influence, A.D. 965, and though once driven out by the faithless Romans, he was restored on the emperor's re-visiting Italy, and continued in office till his death in 972. In the same year that he came to the popedom, Boleslaus II., surnamed the Pious, succeeded his father, Boleslaus the Cruel; and from his warm profession of Christianity, the Christians of Bohemia expected so much that they assembled in the churches to sing praises to God, His sister, who appeared as devout as himself, undertook a journey to Rome, to seek a bishop for Prague, and John XIII. readily granted her desire, on condition that the Latin tongue should be introduced in the worship. On the day of the solemn entry of the first bishop, he and his suite chaunted *Te deum laudamus*; the king and his nobles sang in their own tongue. The people could not be reconciled to the Romish ritual; and this was the beginning of grievous troubles in Bohemia.

The year before his death, Otho raised to the popedom Benedict VI. He was imprisoned and strangled the year after the emperor's death, by order of Crescentius, the consul, a son of Pope John X. and the infamous Theodora. The strong hand of Otho no longer preserved order; and licentiousness, sedition, and murder, filled Rome with their various horrors. But when Otho, for the last time, quitted Rome, he left it in quietness, and no disturbance appearing in any part of his empire, he retired into his native Saxony, to seek the tranquillity which he needed after so many years of war and inquietude.

Otho is described as of high stature, with a commanding aspect, a bright daring eye, a ruddy complexion, and a profusion of fair hair; he wore a long beard: he spoke little but German, though he understood the dialect used in France, and the Slavonic language. It was late in life that he learned to read, and to know a little Latin. Hunting

and martial exercises were his favourite pleasures ; and he was in all the vigour of youth when he died.

Otho had an elder brother named Thankmar, the son of a wife whom his father had put away ; and, in the first year of his reign, as this prince had revolted against him, he caused him to be put to death, though he had sought refuge near the altar of a church. This was the chief stain on his humanity at the beginning of his career ; and we have now considered his after course.

In the hope of securing the favour of God, Otho and Adelaide his wife loaded the clergy and monks with riches ; but in this manner they only increased their ambition, their vices, and their indolence. Otho died in May, A.D. 973.

We have little more to record concerning Louis the Stranger, the contemporary of Otho. He neglected the arts of peace for those of war, and continued his quarrel with Hugh the Great till within a short period of his death. William Longsword, the duke of Normandy, who, being less loyal than his father, fought against the king, was assassinated in a private quarrel, and Louis got possession of Richard, his only child, under pretence of educating him, and kept him in his castle at Laon. Osmond, a faithful and noble attendant of the young duke, discovered that the king intended to destroy him, and taking the child from his bed, concealed him in a truss of hay, and thus carried him out on his back, under pretence of going to feed his horse. The lawful heir gained protection and support, and Louis was, at last, obliged to yield to him the possession of Normandy. The young duke married the daughter of Hugh, and, under the name of Richard the Fearless, is much celebrated by historians.

It is related that Fulk, count of Anjou, a learned nobleman of the court of Louis the Stranger, being once rallied by the king for singing among the children in the choir at Tours, and for his love of study, wrote to him as follows ; "Thou shouldest know, my lord, that an unlettered prince is no better than a crowned ass." Louis took the observation in good part, saying, "Truly, he is right, for learning is more suitable for kings, dukes, and counts, than for their inferior vassals." Louis died from a fall as he was gallop-

ing after a wolf that crossed his road in travelling to Paris, A.D. 954. His son, Lothaire II., succeeded him as king, but Hugh retained the chief power till his death two years after : his son, Hugh Capet, as count of Paris, attained still greater eminence. We will speak of them in the times of Otho II. Till the end of the reign of Otho I., France was in such a disturbed state, that three years of freedom from civil war were noticed as remarkable. Lothaire, however, did somewhat in controlling the feudal lords; and relieving the lower orders. It should be remembered that Lothaire's mother was the sister of Otho the Great.

CHAP. XII.

Times of Otho the Great.

CONSTANTINE VII. AND HIS SON ROMANUS II.—NICEPHORUS, GUARDIAN OF BASIL II., AND CONSTANTINE IX.—JOHN ZIMISCES, HIS MURDERER AND SUCCESSOR.—ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND GREEK EMPIRES.—FAME OF ZIMISCES.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE RUSSIANS.—THEIR WARS AND TREATIES WITH THE GREEKS.—OLGA'S CONVERSION.—HER SON SVATOSLAV, CZAR.—THE CALIPHS OF BAGDAD LOSE ALL POLITICAL POWER.—MAZZEDDIN, FOURTH FATIMITE CALIPH, SUBDUES ALL AFRICA AND EGYPT, AND BUILDS CAIRO.

THE literary emperor of the East continued his quiet studies for twenty-three years, whilst the military emperor of the West was pursuing his various wars. The administration of the Greek empire was left to the worthless ministers whom the empress Helena, in her love of change, rapidly made to succeed each other. Romanus II., the heir of the empire, was distinguished for his personal beauty, but it appears there was nothing else to admire in him. He was tall and straight as a young cypress, fair and florid, with sparkling eyes and an aquiline nose, strongly and finely proportioned, but he had neither mental nor moral attractions ; and when he arrived at his twentieth year, Theophano, his wife, a woman of low birth but masculine spirit and

ambition, either persuaded him to administer a deadly draught to his father, or gave it with her own hand, to hasten their exaltation to the throne, A.D. 959.

Constantine was lamented by the Greeks; and as the dead body, according to custom, lay in state in the vestibule of the palace, the civil and military officers, the patriarch, the clergy, and the senate, came to salute and bow down before it. A herald then cried aloud, "Arise, O king of the world, and obey the summons of the King of kings," and the funeral procession moved to the sepulchre. Romanus banished Helena his mother, and ill-treated his sisters, and wasted his own strength in vain amusements. The morning he passed in the circus; at noon he feasted with the senators; and afterwards played at tennis, or sailed across the Bosphorus to hunt on the Asiatic shore. Sometimes he killed three or four of the largest wild boars with his own hand, and returned to revel in his palace, and to boast of his day's work. In the meanwhile the Greek armies were not idle; and under two brothers, named Nicephorus Phocas and Leo, they triumphed over the Saracens.

At the end of four years Romanus fell a victim either to intemperance, or to poison from the hand of Theophano; and as her sons, afterwards known as the emperors Basil II. and Constantine IX., were under six years of age, the empress chose for a husband the man whom she thought most able to sustain her on the throne—the general, Nicephorus. His personal deformity placed him in strong contrast with Romanus, and his military habits not less so; but, still more, his pretensions to that kind of saintship which drew popular regard, the observing of fasts, wearing hair cloth, and expressing a wish to retire from the world.

As soon as Nicephorus was declared independent commander of the armies, and guardian of the young princes, he threw off this disguise, marched to Constantinople, punished his personal enemies, and assumed the title of Augustus, with full imperial power. The taxes which he raised in defence of the country made him unpopular; but every spring he went in person against the Saracens, and continued his victorious course. He retook Cyprus, Cilicia, and Antioch, and brought from the latter place the sword of Mahomet. In 967, whilst Otho was resting at Capua,

after giving law to Rome, Nicephorus sent him an embassy, to renew the ancient alliance between the two empires; and it was agreed between them that Theophano, the daughter of the empress, should be betrothed to the infant Otho. In a more advanced stage of the treaty, jealousies arose, and when some German nobles arrived at Constantinople to claim the princess, Nicephorus basely caused them to be put to death. Otho, in revenge, entered Calabria, the Greek province of Italy, defeated the imperial troops stationed there, and having cut off the noses of his prisoners, sent them to Nicephorus. Had this emperor lived, reconciliation would have been impossible, but his end was then close at hand. The murderous Theophano had already sacrificed two emperors, and she did not shrink from the destruction of a third. John Zimisces, a noble Armenian, conspicuous for his strength, courage, and personal beauty, attracted her notice; but as Leo, the brother of Nicephorus, grew jealous of him, because of the honours conferred on him by the emperor, Zimisces was lowered in military rank, and, on his complaining, sent into banishment. Theophano, however, prevented his being removed farther than Chalcedon—a few miles distant—and from thence he often visited her by night, and with her plotted against the emperor. On the night of Christmas, 969, she and her female attendants lowered rope ladders from the garden wall which skirted the Bosphorus, and John Zimisces, with thirty conspirators, ascended from a boat, and silently advanced towards the palace. Nicephorus slept on a bear skin in a secret chamber, which suspicion had led him to fortify, but his guards opened every door at the sound of Theophano's voice. The gleam of thirty daggers roused the slumbering emperor, and the murderous work was prolonged with cruelty and insult. Zimisces stood by, if he did not strike a blow. Assured alike of the people's admiration of himself, and their hatred of Nicephorus, he waited till the morning light enabled him to show the severed head from the window, and was immediately saluted emperor. But when Zimisces appeared at St. Sophia, to demand coronation, the patriarch stopped him on the threshold, and charged him with treachery and murder. He, however, threw the actual guilt upon Theophano; and when told that he must

prove his own repentance by breaking his connection with her, he gladly cast off a woman whom he could neither trust nor love. In their parting interview, the wretched empress exhibited the maddest rage; and as her son Basil stood near, and by his silence appeared to acquiesce in her dismissal, she struck him violently. After he had got rid of Theophano, Zimisces sacrificed his other accomplices, to appease all remaining indignation; and his own guilt was soon forgotten in his gentle behaviour at home, and his high military fame abroad. One of his first acts was to send the princess Theophano into Italy, where her marriage with the youthful Otho was consummated; and by the abandonment of the Greek claims on lower Italy, all differences between the two empires were amicably settled A. D. 970. Zimisces spent the greater part of his short reign in war, and gained many victories over the Saracens, the Russians, and the Bulgarians. Both on the banks of the Danube and the Tigris—the ancient boundaries of the Roman empire—he displayed his valour; and his subjects, as well-pleased as those of Otho by the exhibition of military talent, greeted him with the titles of Saviour of the Empire, and Conqueror of the East.

In the days of such emperors as Otho and Zimisces, especially when they were in friendship, it seemed as if the Roman empire were on the point of restoration to its ancient iron strength; but the word of God had gone forth—it was to be as iron mixed with miry clay—not cleaving together—partly strong and partly broken. Prophecy is but history before-hand, in fewer and far more forcible words. Zimisces had scarcely attained the height of his power, when the eunuchs—a class of servants with whom he filled his palace, and on whom he bestowed some of the recovered provinces—made him unpopular by their crimes; and he died, under strong suspicion that he was poisoned by one of his unworthy favourites. It was less than three years after the death of Otho I., January, A. D. 976.

Above, we have alluded to certain victories over the Russians won by John Zimisces. It is time to give some account of a nation which now becomes conspicuous in the scene of observation.

The Russians were a part of the Slavonic race, which, at an unknown period, emigrated from Asia. One of their tribes encamped near lake Ilmen, and built Novogorod (*i. e.* new town). The tribe of Lech built Kiow, which was accounted the chief city. All traces of that form of Christianity, which once prevailed in the Chersonesus, were either lost when the Slaves came into that part of Europe, or were quickly obliterated by them; and they retained their ancient tradition of a good and wicked being, and many inferior deities, and worshipped a colossal image which they called Peroun, the god of thunder; and to this even mothers sacrificed their children. The Russian tribes were commonly at war with each other; and when the Chozars from the South, and the Swedes or Varangians (Waragi, in the Gothic tongue, Wolves) from the North, simultaneously attacked them, they yielded to the superior valour of the latter, and by paying tribute engaged them as allies. Every Russian tribe had its own Boyar or chief; but the government of these petty tyrants became at last so irksome, that we are told a deputation was sent into Sweden, saying, "Our country is large and blessed, it only wants order; come and reign over us." The history of these times is necessarily doubtful and obscure; but it appears that the name of Russia was given to the whole country from a Swedish family of the name of Ross, and that one of them called Ruric was the first acknowledged sovereign: he and his descendants retained the royal power for seven hundred years. The Russians called their rulers Czar—a Slavonic word signifying king, but in Europe they long bore no other title than grand duke. In 866, the Varangians and Slavonians, in conjunction, terrified Constantinople by appearing before it with two hundred war-boats. Its usual defenders were absent, engaged in war with the Saracens; and the patriarch Photius, in order to ward off the danger, carried along the shore in solemn procession, a garment, said to have belonged to the Virgin Mary, lately stolen as a precious relic from the house of a Jewess in Galilee. The barbarian vessels, which could have effected little against a walled city, were dispersed by a storm; and probably the sight which the Russians had of the grandeur of the capital, induced them to send a peaceful embassy to the Greek emperor shortly after. A superficial

introduction of Christianity followed; and, at the end of the century, the sixtieth archbisopric counted as dependent on the see of Constantinople, bore the name of Russia. The Varangians became the mercenary guards of the emperors, and for centuries the support of their tottering throne; and hundreds of Russians who had served in the Greek fleet or army returned home enriched and partially civilized, and with some respect for that religion which had such splendid temples and pompous services connected with it. Their reports, however, filled their countrymen with desire to possess the rich furniture and ornaments of the churches and palaces of Constantinople; and in 907, two thousand canoes set sail for that city. Igor, the son of Ruric, was then a minor; but Oleg, a famous warrior, commanded the armament. Leo, the Philosopher, contented himself with throwing the chain across the harbour, and left the environs of the city without defence. A number of palaces and churches were pillaged and destroyed, and a multitude of suburban residents massacred or thrown into the sea. A treaty, however, was concluded: and as Oleg and his warriors swore by Peroun, the god of thunder, and Woloss, the god of cattle, it is evident they, at least, made no pretensions to Christianity. Other attacks, and other treaties, distinguished the long reign of Igor; and, later in his reign, an agreement was subscribed, which proves, in a singular manner, the notions that then obtained: "We, the ambassadors of the great prince Igor, and of the great men of his empire, renew with the great Greek emperor the former peace, in spite of the devil who loves dissension and hates good. And let no Russian, baptised or unbaptised, break this alliance. And should any do so, may the Almighty God condemn the former to temporal and eternal punishment, and may the latter want the help of their god Peroun, may they fall by their own swords, and be slaves in this life, and that which is to come." The Christians were desired to confirm this treaty by oath in the church of St. Elias; the others by their own custom of touching the ground with their bucklers, their rings, and their naked swords. A little while after this treaty was signed, Igor was assassinated by an ambuscade prepared for him by the chief of the Drewlians (or foresters), one of the southern

tribes. His son Svatoslav was too young to reign ; and his mother Olga assumed the government. Her first care was to revenge her husband's death ; and the Drewlian chief having sent his ambassadors with proposals of marriage, she caused them to be burned alive, and sent back messengers to say that some more of their chief men must come, if they wished to have her for their sovereign. These she caused to be strangled ; and afterwards, on pretence of a nuptial feast, five thousand Drewlians were made drunk and massacred. We mention these horrible particulars because, at this time, Olga was entirely ignorant of Christianity, and when she came under the softening influence of it she became a very different person. It was in an expedition to Kiow that she probably for the first time met with Christian teachers ; and by daily conversation and observation on their worship, and by some acquaintance with the Scriptures, which we know were intelligible to all the Slavonic race, she became anxious to make a public profession of Christianity. For this purpose she went to Constantinople in 955. She was received by the emperor Constantine with solemn ceremony, and he himself stood as her godfather when she was baptised by the name of Helena—probably in compliment to the empress. Olga, it appears, had not acted in this simply to please the Greek court ; for shortly after, when troops were requested from her in return for the honours that had been paid her, she refused to send them. Olga represented to her son the happiness she enjoyed in knowing the only true God ; but she could not gain him over to Christianity, because he was afraid of the ridicule of many who looked upon him as a hero. He therefore treated her religion with contempt, though he would not hinder baptism among his people.

Svatoslav was a great hunter ; he fed on the flesh of young horses and wild beasts, which he himself cooked on the coals ; he slept in the open air, his saddle was his cushion, and he had neither bed nor carriage. By such preparation he was hardened for war. During one of his expeditions, an opposing tribe besieged his mother and family in Kiow. He returned and delivered them, and escaped from the tumult of public rejoicing to embrace his relatives with a tenderness that proved a mother's influence had at least a

humanising effect. Whilst her son was engaged in war, Olga attempted to introduce some kind of social order. She built towns and made roads, and was the first to direct the construction of bridges. Towards 960, her ambassadors reached the court of Otho the Great; and perhaps this was the first time that Russia came into particular notice in Western Europe. It has been supposed that one of Olga's motives in seeking the friendship of Otho was, that a prince of his character might be more likely to influence her son in favour of Christianity, than the unwarlike princes then reigning at Constantinople.

It appears that when Zimisce came into power, and cast off Theophano, he made some proposal of marriage to Olga; but her advanced age, which probably inclined her to refuse the connection, makes it likely that he only sought to be united to her in the hope of adding Russia to the empire. Svatoslav remained a Pagan; and only a few days before his mother's death told her that he meditated the conquest of Bulgaria, a country in which he thought all the beauties of nature and art were to be found. Olga told him that her end approached, and begged him first to bury her after a Christian manner. She died at the age of eighty, 969, and was interred at Kiow, but the Greek funeral rites were only secretly observed in her own chapel. In the reign of her grandson, her remains were removed to the cathedral with much solemnity; and, by the name of Helena, she was placed on the list of Russian saints.

Svatoslav established his three sons in different parts of Russia, and then set off for the conquest of Bulgaria with his brave warriors. A powerful army awaited him, and some bloody battles took place. At length he obtained possession of the capital; but, by the aid of the valiant John Zimisce, the Bulgarians drove him out, and he retreated with the remnant of his followers to Kiow. He had resisted a mother's entreaties, and his misfortunes did not incline him to embrace Christianity; for, in the treaty which he subscribed on this occasion we find these expressions, "If I am not faithful let the curse of the gods in whom I believe, that is of Peroun and Woloss, rest upon me, let me become as yellow as gold, and let me be hewed in pieces with my own arms." During the following year, A. D. 971, he died

in battle with a savage chief, who made a drinking cup of his skull. It was about a year before the death of Otho the Great.

CHAP. XIII.

Otho II. and III., and their Times, A.D. 972—1002.

WAR BETWEEN OTHO II. AND HIS COUSIN LOTHAIRE II.—END OF THE CARLOVINGIAN RACE IN FRANCE.—CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY IN HUNGARY.—ADALBERT, BISHOP OF PRAGUE, ATTEMPTS TO LATINIZE THE BOHEMIAN CHURCH.—CHRISTIANITY IN POLAND.—OTHO II. DIES AT ROME.—CHARACTER OF OTHO III.—HIS ATTEMPTS TO PROPAGATE CHRISTIANITY IN THE NORTH.—GENERAL EXPECTATION OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.—STATE OF ROME.—POPE SILVESTER II.—OTHO'S PILGRIMAGE TO THE TOMB OF ADALBERT.—HE CROWNS BOLESLAUS KING OF POLAND.—HE DIES AT ROME.—HUGH CAPET MAKES HIMSELF KING OF FRANCE, AND LEAVES HIS SON ROBERT ON THE THRONE.—HIS DEATH, AND THAT OF RICHARD, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

OTHO II. was only eighteen at his father's death, and his mother, Adelaide, was disposed to retain the supreme power. As soon, however, as he was able, he drove her from the court; and the empress indignantly stirred up Henry, duke of Bavaria, to be his rival in the empire. This prince obtained the unhappy surname of the Quarreller. After many struggles, Otho defeated all who opposed his title; but the duke retained so much influence, that his son subsequently became emperor.

Lothaire II., at the death of Otho the Great, claimed a part of Lorraine in right of his mother, and, as his demand was not granted, he marched a hostile army to Aix-la-Chapelle, without waiting to declare war against his cousin. It was in June 978, whilst the young Otho was sitting at dinner, that he heard of the sudden approach of the French troops, and he had just time to escape on a fleet horse out of one gate as Lothaire entered at another. After stripping the imperial palace, the king returned to France; and, in the

October following, Otho set out, as he said, to return the visit, destroying everything in his way to Paris. The capital was so well defended by Hugh Capet, that the emperor was obliged to content himself with threatening messages, and, amongst other things, sent word to Lothaire that he and his citizens should hear a litany which would make their ears tingle. Accordingly, he posted his soldiers on the heights above Paris, and made them sing a Latin canticle as loud as possible; the sound of so many thousand voices astonished the city, and doubtless it was thought to be a pleasant, however novel, termination of a siege. The quarrel between the cousins did not end there, but Lothaire pursued Otho on his retreat, and his army came up with that of the emperor just as the latter, with the first division of his troops, had crossed the little river Aisne.

Otho saw his remaining forces routed, without power to assist them, and when he sent over a boat with messengers to propose a single combat, the nobles would not permit Lothaire to accept his challenge. A treaty was at last concluded; and Charles, brother of Lothaire, was permitted to hold a part of Lorraine as a fief of the empire.

Some years before his death, Lothaire associated with him in the regal dignity his son Louis V., known by the ignoble name of Lazy; he died in 986, and his son the year after; both of them, it was suspected, poisoned by their wives. Their united reigns extended a little beyond that of the second Otho, and with them ended the Carolingian, or second race of monarchs in France.

Otho II., called the Red, from the colour of his hair, obtained also the unhappy surname of the Sanguinary, because of the much blood shed in his reign. We shall have occasion to notice him in connection with the rising nations of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

About the time of the accession of Otho II., Piligrin, bishop of Passau, wrote to the pope, saying, that five thousand Hungarians had been instructed and baptized, and the Christian captives, from all quarters, found in the country, enjoyed such peace that it seemed to him like an accomplishment of the prophecy, "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb." The pope replied with many expressions of

praise to God, and sent him the pallium, or pall, the archiepiscopal robe which he had solicited, giving him full power to make such ecclesiastical arrangements as he pleased. The bishop, it appears, was too sanguine. The Hungarians took part with the duke of Bavaria against Otho II., and seeking to revenge themselves for the defeats suffered by a past generation, they carried on the war with few interruptions for ten years. Stephen, son of Geysa, the Hungarian chief, obtained in marriage Gisella, the daughter of Henry duke of Bavaria; and this alliance greatly tended to the spread of a nominal Christianity in the country, and to the conclusion of a peace with the Christian powers.

Geysa, perceiving the religion of his neighbours to be more advantageous in its effects than his own, and thwarted in his efforts to introduce it to his people, secretly asked the aid of surrounding princes, and then by his heralds informed the Hungarians that it was his will they should worship the true God, and cease to honour demons; and if they would not obey he had the means to compel them. Thereupon a great part of the people were baptized, and Adalbert, bishop of Prague, passing through Hungary, on his way to Rome, was detained in order to baptize the young prince, Stephen, and perhaps Geysa himself. The ceremony was performed in the presence of Otho II., and Henry, duke of Bavaria, as their rivalry was then happily ended. The religion at this time introduced into Hungary is said to have been more absurd than paganism itself; and Geysa, being reproached by a bishop for offering sacrifices both to God and to idols whilst he professed to be a Christian, replied, "that he was rich, and free to do what he liked." This chief died the year after Otho II.; and his son and successor, Stephen, introduced a better state of things.

Adalbert, just mentioned as bishop of Prague, was the son of one of the greatest waivodes, or nobles, of Bohemia; and his appointment, at the death of the first Latin bishop in 977, pleased the people, as they thought by his means to get rid of the Romish ritual. But Adalbert had been educated at Magdeburgh, and was a zealous partisan of

Rome. He was supported by the emperor Otho and his own family, and he brought with him many German priests, who united with him in trying to set up the laws of the pope above those of the land; but the heaviest complaint was the reasonable one—his banishing the Sclavonic language from the worship. War was carried on against Otho without, and against Adalbert within; and the public discontent induced the bishop to go to Rome to beg that he might give up his office. After many violent commotions, through the murder of pope John XIII. and war between his successors, Otho's chancellor in Italy had been raised to the popedom, under the name of John XIV. On hearing Adalbert's complaints of the idle abandoned clergy of Bohemia, and the pagan practices of the disorderly people, he permitted the bishop to retire to a convent. Shortly after, he was himself thrown into prison and murdered. The times of Caligula and Nero did not produce greater calamities, or more horrid barbarities, than those which now prevailed at Rome. Dates and names are alike uncertain, for the pope of one party was reckoned an anti-pope by the other.

Adalbert, in his convent, as a voluntary in humility, cleaned the kitchen, drew water, and served the monks at table; he spent whole days fasting, and gave his food to the poor; and, after working hard by day, watched the sick the greater part of the night. These austerities increased his fame; and at length the king procured from the pope an order for his return to Prague: the pope said, that if after another trial he failed to reclaim the people, he would have saved his own soul, and might then retire from the wicked. But the bishop, on his return, was as unpopular as ever; and though the king passed his Sundays at the great Latin convent which he established, sharing the simple repast of the monks, and going through the forms, he could not reconcile his subjects. In the tumults that followed his second departure, the Christian party rose against the Pagans, and, by the help of the Jews, exterminated them. In reward for their aid, the Jews were permitted to build a synagogue, and to enjoy full toleration in Prague. The Emperor Otho II. insisted that Adalbert should make a third attempt to rule the Bohemian church;

but when he again returned to Prague, he found his relations had been murdered and his estates confiscated, and he turned aside to labour in Poland.

The Bohemian princess, Dombrouka, who married Mieczlaus, grand duke of Poland, laboured with him to extend the profession of Christianity; and in March 967, a decree was published, requiring the people, on a given day, to throw their idols into the rivers on which their respective towns were built, and to receive baptism in the same waters. For ten years the people had an opportunity of hearing portions of Scripture in their native Sclavonic; but when, at the death of Dombrouka, their duke married a German princess, he was influenced to sanction the introduction of the Latin tongue. It is related that the church-audiences were so displeased by this change, that the nobles drew out their swords as soon as the reading of the gospel began, nor did they dare to sheathe them till the obnoxious sound of a foreign language had ceased. It was in the days of Boleslaus, the successor of Mieczlaus, that Adalbert arrived at Gnesen, his chief city; and he remained a long time to assist him in his efforts to propagate Romanism.

In 981, Otho II., having finished his other wars, went to Rome. Under pretence of restoring the ancient republic, the consul Crescentius and the senate armed the citizens against him, and Boniface VII., a pope who had murdered two of his predecessors, went in person to Constantinople to solicit the aid of Basil and Constantine, and brought Greek troops into the vicinity of Rome. But Otho, during his absence, had effected an entrance, and having treacherously invited the chief senators to a friendly banquet, he caused them all to be put to death. Well did he earn the frightful title of the Sanguinary!

Boniface was so bent on ridding Italy from a German despot, that he hired even the Saracens to assist him. Otho was defeated by them in a battle near the sea-coast in Lower Calabria, and being hotly pursued he took refuge in a Greek galley which he saw at anchor, and made his rank known to the commander, offering him heaps of gold if he would sail for the little town of Rossano, where his mother, Adelaide, then was. The Greek officer, consulting

only his own avaricious heart, set sail, and with his imperial prize safely reached the place.

The empress sent off a boat full of soldiers to see if it were really her son, and despatched to the shore as his ransom several mules laden with treasures. The captain allowed Otho to appear on deck in the imperial purple, and whilst he was engaged concluding the bargain, the emperor leaped into the sea, reached the friendly boat, put his own hand to the oar, and gained the shore, so that the Greek lost both his prisoner and the promised ransom. After making his escape in this unhandsome manner, leaving a promise unfulfilled, Otho again became master of Rome; but a few months afterwards he died in that city, A.D. 983. Boniface, though long regarded as an anti-pope, was universally acknowledged in the year after the emperor's death; but he died in the December following, and his corpse was trodden under foot in the streets.

Otho III. had been brought up by his mother, the Greek princess Theophano, and was only twelve years old when his father died. He was a prince of amiable disposition and cultivated mind, and his first surname of "the Infant" was exchanged before the end of his reign for the flattering title of "the Wonder of the World." During some years the disputes between his mother and his uncle Henry, surnamed the Quarreller, disturbed Germany, and the consul, Crescentius, enslaved Rome; but at the age of nineteen he began an independent course, and distinguished himself by his remarkable talent for command both in peace and in war. His attention was first drawn to Denmark. In the year that Otho II. died, the young Sweyn-Otho, his godson, had abjured Christianity, and, with the pagan party, declared war against his father and the Christians. Harold was obliged to fly, and the worship of Odin was restored; but at the end of two years the king was restored, and Sweyn-Otho took refuge in Scotland. Civil war had weakened the country, and left it an easy conquest to a foreign power, and Harold was not firmly seated on the throne when the younger Otho, who had made an early vow to convert the North, sent deputies, desiring him to make Christianity the religion of the State. Harold knew

by experience the bigoted attachment of a large part of his people to their ancient religion, and irritated by ill-timed interference, he replied, that he could not accede to his wishes. Otho, it is said, was standing on the shore as the messengers returned with the refusal, and throwing his lance into the sea, vowed that he would subdue the whole kingdom. There were active bishops labouring in Denmark; but their slow progress did not satisfy the hot zeal of the emperor, and he went thither with an army in 989, and forced Harold to consent to his proposals. With a body of German troops, given him for the purpose, the king traversed the country, obliged the people to be baptized, or punished the uncomplying, replaced the pagan altars by churches, and increased the number of bishops. Such a mode of conversion deepened the prejudices of the nation, and Sweyn-Otho, again returning, raised a powerful opposition, and Harold was slain in battle, A.D. 991. The reign of Sweyn will find its place in our history of England.

Disappointed as to Denmark, Otho III. turned his attention to Sweden, where Eric, surnamed the Victorious, had been reigning many years, and had added Finland, Esthonia, and Livonia to his dominions. With him the emperor entered into a friendly alliance, on condition that he would allow German teachers to enter his country freely; and Eric suffered them to do so, although himself indifferent to what they taught. He died in 998.

Boleslaus, king of Bohemia, was filled with alarm lest the ill-treatment of Adalbert should expose him to war with the new emperor; but Otho's attention was directed elsewhere, and Bohemia remained in opposition to Rome at his death, in 999. In however ill a spirit the contention was carried on, it was reasonable in its origin; and though half a century later, the Romish ritual was actually forced upon this unwilling people, the struggle for religious liberty did not cease for ever, and it was in Bohemia that some of the first symptoms of a Protestant reformation appeared. This period of history is one of extreme confusion. An expectation generally prevailed that in the year 1000 the day of judgment would arrive. By a strange misinterpretation of Rev. xx. 1, it was preached in a church

at Paris, and taught elsewhere, that a thousand years after the birth of Christ, Satan would be let loose, and the Antichrist appear; and that the general judgment and conflagration of the world would follow shortly after. An abbot who better understood the word of prophecy resisted this preaching with what strength he could, out of the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel; and another who was applied to by the Lorrainers, sagaciously exposed the error. But the idea spread far and wide, and even the day was named when the end would come. Different persons were affected in different ways: some broke every tie, made over their property to religious purposes, and went with all speed to Palestine, where they expected Christ to descend from heaven; others actually made themselves the slaves of the priests and monks, believing that the Judge would be more favourable to them on account of their service to his ministers; but many went on the principle, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and plunged into every kind of vicious pleasure, believing the time of enjoyment would soon be over. Had not persons disagreed whether the end was to come in 1000, or in 1001, there would have been a general famine, on account of the neglect of tillage that year; and for some time previously numbers of public and private buildings were suffered to go to decay, in the thought that there would be no further use for them. If, at this season, there were any unusual appearance, such as an eclipse of the sun or moon, whole cities were deserted, and the inhabitants hid themselves in rocks or caverns, and even one of Otho's armies dispersed because of an eclipse.

Some of the princes of the world seem to have been quite indifferent to the popular expectation; and the majority of the clergy and monks, who were increasing their own opulence and ease by the general terror, displayed too much zeal in securing worldly possessions to allow us to suppose that they shared in the common belief.

Let us look at the state of Rome at this period. The wretched Boniface had been succeeded by John XV., who had the credit of trying to preserve peace among Christian princes: after a reign of eleven years he was succeeded by Gregory V., a relation of Otho, and nominated by him,

The consul Crescentius, offended at the presence of a foreigner, set up as an anti-pope John XVI.; but this unfortunate man was seized by Otho's soldiers when they took possession of Rome in 998, and, on his way to the castle of St. Angelo, was deprived of both his hands, his ears, and his tongue: in this mutilated state he was thrown headlong from the prison tower. Otho also caused Crescentius to be beheaded, and having re-instated Gregory returned to Germany. This pope died shortly after, and the emperor, with universal approbation, raised to the papal chair his own friend and preceptor Gerbert, under the name of Silvester II., A.D. 999. The history of this remarkable man demands some attention. When a boy he was received into a convent in France by way of charity, but his ardent pursuit of learning soon attracted notice, and in a few years he understood more of the ancient classic authors than any one of his age. The superior of the convent allowed him to go to Cordova and Seville, on purpose to hear the learned Arabian doctors; and in those schools he gained a knowledge of science which made him a wonder in Christendom. On his return to France his ability to read and write Arabic, and his geometrical figures, gained him the reputation of a wizard: his introduction of the Arabian cyphers, and of balance clocks, was for more general usefulness. Hugh Capet made him his secretary, and placed his son Robert under his tuition; but afterwards being unjustly deprived of the archbishopric of Rheims, which he had held for seven years, Gerbert went to the court of Otho III., and was there loaded with honours. By his writings and example he endeavoured to restore learning, and to encourage the culture of the arts and sciences; and from his time the Arabic schools became the resort of such Europeans as desired to increase in scientific knowledge.

Adalbert, the famous bishop of Prague, after spending some time in Poland, suffered martyrdom in his first attempt to preach to the people of Prussia—the most inveterate pagans that Europe then contained. When the duke, Boleslaus, sent to claim his body, the barbarians demanded its weight in gold, and this was willingly bestowed. We are, however, informed that the body was marvellously light; it was attenuated by fasting and hardships. The

duke had rightly calculated that the remains would be of far more value than the sum he gave for them. Adalbert's reputation for saintship was very great; pilgrimages were then exceedingly popular; and it was soon reported that wonderful miracles were wrought at this martyr's tomb at Gnesen. In the year 1000, when all kinds of devout exercises were in the highest repute, Otho himself undertook this pilgrimage; and Boleslaus, who did not believe that his grandeur would terminate with the current year, resolved to take advantage of the royal visit. Accordingly, he covered the road from Posen to Gnesen, along which the emperor was to pass, with costly carpets, arrayed his courtiers in bright coloured vestments weighty with gold; and set forth all his treasures. The imperial pilgrim walked barefoot to the martyr's shrine, fell on his knees, and with many tears implored the intercessions of his former friend. For several days afterwards the emperor feasted with Boleslaus, and in the height of his admiration of the duke's magnificence, he took the crown off his own head to place it on that of his host, saying, that he must be a king; a royal standard, a lance which bore the name of St. Maurice, and a nail from the "true cross," were added by Otho to this gift of the crown. The newly created king expressed his gratitude by presenting the emperor with one of St. Adalbert's arms.

In this worse than childish folly the two monarchs passed the era so universally dreaded. In the following year an irruption of the Saracens called Otho again into Italy; and when he had expelled the invaders, he went to visit a famous hermit named Nilus, who had been driven out of Calabria by their appearance. The emperor told him to ask what he would, he should give it him with pleasure; Nilus replied, "The only thing I ask you, is, that you would save your soul; for you must give an account to God as well as other men." Otho received this exhortation but a little while before his soul was required of him. The news of a fresh revolt called him to Rome, and he fell ill whilst he was preparing to punish the rebels. The widow of Crescentius desiring to revenge her husband's death, contrived that the emperor should hear of her skill in physic, and thus got access to his sick-room. It is supposed that she adminis-

tered poisonous drugs. He died on the 16th January, A. D. 1002, aged thirty-one.

At the beginning of this chapter we have spoken of the last kings of the Carlovingian race. The earliest monarchs of both the Merovingian and Carlovingian lines were warlike and energetic; the last of each line was with equal justice surnamed the Lazy; and the Count of Paris was to the last of the Carlovingians what the mayor of the palace was to the last of the preceding race.

After the death of Louis V., his brother, Charles, duke of Lorraine, hoped to wear the crown; but he was unpopular because he did homage to the emperor for that province; and Hugh Capet found little difficulty in making himself king, though for prudent motives he refused to be actually crowned.

Hugh brought more territories to the throne than he obtained by coming to it. Under the later kings of the Carlovingian race, it is known that the dukes and counts had made their dignities and their respective districts hereditary possessions, and Louis V. had nothing properly his own save the cities of Laon and Soissons, and some few territories which he did not hold without dispute. Hugh, on the other hand, possessed all the country between the Seine and the Loire, as far as Touraine, and had vast domains in Picardy and Champagne. The sons of Louis the Feeble, jealous of superiority, had in one of their interviews adopted the name of peers (*Lat. par, pair*), that is *equals*; and such of the nobles as vied with each other in rank, and paid immediate homage to the crown for their lands, afterwards used the same title. Hugh was one of these peers; and after his elevation there remained six called lay-peers, viz.—the dukes of Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Normandy, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse, and six ecclesiastical peers, who were the chief bishops. Hugh feared to excite the jealousy of the peers by wearing the crown; but, like Pepin, he established himself on the throne by mildness and affability of behaviour to all, and munificence to the clergy. The duke of Lorraine, however, obtained possession of the royal city of Laon, and had some partisans who called him king; and when Hugh, in 990,

besieged him, Charles after some weeks sallied forth, burned his camp, and compelled him to fly. Gerbert, the king's secretary (afterwards pope Silvester), sent forth an untrue account of this event in order to keep up his master's military reputation; but Hugh, instead of attempting again to take the city, made use of treachery, and having bribed the bishop to open the gates, he entered in the night. Charles and his wife were carried to a prison at Orleans, where the latter died after giving birth to twins. Charles died in 994, but his infant sons grew up to manhood, and under the protection of the emperor of Germany, one of them afterwards held Lower Lorraine. Charles also left two daughters, and by the marriage of one of their descendants into the Capetine royal family, they also claimed relationship with Charlemagne.

Hugh, after all his struggles, held the royal dignity as a usurper in the eyes of many. A certain count was besieging Tours in opposition to his will, when Hugh imperiously asked who had made him count? His only reply was the equally imperious enquiry, "Who made you a king?" Hugh's first wife left him one son named Robert, whom he caused to be crowned and associated with him in the government; his second wife was the widow of Louis V.; by her he had no children. A dreadful plague visited France at this period, and under the alarm occasioned by a fearful mortality, some of the nobles who were continually at war with each other took a solemn oath to live for the future in peace. Others entered into an engagement to abstain at least from fighting on certain days.

Hugh died in 996, and left his son Robert firmly seated on the throne of France, which he occupied for five and thirty years.

Our next historial sketch will comprise the life and times of Robert, the first crowned king of the Capetine line of French kings.

Richard the Fearless, duke of Normandy, died in the same year as Hugh Capet. In his latter years he was distinguished for his venerable long beard and white hair. The instances given of his *piety* are such as these:—some years before his death he caused his coffin to be made of stone, and every Friday filled it with wheat which he

distributed with money to the poor ; according to his last request, his body was placed in this coffin, not in the ground, but under the eaves of the church of Feschamp, with the hope that the drippings of the rain from the holy roof might cleanse his bones from the impurity contracted during his life !

His son and successor Richard II. was grandfather of William the Conqueror. The Normans, by the efforts of their dukes in establishing laws and schools, and by intercourse with their neighbours, quickly assimilated in language and manners to the rest of France ; but Bretagne, which was dependant on Normandy, retained its own language and original laws and customs, and is to this day far behind the other provinces.

CHAP. XIV.

Times of Otho II. and III.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA, CARRIED ON TO THE DEATH OF THE CZAR VLADIMIR, A. D. 1015.—HISTORY OF THE GREEK EMPIRE, CARRIED ON TO THE DEATH OF BASIL II., A. D. 1025, AND THAT OF THE JOINT-EMPEROR, HIS BROTHER CONSTANTINE IX., A. D. 1028, THE LAST OF THE MACEDONIAN LINE.

SVATOSLAV, the Russian Czar, who died just before Otho the Great, left three sons. These princes, during eight years, contended with each other for the supreme power, and Vladimir at last obtained it by the assassination of his brothers. He became sole master of the country in 980, and gave himself up to a life of ease and unlimited indulgence. He had several wives of different nations, besides six hundred concubines ; and to show his respect for Peroun, he had an image of that idol with a silver head set up at Kiow, and human sacrifices became more abundant than ever. Of the Christians in his country a great number

emigrated to Bulgaria, or to the Eastern empire; some kept the faith in secret, others apostatized. On occasion of a victory gained over the newly Christianized people of Poland, Vladimir and his councillors agreed to choose by lot one of the youths of Kiow, who should be sacrificed in token of their joy. The lot fell on Ivan, a young Varangian, beautiful in mind and person, whose father was a Christian; and when the officers came to seize the victim, the father declaimed against the horrors of pagan worship, and, clasping his son in his arms, cried aloud, "If your idols be gods let them tear my child from me." In this attitude Theodore and his son Ivan were massacred by the irritated pagans; but a little later, when opinions changed, they were placed on the list of the martyrs and saints of Russia. Vladimir's mother had been an attendant on Olga, and her influence was used in favour of Christianity; moreover, human sacrifices excited such general horror, that the neighbouring nations desired to see them abolished in Russia. In 986, a Mahometan tribe of Bulgarians that had been conquered by Vladimir, sent deputies to the Czar to seek to gain him over to their faith; but it appears that he put them off by saying, that however attractive their paradise might be, he could not obey the law of Mahomet, as it interdicted wine, the very joy he could not do without. Soon afterwards some German priests from Rome waited on Vladimir, but the king drily repulsed them, saying his ancestors had not received the Christian religion from the Pope. The Jewish Chozars then sent their ambassadors, and after some conversation with them relative to the country and state of the Jews, Vladimir refused them also, saying that it behoved not those who were under the curse of God to instruct others; and that the Russians did not wish to be scattered abroad and to lose their country. The last who solicited the attention of the Czar were the Greek Christians; and after the lapse of a hundred and twenty years from their first attempt to introduce their religion into Russia, the effort was renewed with fresh vigour. The Greek missionary was probably a learned man, as he bore the title of Philosopher; he was also acquainted with the Scriptures, and understood the Slavonic language. Vladimir was affected by his words, and yet more by a picture of the judgment-

day, which he exhibited in remembrance perhaps of the success of Methodius when instructing the king of Bulgaria. In 987, the Russian monarch assembled his boyars to consult with them as to a change of religion; and they determined to send out ten men into the neighbouring States to see what kind of worship was to be preferred. They found nothing to attract their attention in the Mahometan moschs; and in the German churches they perceived nothing beautiful; but at Conetantinople there was much to excite admiration. Having made known their commission to the emperor Basil II., he desired them to go to St. Sophia, at a moment when the whole magnificence of the cathedral and its services might be seen to the greatest advantage. The barbarians gazed with much astonishment on the new and splendid scene. The vast cupola, the columns of marble (already described in these pages), the striking pictures that covered the walls, the endless variety of images, the royal gate by which they entered, the noise of the curtains loaded with ornaments which were drawn and undrawn before the choir at intervals, the prostrate multitude joining in the "Kyrie eleison," the brilliancy of the lights, the garments of the ecclesiastics shining with gold and silver, the patriarch himself in his pontifical ornaments, the clouds of incense perfuming the building, the harmonious singing, bursting from time to time from different recesses, the devout stillness of so large an assembly, each and all of these things captivated the Russian visitors to such a degree that they could hardly contain their excitement, and declared that they must return to tell their Czar that the Greek religion must be true, and that God dwelt in their temple.

This report was quickly carried into Russia, and some of the older boyars ventured to remind the Czar that his grandmother Olga, the wisest of all beings, would not have embraced the Greek religion had it not been better than all others. We take leave here to observe that if they were disposed to judge by the eye, they might have met with equal splendour at Rome; but it appears their messengers went into some parts of Germany where the churches were newly built and of mean appearance.

The Russians having determined to adopt a new religion, Vladimir proposed to be baptized as the first declaration of

a national change, and the few churches in Russia being much decayed, and a closer connection with the Greek empire politically desirable, he determined that the ceremony should be performed at Constantinople. Yet, as it was thought unbefitting for the chief of a people who had often defeated the Greeks, to demand baptism as a favour, Vladimir set out to obtain it sword in hand. In 988, he sailed with a number of war-boats to Cherson, then a great place of commerce, but the citizens fought valiantly, and the Czar only obtained possession through treachery. Having gained this advantage, he sent ambassadors to tell the Greek emperors that he had their city, but offering them eternal peace if they would give him their sister in marriage.

The position of the two brothers, Basil and Constantine, may be here briefly described. The death of John Zimisces, which happened in 976, was a loss to the empire which he had so courageously defended, and to the princes whom he had faithfully guarded. Their youth and inexperience left them a prey to one who persuaded them to indulge in sensual pleasures, that he might obtain the imperial power, and from this snare Constantine never escaped, though Basil, at length, made himself an independent ruler. But he had two generals, Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas, who both desired the imperial dignity: the former usurped and oppressed the eastern provinces for ten years; the latter once took him prisoner, and loaded him with chains; but he contrived to escape, and took refuge with the Caliph of Bagdad for a year, and again assumed the purple. Phocas was killed in battle in 986, and Sclerus being defeated by the imperial army, at last appeared before the throne of Basil as a suppliant. "Is this the man," exclaimed the emperor, "that has been so long the object of our terror?" and well pleased with his humiliation, he generously secured his obedient services by bestowing on him a place of trust. This was one of Basil's first independent acts; and we know of no other so pleasing.

Perceiving that the empire was too weak to bear exposure to the enmity of the Russians, Basil wished to make Vladimir his friend, and told the ambassadors, that if their master would be baptized, the princess Anne should be his,

and that he would then also have the kingdom of heaven, and would be united to them by faith, as well as by brotherly relationship. Vladimir returned answer, that he was ready to be baptized; but he required, as a token of confidence, that they should first send him their sister. Anne set out for Cherson with trembling; but she was accompanied by a priest, and cheered with the hope that she might win the Russian prince and people for the Greek church. Vladimir received her with joy, and was baptized by the name of Basil, without delay.

No events of this nature could be related in the dark ages without the mention of some accompanying miracle; and it is said the Russian prince was cured by his baptism of a disease in the eyes, which threatened the loss of his sight, and that a number of the boyars, seeing he was healed, resolved to undergo the same ceremony. The nuptials of Vladimir and the princess Anne were celebrated at Cherson, and for the three-and-twenty years that they lived together he had no other wife. He restored Cherson to the emperor, and left money in the bishop's hand for building a church; he also supplied himself with a great number of priests, and all their paraphernalia of sacred vessels, relics, images, etc. to carry into Russia. On his return home, his first object was to break down the idols, including the great statue of Peroun, which he had himself set up. In honour of this god, whom some called the god of fire, a fire of oak was kept constantly burning, and the watchers might not let it go out under pain of death. But now the great idol was tied to a horse's tail, and hewn in pieces by a dozen men, and then thrown into the Dnieper. The superstitious worshippers of Peroun ran along the banks, crying out, "Return, return to us!" till the fragments were thrown on shore by the cataracts in the river. Throughout the country there was great sorrowing over the fall of the idols, but the czar was despotic, and the people durst not oppose his will. Vladimir's next care was the baptism of his subjects; his own children and nobles gave the example by receiving this rite in the springs above the Dnieper, hence called the baptismal springs.

Having sent away his many wives, and cast the profession of Christianity over his court, the czar sent heralds through-

out his capital to proclaim that on the morrow's dawn, rich and poor, masters and slaves, must come to the Dnieper to be baptized, on pain of his displeasure. The majority of the inhabitants of Kiow were still pagans; but at their king's command, attracted too, it is probable, by the love of novelty, they assembled in dense masses on the banks of the river. Vladimir stood there with a number of priests, who undertook to arrange the multitudes in an orderly manner. Those of the highest rank went into the deepest water, the next class stood with the stream up to the chest, the boys and girls nearer the edge, and the little children were held in their parent's arms. The priests stationed themselves on rafts to read the customary prayers. Vladimir and his wife knelt on the shore, and at a given signal the baptism was completed.

On this memorable day it was, at least, settled that the Russian people should not be Pagans, or Mahometans, or Papists; and as the Greek priests taught them the Bible in their own tongue, the change in their condition was likely to be beneficial, however far it fell short of a belief of the truth whereby they might be saved. Vladimir was evidently in earnest, according to his measure of intelligence, though by the fault of his instructors the hideous idols of his forefathers were replaced by images and crosses. He multiplied and dispersed the copies of Cyril's translation of the Bible, and established numerous schools; but it is said the mothers, who were obliged to send their children as scholars, deemed the novelty of learning to read a horrible kind of witchcraft, and wept over them as if they were dead. It appears that Vladimir did not use force, but sent missionaries throughout his empire; and the profession of Christianity was not universal in Russia till the end of the twelfth century. He did, however, as much as he could, and replaced the former temples with churches of wood: he also sent for an architect from Constantinople, to raise a stone church on the spot where Ivan and Theodore were killed. He then extended his efforts beyond his own dominions, and some of the neighbouring chiefs came to him to be baptized. The first convent was founded at Novogorod, in 990; and Hilarion, a priest, dug himself a cavern in the heights near Kiow, where he passed a great

part of his life. It was the first of a number of subterranean abodes which became famous in the subsequent history of Russia. Vladimir, but for the advice of some of his friends, might have adopted the monastic life. He was, however, more useful by remaining in active service, and remembering what he was in the early part of his reign, the contrast to be found in his latter days was delightful indeed. Having dismissed his many wives, he could consistently press upon his subjects to have only one wife, according to the law of Christ. The Lord's words "Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy," had the same effect upon his mind as the words "Judge not," on the Christian king of Bohemia; and for a time he spared the lives even of murderers; but, when criminals began to multiply, the bishops enquired why he did not punish. Vladimir replied that he feared the anger of God. The bishops answered that God had ordained him to punish the wicked, and to reward the well-doers, and that after having well examined into a case, he ought to pronounce judgment on the guilty. By their counsel, the Czar re-established the punishment of death, but with some mitigations. Before the close of his reign, he bore the character of the father of the unfortunate: the poor had free access to his castle, and he sent persons through the streets of Kiow to provide necessaries for the poor or sick who could not come to the palace. Kiow is said to have contained at that time four hundred churches, and eight great market-places, and to have been in fact a second Constantinople. Commerce with the Greek Empire greatly increased the prosperity of Russia; and in many hitherto solitary places large towns arose. Vladimir, or Wolodimir, is a lasting remembrance of the first Christian Czar, who for twenty-eight years was permitted to watch over the interests of the Russian Church. The empire at this time, by means of Vladimir's conquests, extended in the west to the Baltic, the Dwina, the Bug, and the Carpathian mountains; in the south to the Caspian Sea; in the north to Finland.

During his life-time Vladimir divided his dominions among his twelve sons, charging each one to spread his new religion in his own district; but this partition, however well-intended, occasioned the most cruel wars after his

death; and Yaroslav, one of his sons, rose up in rebellion against him. It is supposed that Vladimir died of grief whilst marching his troops to meet this son, A. D. 1015. Friendly connection with Russia was strength to the Greek empire; and the Emperor Basil II. was possessed of the most ferocious courage. No general since Belisarius had so far extended the fame of the Roman arms, and the title of "Slayer of the Bulgarians," however frightful in our ears, was well-pleasing to Basil. He took 15,000 prisoners and after putting out their eyes, sent them home, a terrible monument of his cruelty, and a death-blow to their aged Khan. At home, the Emperor was hated for his rapacity and avarice; and the religious garb, whereby he won the favour of the priests, was but a thin disguise before the people. Underneath his armour, or his purple robe, he always wore the monastic habit; and, farther to fraternise with such as were esteemed holy, he refused to marry, and abstained from wine and flesh.

Military and religious fame he ardently sought, but he affected to despise the arts and sciences of which he was entirely ignorant. His successful expeditions against the Saracens added to his religious reputation; and he was hoping to increase it by a war with them in Sicily, when death terminated his career, 1025. His brother Constantine only survived him three years. He had borne the title of Augustus sixty-six years, and was the last male of the Macedonian line. Five emperors of that dynasty had occupied the throne of Constantinople for one hundred and sixty years; but the limited reigns of the twelve succeeding princes will not be found to equal in length the reign of Constantine the Ninth.

We have carried on the history of the Russian and Greek empires into the eleventh century, in order to preserve entire the thread of our narrative.

We shall do the same with the history of England.

CHAPTER XV.

Times of the Three Othos.

ALFRED'S DESCENDANTS REIGNING IN ENGLAND.—THEIR HISTORY CARRIED ON FROM THE DEATH OF ATHELSTAN TO THE DEATH OF ETHELRED II., A. D. 1017.—EDMUND.—EDRED.—EDWY.—EDGAR.—STORY OF DUNSTAN.—EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.—ETHELRED THE UNREADY.—SWEYN, OTHO, AND OLAVE TRYGWESON, KINGS OF DENMARK AND NORWAY.—INVASIONS OF THE DANES, AND THEIR CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

ATHELSTAN left no children, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund, then eighteen years of age, A. D. 941. He, his brother, and his two sons reigned successively during the period that Otho the Great occupied the imperial throne; but the British isles at this time were little connected with foreign nations, and little accounted of in the history of Europe.

Anlaff the Dane returned to Ireland after his unsuccessful battle with Athelstan, and remained quiet till he heard that a more feeble monarch governed England. He then again attempted to assume royal authority among the Anglo-Danes; and as soon as he approached York the gates were opened; many of the towns in the North followed the example of the chief city, and the Danes slew or expelled the English garrisons.

Edmund advanced against these restless foes, and a battle took place near Chester. It was not at all decisive; and, during the night that followed, Edmund's episcopal and noble counsellors persuaded him to make peace by dividing the country with Anlaff.

This he accordingly did; and the Roman road, called the Watling Street, which ran from the Eastern extremity of North Wales to the Southern shore of Kent, was appointed as the boundary line of their respective territories, Anlaff reigning on its Northern, and Edmund on its Southern side. The Dane thus obtained more than he had claimed as his paternal inheritance. But this arrangement was of short

continuance. In order to pay the hired warriors from the North, who had done him good service, Anlaff burdened his people with taxes; and in discontent they sent for his nephew Reginald, the son of Godfrey the pirate, and crowned him king at York. Whilst these Danish princes were preparing for war with each other, Edmund appeared, and by superior force, obliged them to divide the Northern portion of England between them, and to swear allegiance to him. Edmund thought that he had farther secured their quietness and obedience by engaging them to be baptised, himself standing as their sponsor; but as soon as he departed the treacherous princes united their arms against their godfather. But the king suddenly returned, and, seized with terror, they fled and left him in peaceable possession of all England. The king of the Britons in Cumberland was dethroned by Edmund for having taken part with the Danes; and his two sons were cruelly deprived of their sight that they might never attempt to regain their father's kingdom. Cumberland, on this occasion, was given to Edmund's ally, Malcolm, king of Scotland; and he held it on condition of his doing homage to Edmund at certain festivals, and aiding him in battle either by sea or land.

England was at this time in a lawless state, for perpetual engagement in war had left its rulers little leisure to attend to civil government. As soon as Edmund had subdued the Danes, he attempted to diminish the misery occasioned by the feuds and battles that arose continually from private revenge. He ordained that if the friends of a manslayer abandoned him to carry on by himself the usual deadly quarrel between such an one, and the friends of the slain man, the latter could not take revenge on them without forfeiting all their property. But if the friends of the criminal conversed with him, or assisted him in any way, they were involved in the feud. No fine for murder was to be remitted, and no protection given, even by the king, unless the criminal satisfied the church by penance, and the friends by compensation. Edmund also adopted rigorous measures to put down the bands of robbers, and seeing they were careless of the imposition of fines, he decreed that the oldest person in every gang should be hung.

The punishment of death had never before been attached

to the crime of robbery in England, and was entirely without authority even from the Mosaic law. The thief, according to the word of God to Moses, was to restore double, or four, or five-fold, according as the case might be (Ex. xxii. 1—4).

And it is a remarkable fact, that the first king of England who made robbery a capital offence died by the hand of a robber. The circumstances are variously related, though all agree as to the main fact, and the story in its different versions has served as an example that an event need not be discredited, because the many witnesses of it do not agree as to the details. Edmund was celebrating the festival of a saint in the county of Gloucester, when he observed that Leolf, a noted robber whom he had banished, entered the hall where he himself dined, and sat at one of the tables with his attendants. The king ordered him to depart, and on his refusing to do so, sprang towards him and seized him by the hair, in order to drag him out. But Leolf took the opportunity of plunging his dagger into Edmund's body, and death immediately followed the wound.

In this melancholy way king Edmund died, in the sixth year of his reign, A.D. 946. He left two young sons, Edwy and Edgar, and though both of them afterwards came to the throne, they were at this time, on account of their childhood, passed by in favour of Edred their father's brother.

Edred, the only remaining grandson of Alfred, was the king who accomplished the difficult task of controlling the Anglo-Danes.

Soon after he came to the throne Anlaff made a last attempt to regain Northumbria; but he possessed it only a little while, being overcome by Eric, who was preferred by the larger part of the Danes.

Edred attacked the Danes during the weakness occasioned by civil war, and drove Eric into Scotland, but permitted him to return and reign over his countrymen, on condition of his paying tribute. Under the influence of fear, the Danes as usual swore fidelity, but immediately after, they fell upon the retiring army of the English; and but for the king's skill and bravery would have defeated

them. On returning again into Northumbria, Edred deprived them of their native prince, and put an English earl over them, as governor. He also divided the Danish territory into counties and baronies, having their respective officers; and he garrisoned the towns with English, in order to bring the Danes into entire subjection. This was for the time effectual, but they were never reconciled to the yoke,

Malcolm, king of Scotland, had assisted the Danes in this struggle, but Edred humbled him, and compelled him to renew his homage for the lands that he held in England.

For some offence connected with this same revolt, Edred ventured to imprison Wulfstan, archbishop of York, for a year. It was this prelate, who, in conjunction with Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, had advised the partition of the country, in the reign of Edmund, and perhaps Edred suspected him of partiality towards the Danish nation. The king's severity took such effect upon him that he died soon after his release. Odo was himself a Dane, but his inclination towards Christianity caused him to be driven from his paternal roof; and he found a friend who brought him up, and educated him for a priest. He at first declined the archbishopric of Canterbury, because he did not belong to the monastic order, as the previous archbishops had done; but when he became a monk he accepted the office. His canons prove that he took up the high and unscriptural notions about the clergy which were then held at Rome, claiming for them alone that relationship to God, which is the privilege of all who receive the Lord Jesus Christ, and requiring for them the obedience of princes and people. He also directed that they should walk "apparelled according to the dignity of the priesthood." Yet Odo, in his canons, took care to require that the bishops should go about their parishes yearly, preaching the word of God, not for filthy lucre, but as they had freely received, freely to give; "and to the king, and to all others, without fear, faithfully to preach the way of salvation." A yet more remarkable man than Odo, and one who carried out his pretensions to their fullest extent, must now be mentioned; for, as he obtained the completest influence over the mind of Edred, we can make no farther mention of that king, save in connection with his adviser. This was Dunstan, a

man born of noble parents in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, and educated chiefly by the monks of that place. His talents were great, and his acquisitions various, for he had skill not only in writing, mathematics and music, but in the arts of painting, engraving, and working in metals. At an early age, he made himself acceptable to King Edmund by his skill in music; but he was dismissed from court on account of reproaches brought against his character. Some of his enemies followed him, and threw him into a marsh; but he extricated himself, and found refuge at a friend's house. Soon after he was disposed to marry a person to whom he was attached; but one of his relatives advised him to become a monk, and led him to attribute every opposite inclination to the devil. They erred, forgetting the Scripture, "marriage is honourable in all;" and the struggle that Dunstan went through in giving up the object of his affection, not only threw him into a serious illness, but left on his mind an impression as to the sinfulness of marriage in the clerical and monastic orders which produced the most melancholy effects when he came into ecclesiastical power.

On recovering his health, Dunstan formed a retreat near his native place, and occupied himself in the repetition of prayers, and in working with his hands. His cell was a hole like a grave, in which he could not stand upright or stretch out his limbs. His close retirement and mortification procured the recluse a great reputation, and either exposed him to delusions by which he was himself deceived, or led the simple to believe anything that he chose to invent, in order to gain an influence over them.

His neighbours having heard a noise in the night came to him to inquire what it was, and he said, that the devil having come to the door of his cave with fiercer temptations than usual, he had seized his nose with the red-hot pincers, with which he was working some metals, and that it was his roar that had disturbed them. The superstition of an age in which this story was current may well be conceived. Edmund's queen, hearing of the reputed sanctity of Dunstan, persuaded her husband again to receive him at court; and, in spite of his enemies, he was established there. His parents died and left him their property,

and the queen also made him her heir ; but he distributed his whole fortune to the poor, and thus became still more popular. The king gave him the abbey of Glastonbury, and himself introduced him to the honours of abbot ; and, by royal consent, Dunstan established there and elsewhere the Benedictine rule which entirely forbade marriage, and subjected the monks by vow to the will of their superior. He also made attempts to extend celibacy to all the clergy.

Edred was so entirely carried away by his respect and admiration for Dunstan, that he not only received personal discipline from his hands by way of penance, but made him his prime minister, and also his treasurer, sending all his treasures to Glastonbury by way of preservation. Under Dunstan's influence he began to rebuild the abbey on a larger scale, but did not live to finish it ; he also built other monasteries. When Edred offered his favourite the see of Winchester, he declined it ; but the next day he told the king that St. Peter had struck and reproved him for so doing, and told him that he must not hereafter refuse even to be primate of England. Edred styled himself monarch of Albion, and king of Great Britain ; but whilst he reigned over the country, Dunstan reigned yet more absolutely over his mind. The king's health was feeble, and for some time he had a disease in his feet ; his early death checked for a time the growing power of this ambitious monk. Edred died in 955 ; and, as his two sons were very young, he was succeeded by Edwy, the son of his brother Edmund, then sixteen years of age. Edwy, surnamed the Fair, on account of his pleasing person, seems to have been a prince of some promise ; but his attachment to his beautiful wife, Elgiva, who stood within the degree of relationship forbidden by the ecclesiastical canons, was looked upon as a crime, and brought cruel sufferings on them both. On the day of his coronation, he left the nobles to the drunken revels common at great feasts, and retired to the apartment occupied by the queen and her mother. The company were offended at his absence, and Dunstan, taking with him Odo, the primate, over whom he had the greatest influence, determined to bring back the young king.

With Dunstan's extreme views of the sinfulness of

conjugal love, it is not surprising that he was extremely offended to find, on entering Elgiva's apartment, that Edred had left the banquet for her sake, and that his crown was carelessly placed on the floor. Uttering abusive language against Elgiva, he tore the young prince from her embrace, in order to thrust him back into the presence of the nobles.

Edwy, in revenge for this treatment, deprived Dunstan of the favour he had so largely enjoyed, and desired him to give an account of his stewardship. The abbot refused to do so, on the plea that the late king had confided to him his treasures for spiritual purposes; but Edwy was not satisfied with the excuse, and banished him from the country. The king had conceived such a prejudice against monasticism, that he next proceeded to eject the monks who had been placed in benefices by his uncle; and when the monks of Malmesbury expostulated with him on this account, he displaced them all, and filled the convent with secular and married priests. Thus, said a monastic writer, "after it had been inhabited by monks two hundred and seventy years, it became a stable for clerks."

In the meanwhile Dunstan was hospitably received at a monastery in Flanders, and his party at home raised insurrection against the king, and set up his younger brother Edgar, then sixteen years of age. Edgar's standard was joined by the Danes, who, on any excuse, were always ready for war. Edwy was not able to retain any part of the kingdom except Wessex; and after a year's contest between the Danes and English, as to the choice of a king, Edgar was proclaimed king of Mercia. Dunstan returned to England, and became the counsellor or rather governor of Edgar and his party.

Odo, in the meantime, forcibly separated Elgiva from her husband; and it is said that the soldiers whom he employed to seize her had orders to attempt to destroy her beauty by branding her in the face with a red-hot iron. Edwy himself was obliged to consent to the divorce, and his wife was banished to Ireland. After a time she found means to return, and was on her way to rejoin the king when she fell into the hands of her enemies. Nothing but her death could now satisfy Odo and his monks, and the executioners of their cruel orders cut the sinews of her

legs. She expired at Gloucester a few days after in great agony. This inhuman act seems to have produced no sensation in England; the people, blindfolded by their guides, considered all the misfortunes that befell the king and queen as a just judgment for their disregard of ecclesiastical laws, not pausing to inquire whether these laws were in accordance with those of God. Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued with undiminished hatred, till overwhelmed with grief, he fell into a state of despondency and died, A.D. 959.

Edgar showed great talents as a statesman, and was a most active prince. He had too much character to be the tool of the monks, but took advantage of their popularity to increase his own, favouring them in every possible way. They, on their side, extolled Edgar, not only as a king but as a saint; but their wicked partiality was evident; for, after pursuing with the utmost rage the sovereign who had broken *their* law, they showed the utmost favour to one who lived in open contempt of the laws of God.

At the king's consecration, it was observed that Odo used the form of words common at the consecration of an archbishop; and, when told of his incorrectness, the artful prelate replied, that he was but the instrument of the Spirit of God. It appears that Edgar took the hint furnished by Odo, for he afterwards aspired to the oversight of the Church as well as the State. But his first care was to secure the tranquillity of his kingdom by putting it in a state of defence; and he succeeded in overawing the foreign Danes, and in keeping the Anglo-Danes in subjection; as also in asserting his supremacy over the kings of Scotland and of Wales, those of the Isle of Man and of the Orkneys, and even over the princes of Ireland. On one occasion, whilst residing at Chester, he wished to visit an abbey on the banks of the Dee, and it is said that he obliged eight tributary princes to row his barge. The tribute usually required from Wales was changed by Edgar into an annual demand of three hundred wolves' heads, till all those destructive animals, which were especially harboured in the Welsh mountains, should be extirpated. These ferocious beasts were also hunted by their royal foe in person, and he published an offer of pardon to criminals who should bring

in such a number of wolves' tongues as he judged proportionate to their several offences.

Edgar fitted out a large fleet for the prevention of piracy and invasion, and divided it into three squadrons; and once in the year he himself circumnavigated the island with all his vessels, in order to exhibit his naval force. He also tried to carry out his father's laws for the better administration of justice, and was the first who attempted to separate the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, by directing that all disputes among the clergy should be brought before the bishop.

After the death of Odo, a more gentle prelate was appointed to the primacy; but Edgar called a council which displaced him, and elevated Dunstan in his room. That ambitious monk held this much-desired post and the bishopric of London for twenty-seven years; and Oswald his relative, a man of kindred mind, held for twenty-two years the sees of York and Worcester. These two men, and Ethelbald, bishop of Winchester, were consulted by the king in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs; and they all acted in concert to preserve the peace of the kingdom. Their success in this common effort procured for Edgar the surname of "the Peaceable." The reputation of Edgar, and the tranquillity of the country, attracted many foreigners to England, and the king gave them encouragement to settle; but historians observe, that they corrupted the simple manners of the natives, by introducing the vices of other nations. It appears, however, that the state of the Anglo-Saxons was previously very corrupt; and the introduction of strangers served, perhaps, to render them less barbarous in their manners.

Edgar himself broke into a convent and forcibly carried off Editha, a nun. Dunstan reproved him; but instead of obliging him to give her up, sentenced him, by way of penance, not to wear his crown for seven years. This is but one example of the manners of the king; yet it was he who summoned a council to reform the lives of the clergy. He opened it in person by an harangue, in which he violently condemned others; and he offered to put forth his whole powers to aid Dunstan in proceeding against the married priests. Gaming, hunting, dancing, and singing,

and openly living with their wives, or, as he said, concubines, were the offences which the king alleged against the secular clergy, and to this he added the smallness of their tonsure. It appears probable that the monks, who were all-powerful in the reign of Edgar, magnified the vices of the clergy, in order to set off their own pretensions to sanctity; they succeeded in re-instating such of their order as had been expelled by Edwy, and in their turn ejected from their places many of the clergy who would not yield to the law of celibacy.

It was Dunstan who introduced into England an extravagant notion which we shall have to mention elsewhere. The propriety of doing penance in case of sin, and the value of such methods in putting away sin, had been generally unquestioned through these dark ages; but truth was at the lowest ebb, when persons gave heed to the idea that whilst a poor man must suffer in his own person, a rich man might pay others to suffer for him, and reap the same advantage. Dunstan's canons enjoined for certain sins, the renunciation of home and country, and perpetual sorrow; but they allowed the rich to do penance by deputies. If the crime committed deserved, according to ecclesiastical law, a fast of many years, they were recommended to obtain seven times one hundred and twenty men to fast three days in their stead, and it was said that their own punishment might be dispensed with in this way.

There is something which shocks one's common sense in such a proposal, but the spiritual sense must be as greatly shocked in every attempt to propitiate God through human suffering, after his Word has set forth beyond all question the only propitiation for sins which His perfect justice and holiness could accept (1 John ii. 2; iv. 10; Rom. iii. 25). These penances practised in ignorance, under the notion of pleasing God, could, in fact, only swell the guilt of the offender, for the sorest punishment falls upon such as set forth some fresh sacrifice for sin; as they do thereby tread under foot the Son of God (Heb. x. 29).

We must finish our account of the reign of Edgar by a relation of the melancholy circumstance that preceded his last marriage. Having heard of the beauty and riches of Elfrida, the heiress of the earl of Devonshire, the king

sent Ethelwold, a favourite earl, to know if these reports were true, that he might seek the lady as his wife. During his visit for this purpose, Ethelwold himself became strongly attached to Elfrida, and in order to obtain her told the king at his return that her charms were greatly exaggerated, but as her dowry would enrich a subject, he should be glad to have permission to make her his wife. The king consented, and the earl after his marriage took care not to bring his lady to court. The royal favourite, however, had many enemies, and the facts of the case were soon brought to Edgar's knowledge. Concealing his anger, the king told Ethelwold that he intended to visit his castle, and asked for an introduction to his bride. The earl, in the greatest distress, set off a few hours before him, to prepare, as he said, for his honourable reception: but when he reached his home he told the whole matter to Elfrida, and intreated her to conceal her beauty as much as possible, in order to save him from the king's rage. She promised to do so; but her ambitious spirit could not brook the loss of a crown, and instead of keeping her engagement, she dressed herself in her richest attire, and laid herself out to attract the king. At that time he dissembled his admiration, but soon after, under pretence of hunting, he drew Ethelwold into a wood, and stabbed him with his own hand: he then publicly married Elfrida. Edgar has been reckoned one of the most fortunate of the ancient English kings, on account of the worldly prosperity that surrounded him; but his entire want of the fear of God darkens his history in our eyes. He died in 975, having reigned sixteen years.

Edward, the son of Edgar and his first wife, was only fourteen at his father's death, and Elfrida, wishing to place on the throne her own son Ethelred, then eight years of age, raised doubts as to the legitimacy of the king's first marriage. Whilst the matter was debated in a state council, Dunstan declared in favour of Edward, by taking him by the hand and leading him to a neighbouring church; and being followed by the bishops and a multitude of persons, he anointed him king on the spot.

Edward was a most amiable young prince, and although

his step-mother had opposed his accession, he always treated her with respect, and showed tender affection towards his brothers. He obtained the surname of the Martyr, not on religious grounds, but because he at last fell a victim to the treacherous Elfrida. In the fourth year of his reign, whilst he was hunting in Dorsetshire, he called at Corfe castle, where his mother-in-law resided, without a single attendant; and, unsuspecting of any evil design, he waited at the gate for the refreshment of a cup of wine which she desired him to drink. As he held it to his lips, he felt himself stabbed from behind. Elfrida had employed a servant in this murderous work. Unwilling to tarry a moment in such hands, the young king put spurs to his horse; but the loss of blood occasioned faintness, and as he fell from his saddle his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged along the ground till he expired. His servants discovered his body, by the traces of blood, and privately buried him at Wareham. The innocence of Edward, and his melancholy death, excited the feelings of the people; and it was soon reported that miracles were wrought at the martyr's tomb. Elfrida performed many penances, in the hope of atoning for her guilt, but she never recovered the good opinion of the public, and at last shut herself up in one of the monasteries which she had built in her vain efforts to pacify conscience.

Dunstan had been regent during the reign of Edward the Martyr, and supported the monastic interest with all his might. The duke of Mercia expelled the new orders of monks from all the monasteries within his jurisdiction; but the dukes of East Anglia and Essex protected those in their territories. Three synods were held to determine the question between the secular clergy and the regular monks. In the first the majority of votes were against the monks; but Dunstan pretending that he had an immediate revelation in their favour, the assembly was broken up. On the second occasion, by his contrivance, a voice appeared to issue from the crucifix, saying, that the establishment of the monks was according to the divine will. In the last synod the pretended miracle was yet more decisive. The council met at Calne, and during their sitting the floor gave way; many of the members were killed or bruised; but

the beam on which Dunstan's chair was supported remained firm. This was regarded as the surest mark of the favour of God towards him and his cause ; but some ventured to suspect the archbishop of wicked contrivance, especially as it was observed that he had desired the young king to absent himself on this occasion.

The youthful Ethelred wept bitterly when he heard of the death of his royal brother ; and his wicked mother, enraged at his tender feeling, beat him so severely with a wax-taper that she held in her hand, that he could never bear the sight of one afterwards. A.D. 979.

Dunstan consented to crown Ethelred ; but before he performed the ceremony he said to him : " Since you have aspired to the throne by the murder of your brother, neither the sin of your ignominious mother, nor those of her counsellors, shall be purged but by great bloodshed of your miserable people, for such calamities shall fall on England as it never sustained since it had the name." It appears that the archbishop wrongfully charged Ethelred with this guilt ; but his foresight of coming evil was correct, and in the third year of this king's reign began that series of invasions which ended in the subjection of England to the Danes. Ethelred had not capacity to govern his own subjects, or to repel the enemy, and the surname of the Unready well describes his condition during a long reign of thirty-five years.

A warlike race of kings in England, and opportunities for piracy, and then for advantageous settlement in the north of France, had long kept the Danes away from the British shores ; but when Normandy would receive no more colonists, and repelled all sea robbers, and when a feeble king and a minor occupied the throne of England, these ancient foes were tempted again to descend on the island. They knew probably that the inflammable spirit of the Anglo-Danes would be kindled at the sound of war, and that they should have assistance from them in their hostilities.

Both Athelstan and Edgar had kept bodies of these naturalised Danes in their pay, as being more warlike than their other subjects. They quartered them about the country ; but in the various descents of the foreign Danes they were always more ready to join than repel the invaders.

In the year of the first landing of the Danes, Ethelred, having a quarrel with the bishop of Rochester, besieged that city; and Dunstan sent to warn him of vengeance from its patron saint. The king paid no attention to the threat; but when the archbishop sent him a hundred pounds, he raised the siege. Dunstan then despatched a fresh message, saying, that as he had respected money more than God and religion, the calamities which he had foretold would speedily come on him. From that time Dunstan quite lost his favour at court; and the people, too, began to be dissatisfied with him and his monks; because, whilst they pretended that all they had gained for themselves was in answer to their prayers, their prayers did not avail to deliver the country from a foreign foe.

"The sorrow of the world worketh death;" and Dunstan appears to have died from the effects of unaccustomed slight rather than from old age.

England had a short respite from the attacks of the Danes; but, in 991, they again landed at Ipswich, and defeated the duke of East Anglia; and Ethelred, by the advice of Syric, the new archbishop of Canterbury, bribed them to depart by the sum of ten thousand pounds. Sensible that this was an impolitic proceeding, the English collected a fleet to meet the enemy on their return; and formed a plan for surrounding and destroying the Danish ships as soon as they should get into harbour. But Alfric, the powerful duke of Mercia, who cared for no calamities which might lessen the royal authority and increase his own importance, gave notice to the Danes, and when they put to sea to escape the threatened danger, deserted to them with the squadron under his command.

Ethelred seized the duke's son and caused his eyes to be put out; but the revenge was impotent: and, as he could not help himself, he was obliged to continue the traitor in the government of Mercia.

It will be remembered that Harold, king of Denmark, who embraced Christianity in the reign of Otho the Third, was violently opposed by his son. This young prince, known first as Sweyn Otho, and afterwards as Sweyn Sweskerøeg (with the forked beard), came to the throne in 991; and he was only withheld from persecuting the Christians at home,

by his desire to invade the richer country of England, where he had already passed seven years with full opportunity of knowing its state. At a great festival he sought to propitiate the Christian part of his subjects by emptying one cup to the memory of his father Harold, another to Christ, and a third to the archbishop; vowing, that within three years he would go into England and either kill Ethelred or perish in the enterprise.

The successor of Haco-Athelstan, king of Norway, who was so incapable of supporting his Christian profession, was Harold Graafeld. He was a cruel prince, but attempted to propagate Christianity. His son, Haco Jarl, was forcibly baptised in Denmark, when Otho III. was introducing Christianity there at the point of the sword, and was made to promise that he would convert Norway; but when he got back to his own land he offered an expiatory sacrifice to the gods, and died a pagan. In 995, Olave, surnamed Trygweson, obtained the kingdom, and he became one of the most distinguished sovereigns of the age. We have here to relate his previous history. He first heard of Christianity at the court of Olga, empress of Russia, as his father had been taken captive and carried into that country. He was afterwards renowned as a pirate in the Baltic; and, one day being exposed to a terrible storm, made a vow to embrace Christianity, if his life were spared. On his escape he went into Greece and received some instruction, and afterwards served Otho III. in his attack upon Denmark. Being ready for any other warlike enterprise, he was persuaded to accompany Sweyn to England in 993. They sailed up the Humber and laid waste the country; and though a powerful army was assembled to oppose them, the desertion of the three leaders of Danish race, rashly employed by Ethelred, left the victory in their hands. Olave, however, was wounded in battle, and having been again reminded of his former vow, he sought instruction from a hermit during his recovery. Seeing that several of his counties were laid waste, and London threatened with destruction, Ethelred sent ambassadors to the two kings, promising them subsistence and tribute if they would cease to ravage and speedily quit the country. Sweyn and Olave accepted the proposal, and kept quiet at Southampton till the sum of

sixteen thousand pounds was collected for them. Olave was in the meanwhile baptised with all his band, and took a journey to Andover, then the royal residence, in order to receive confirmation from the bishop, a ceremony which was accompanied by rich presents from the king. On this occasion he promised never again to invade England, and he faithfully kept his word. Indeed, he found enough to occupy him on his accession to the throne of Norway—a position to which he raised himself by the help of Sweyn after they left England. His singular zeal in the propagation of his new religion—a religion that we hardly dare call Christianity—will form a curious part of the history of the Christian profession in the tenth century.

Although Sweyn and Olave had retired, fresh bodies of pirates from the north continued to attack the English, both by land and sea, from year to year; and the payments made to them continually increased in amount, so that a heavy land-tax, levied for the purpose of protection or tribute, was called Dane Gelt, or Gold for the Danes. The clergy and monks were exempted.

In 998, the invaders received twenty-four thousand pounds, and had another motive to leave England, being called to assist Richard II. duke of Normandy, against Robert, king of France. Richard I. the Fearless, had reigned fifty-four years; but his son Richard II., being a minor, was oppressed by the king. As soon as the young duke was settled in his possessions, Ethelred sent to ask for his sister Emma in marriage, and that princess became his wife in 1001. From her delicate beauty, she was called the Pearl of Normandy. This connection was the source of that remarkable change in the condition of England, brought about by the Norman conquest more than sixty years afterwards.

The year in which Otho III. died (A.D. 1002) was distinguished by one of the blackest events that stain the melancholy page of English History.

It was certainly matter of great provocation to the English, that the Danes, so long settled among them as domestic troops, were still their enemies. They were so proud and idle, that Lurdane or Lord Dane was a term of reproach for a slothful person; they also committed many violences.

Still, it appears, there were offences on both sides; and these naturalised foreigners had never been treated as countrymen. Ethelred imagined that if he could by one blow get rid of these domestic foes, his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, might help him against the foreign Danes; he therefore resolved upon a general massacre of all that were in England.

The Anglo-Danes, it is remarked, were cleaner in their habits than the English; they combed their hair daily, changed their clothes frequently, and usually bathed themselves every Sunday. This was the day chosen for the execution of the king's cruel orders, and they were fulfilled with the most horrid barbarity. No distinction was made between the offending and the harmless; neither sex nor age was spared. Gunilda, sister of Sweyn, who had embraced Christianity and married a Danish earl, long resident in England, was, in the first instance, saved; but the earl of Wilts advised the king to destroy her, and she was put to death after seeing her husband and children murdered before her face. In her dying agonies she foretold the speedy revenge that would be taken, and the total ruin of the Anglo-Saxon nation. The few who escaped to carry the melancholy tidings to Sweyn stirred up all his wrath, and the following year he appeared with a mighty fleet off the western coast, his vessels bearing above their prows images of lions, eagles, and dragons. Through the treachery of a Norman governor, appointed by Queen Emma, they obtained possession of Exeter, and Sweyn established his head-quarters at Bath. During twelve years the war was carried on with little intermission. We read of nothing but the sacking and burning of towns, the devastation of the open country, and the appearance of the enemy by turns in every corner of this devoted island. Peace was bought on every occasion by larger and larger payments of money, and a dreadful famine added to the other miseries of the people.

Edric Streona, the governor of Mercia, who had married the king's daughter, professed to command the English armies; but he betrayed the interests of the country on every occasion.

Ethelred had two sons by his first marriage, Edmund and

Edwy. The eldest of these displayed great boldness, and obtained the name of Ironside for the vigorous defence which he attempted; but he had no power to deliver his countrymen, for judgment had fallen upon them. We do not feel obliged to dwell on the details of war, but one scene which displays something of the grace of God we may describe. In 1012, Canterbury was besieged by the Danes, and Alphage, the archbishop, was entreated by his friends to escape for his life. He replied, "God forbid that I should be afraid of going to heaven because a violent death lies across the passage." He reminded them that he had been the means of drawing many Danes to embrace Christianity, that if that were esteemed an offence he should be happy to suffer for it; and if the Danes were angry with him because he had reproved their sins, he remembered who had said, "If thou give not the wicked warning, his blood will I require at thy hand." It was the hireling, he said, who left the sheep; he meant to abide the shock, and to submit to God's will. When the Danes took the city they massacred many thousands of people, including nine out of every ten monks in the monastery of St. Augustine. They burned to death ladies of rank, and did not even spare infants. Alphage who was reserved because they expected a great ransom, exclaimed against their proceedings, saying, "The cradle can afford no triumphs to soldiers, it were better to wreak your vengeance on me. Remember some of your troops have been brought by my means to the faith of Christ, and I have often rebuked you for your acts of injustice." The angry Danes put him in close confinement for seven months, demanding an enormous ransom. The archbishop would not seek to procure it, saying, "that he thought it wrong to appropriate to the use of pagans, funds intended for the use of the church and for the poor." Finding they could not obtain what they demanded, they brought him out to die, still crying, "Gold, bishop, gold;" and at their drunken banquet whilst he stood unmoved, they threw their battle-axes at him and stoned him. He was heard to pray for his enemies and for the church to the last. Alphage was reckoned among the martyrs, and a church was afterwards built to his memory at Greenwich. Although he would not allow ecclesiastical

treasures to be used for his own ransom, it appears that he had caused the church-plate to be melted in a time of scarcity to buy bread for the poor.

In the year that Alphege died, Ethelred in despair fled into Normandy, whither he had previously sent his queen, Emma, and her two sons, Alfred and Edward. The duke received them in the most generous manner. Most of the English nobility, seeing resistance to be useless, swore allegiance to Sweyn, but that king died at Gainsborough a few weeks after the flight of Ethelred, and the fugitive was invited to return. But his own conduct and his affairs did not at all improve upon his re-establishment, and Canute, the son of Sweyn, proved no less terrible than his father. He cut off the hands and noses of the hostages that had been sent to Sweyn when the nobles promised him their obedience, and put them ashore as they ravaged the eastern coast. He returned for a little while to Denmark to secure that throne which was usurped by his younger brother, and then came back to England. Ethelred feigned sickness, but Edmund Ironside took the field; the North, however, fell into Canute's power, and the English prince being ill-supported retired to London, resolved to defend himself to the last. His father died at this time, and all was in confusion; but Edmund collected his forces, and offered to decide his own fate and that of the English by a general engagement. Eadric, his brother-in-law, had deserted to the Danish king, and, in the heat of this battle, having cut off the head of one who resembled Edmund, he fixed it on a spear, and, carrying it along the ranks, called aloud to the English that it was the head of their king, and that it was time to fly. Edmund sought in vain to rally them. Other battles ensued, and a treaty was at last subscribed which gave Canute the north and Edmund the south of the island. But Edmund was murdered about a month after.

CHAP. XVI.

CHRISTIAN PROFESSION IN THE TENTH CENTURY.—NATIONAL CONVERSIONS.—OUTWARD HONOURS PAID TO THE BIBLE.—THE TEACHERS OF THIS AGE AND THEIR DOCTRINES.—REMARKS ON THE EXPECTATION OF THE LORD'S COMING.—CANONIZATION OF NILUS.—FORMS OF PRAYER.—ODO, ABBOT OF CLUGNI.—CEREMONIES.—WITNESSES FOR TRUTH.—AN APPENDIX ON NATIONAL CONVERSION IN NORWAY, SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

THE Tenth Century has been described by a popish writer as an iron age, barren of all goodness; a leaden age abounding in wretchedness; a dark age, remarkable above all others for the scarcity of writers and men of learning. But in passing through its history, we find it fruitful in national conversions: the Bohemians, Hungarians, Polanders, Russians, Swedes, and Danes were baptised by thousands in Europe; and in Asia the Nestorians were, perhaps, adding as many to the outward Church. However much in the dark, professing Christians at this time may have been, and surely they were in gross darkness, they did their utmost to force their light into darker regions, and it would be well if enlightened Christians took example by their activity, and used their superior intelligence with more ardent zeal. We cannot too carefully distinguish between that conversion which gives entrance into heaven (Matt. xviii. 3) and that conversion which merely changes a man's opinions or outward habits, it is indeed for the destruction of souls to confound them; but we may err in making too little of the national conversions of which we have been reading, even as others have erred in esteeming them too much. It was not a small thing for these nations to give up their long-cherished idols, their bloody sacrifices, and the many traditions of their fathers; it was not a trifling change to throw off the savage habits of earlier life, and to put themselves under new laws imposed upon them by strangers. The present history of missionary efforts made in a really Christian spirit, and often with only the scriptural means which God honours, may enable us to judge of the difficulties that were to be encountered in the tenth century, and

the fierceness of the struggle which accompanied the changes that were wrought for the most part with carnal weapons. But the Bible was not as yet a hidden book, although, as we have seen, the popes were commencing their efforts to cover that speaking witness against their wicked ways, and to imprison, as it were, in a foreign tongue, the word that condemned the system they were building up. In the eighth and ninth centuries there were popes who gave away copies of the gospels to two different churches, so ornamented with gold and precious stones that they weighed more than seventeen pounds; and in A. D. 993, we read of a bishop who, in a solemn procession, made use of a gospel very splendid with gold and gems. It was not unusual, besides all the care bestowed on the manuscripts, the letters of which were sometimes of gold or silver, and on the binding, which was of the most costly materials, to enclose the books used in churches in beautifully wrought silver cases. This mode of paying the word of God external honour, which began so early as the days of Jerome, and was in the greatest vogue during the darkest ages, had, besides its inconsistency with the simplicity of the Christian dispensation, many disadvantages. Such books were counted too costly for every day use, and reserved for grand festivals; and even if their magnificence did not hinder persons from getting access to their contents, it frequently occasioned their entire loss, as the barbarians who ransacked the churches for all their valuables, did not fail to seize upon these splendid books.

The teachers, as we have before observed, demand our special attention in every age, as it is by a knowledge of their state and character that we shall most readily comprehend the condition of the professing masses. We say the masses, because we know that though by the unction of the Spirit of God, or from natural independence of mind, individuals might always be found who could not be satisfied with the guidance of others, the greater part of mankind are at all times willing to be led, and woe is it to them when the leaders are blind.

The atrocious wickedness of the greater number of popes we have sufficiently described; but it may be proper to remark that when the stern hands of Otho, and his son and

grandson, kept down or cut off some of most scandalous life, and produced some outward decency of manners, none were set at the head of ecclesiastical affairs at all more competent to bring in any spiritual blessing.

The compasses wherewith Silvester II. was describing his geometrical circles at the end of this century, were more comely to the natural eye than the sword that was grasped in the hand of Boniface, but the studious Silvester, to the spiritual eye, was no more the representative of Christ than the murderous Boniface.

It was Silvester who, in the first year of his pontificate, wrote an epistle in the name of the Church of Jerusalem, solemnly exhorting the European powers to aid and deliver the Christians under the Mahometan yoke in Palestine; but no people, except the citizens of Pisa, who probably had commercial motives, were at that time disposed to obey the summons. The patriarchs of Constantinople, during this period, were commonly much more outwardly decent in their behaviour than the popes of Rome, but they pursued their own interests and pleasure, and we read of one named Theophylact who sold every benefice as soon as it became vacant, and cared for nothing but his dogs and horses. He had in his stables two thousand hunters, which he fed with dried grapes and other fruits steeped in the richest wines with costly perfumes. One day when he was celebrating mass, it was told him that one of his favourite mares had foaled, upon which he threw down the liturgy and ran to the stable, and after having expressed his joy returned to finish the service.

The state of the higher ranks of clergy was never worse than at this time: many of them attained to the temporal dignities of dukes, marquises, and counts, through the favour of rulers brought under their influence by superstition, or through the policy of such sovereigns as thought them the fittest agents for keeping their people in subjection. Moreover the sovereigns of this age frequently made their own favourites bishops and abbots, without any other law than their own will, and thus the most stupid and wicked persons were often placed in those stations; and soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, etc. were put into ecclesiastical offices. Almost all the priests and even the monks had their wives or

concubines, upon whom they spent the treasures which they professed to receive for the service of the Church. But however degraded was the state of the clergy, they had unbounded influence over the ignorant minds of the multitude, and scrupled not to use any means, however abominable, whereby they might increase that power. Archimedes, the famous mechanician, when rejoicing over the newly discovered power of the lever, is said to have exclaimed that he could move the world itself if a place could be found whereon to rest his lever. A witty writer has observed concerning this dark age, that the clergy had found what Archimedes wanted, another world to rest on, and they moved this world as they pleased. It is certain that the great mass of people, being entirely ignorant concerning what God has revealed, heartily believed all that they were taught, and acted according to that belief. For instance, they believed in a hell, but feared it little, because they were taught that the prayers of the clergy by their death-beds, or the merits and mediation of the saints, would save them from eternal punishment: they believed in a purgatory, which they dreaded far more, because none, it was declared, could escape the temporary fires which were to purge away the remaining impurities of departed souls; but, as it was also taught that the pains of purgatory, or at least their duration, might be lessened by the prayers of the clergy, continued after their decease, the conscience-stricken dying sinner was commonly willing to pay any price that was demanded for the redemption of his soul out of purgatory. The deluded victims of this wicked system seem more to be pitied than those who deceive them, but a great number of priests at this time were so illiterate, that they could neither read nor write, and probably themselves believed the traditions that they taught. Some of superior intelligence and education, with the Bible open to them, might perhaps find it difficult to get rid of the impressions given to them in their childhood with the weight of authority; some, doubtless, by the grace of God, neither believed nor taught these lies; but we know that there was a large class who wilfully taught them, knowing them to be lies, to gain their own ends; or who, like some of the philosophers who believed not the heathen mythology, thought that these

fables might produce some kind of moral order amongst the untaught and depraved multitude.

The confusion and terror that were produced at the end of this century, in the expectation of the day of the Lord, should solemnly affect our minds, as giving but a small idea of the awful horror that will overshadow all the dwellers upon earth, when those things really come to pass. But the panic then prevailing has been alluded to in our own times, by such as wish to believe these events are yet afar off: they say, "the expectation was a false one then. Why may it not be so now? It was very general then, and now very partial." It might be answered, we are many centuries farther on in the history of the Church and of the world; the aspect of both is greatly altered since those days, and a *general* expectation of judgment is by no means the sign that it is about to fall on the world. Quite the reverse: for "when they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape" (1 Thess. v. 3).

But even if the judgment of the world were yet a little longer to be delayed, and the proclamation of the Gospel of God's grace to be continued in long-suffering mercy, we know from the Scriptures, it is the Lord's will that his servants should *always* be *as those who wait for their Lord*—not in dismay, as if any thing in the circumstances of His coming would bring them alarm, but in happy confidence, that *when* He shall appear, they shall be like him; and that the change which will shut out all terrors for ever will take place in the twinkling of an eye.

But we must throw ourselves back into the dismal circumstances of professing Christians in the tenth century, as we have not yet finished our review of their condition. We have noticed the large additions made to the calendar of saints in the last century; in this century we have a curious instance of the assumption of a particular right to create saints by the Popes; and a little farther on we shall find it arrogated by them alone.

In 993, the bishop of Augsburg wished to read before the pope John XV. and his clergy assembled in the Lateran, a certain book called the life and miracles of

Uldaric, who was one of his predecessors. He was permitted to do so, the pope sitting as a listener, and the bishops, priests and deacons standing around him; and having finished his narrative of the blind restored to sight, the devils cast out, the palsied healed, etc., the pope addressed an epistle to all the clergy of France and Germany, giving them an account of the meeting that had been held and declaring the result as follows: "We have ordained, that the memory of Uldaric ought to be honoured with a firm affection, and a sincere devotion, by reason that we are obliged to honour and show respect to the relics of the martyrs and confessors, in order to adore Him whose they are: we honour the servants to the end that this honour may redound to the Lord. It is our pleasure, therefore, that the memory of Uldaric be consecrated, to the honour of the Lord, etc." Then follows the anathema to those who dispute this decree, and the seals of the pope, five bishops, nine cardinal priests, and several deacons.

There was a man living at this time in Italy, laboriously earning the reputation which caused him even during his life to attract much admiration, and afterwards to be canonized. This was Nilus, the same who addressed Otho III. shortly before his death. He was a Greek of Calabria, and heavy sin, followed by a fever which he regarded as its punishment, determined him when partly recovered to go into a monastery. But, not thinking the manners of the monks sufficiently austere, he retired to a cavern, where he only lived on a little bread, fruit, and water, taken once a day; yet with this spare diet, he repeated all the daily and nightly services, wrote for several hours daily, and repeated the psalter, standing before the cross, with a thousand genuflections. He allowed himself to be tormented by filth and vermin, and only gave one hour to sleep. Having become very famous, he withdrew to an oratory on his own estates, and gathered some disciples round him. The governor of Calabria was his enemy, because he gave him no presents, but on his death-bed he sent for Nilus to invest him with the monastic habit. The hermit returned for answer, "Repentance requires no new vows, but a change of heart and life"; but, at last, he complied with his importunate request. On another occasion, when some priests, and Leo, a neigh-

bouring lord, went to visit him, rather to try his skill and patience than to admire him, perceiving their purpose, he gave out this axiom, "Out of ten thousand souls now in the body, scarcely one will be saved." "God forbid," said one of the priests, "a heretic must have said that." Are we then Christians for nothing? He pointed them to the Scriptures, and to the fathers, to show that the many were in the broad road to destruction. They were silent for a moment, and then Leo made enquiry whether Solomon were saved or damned. Nilus supposed that he wanted merely an excuse for his own sins, and replied, "Wilt thou be saved or damned; what is it to thee, whether he be or not?" He also added, that the Scriptures had not mentioned Solomon's repentance as they did that of Manasseh. Even after this rebuke, a priest asked of what tree Adam ate in the garden? One answered, Of a wild apple tree, and all laughed; but Nilus seriously reproved their levity, asking how he could acquaint them with what Scripture had not revealed: that they should rather reflect on what expelled man from Paradise, and how it might be regained. And to prove to them there could be no end to such idle questions, if he encouraged them, he added, "If I could tell you, you would then ask, what kind of root, or leaves, or bark, the tree had, whether it was a tall one, or a little one." This extraordinary man refused the most flattering invitations from the Emperor of Constantinople, and also rejected the bishopric of Capua, as well as the offers of the Emperor of Germany. His acute mind and fearless spirit, combined with his knowledge of the Scriptures, might have been of service to his fellow men, had he not adopted such a strange mode of life. His disciples attributed miracles to him; and these secured his saintship at Rome.

Ceremonies chiefly of heathen origin continued to be multiplied in honour of every additional saint, but the worship of the Virgin Mary took a higher place; and in this century may be dated the commencement of those vain repetitions called the crown and the rosary, still used by the Roman Catholics, and accounted of saving efficacy. The crown consisted of six or seven repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations of Mary, called Ave Marias; the rosary of fifteen repetitions of the

Lord's prayer, and one hundred and fifty Ave Marias. And farther to honour, as they supposed, the blessed Virgin, the celebration of masses and a fast from flesh was ordained for the Lord's day. The monastic discipline, known by the name of the rule of St. Benedict, had entirely decayed at the commencement of this century, and a noble Frank, named Odo, who became Abbot of Clugni in Burgundy in 927, seeing the general disorder, made the most vigorous attempts to remedy it. He revived the observance of forgotten rules, and introduced a variety of ceremonies, and a more rigid discipline; and his convent became so famous, that almost all the monasteries of the west gradually corrected themselves by his rule, and a number of convents founded in connection with Clugni scrupulously followed it. Of their particular habits, and their remarkable influence, we shall have to speak as we advance. It may be sufficient here to observe that Odilo, abbot of Clugni, at the close of this century, instituted a yearly festival in remembrance of all departed souls, called the Feast of All Souls. Before this time, it had only been customary to pray for particular persons, but a certain hermit in Sicily pretended it had been revealed to him that the prayers of the monks of Clugni would be effectual in delivering souls out of purgatory, and thus Odilo was induced to decree an extension of their former prayers to all the departed. The festival was, at first, celebrated only at Clugni, but afterwards, having received the pope's approval, was observed in all the Latin churches.

A more awful form of excommunication had been at this time adopted; and it may be as well to describe it, as we shall often have to notice the terms of it hereafter. The priest who had to pronounce the anathema stood in a balcony, beneath which the people were assembled in the largest possible numbers by the sound of a bell; and, after the curses had been read out of a book, the priest put out the lamps, or candles, by throwing them on the ground with a dreadful imprecation against the excommunicated person, desiring that he might be extinguished by the vengeance of God. The phrase of "cursing by bell, book, and candle-light" originated in this strange ceremony.

The first instance of the consecration and baptism of

bells occurred in 968, when John XIII. sprinkled a large bell, which was cast for the Lateran Church at Rome, with holy water, blessed it, and pronounced it sacred. On this occasion, or subsequently, prayer was made that by the sound of the bell the people might be delivered from their temporal or spiritual enemies. Godfathers and godmothers were also appointed to answer questions in the name of the bell.

Controversy in this unhappy age seemed almost at an end, not that the difference between the Latin and Greek churches, or the differences of opinion in either did not still exist; but the human mind seemed in too languid a state to care to express itself, and there was not learning and ingenuity enough to contest the disputed points. The Greek Church was for many years agitated by the contention as to the lawfulness of fourth marriages, which arose out of the case of Leo, the Philosopher; but Constantine VII. quieted the tumult by calling a council in 920, whereby they were entirely forbidden.

The chief writings in this age were those of Odo and Gerbert, to which may be added the re-arrangement of the voluminous lives of saints. Roswida, a nun, celebrated the miracles and praises of the saints in several poems, and was distinguished in this illiterate age for her style, and her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. It is melancholy that her little talent should have been employed in giving "the creature the Creator's due!"

Arnolph, bishop of Orleans, who lived towards the end of this century, testified that Rome brought forth nothing but dismal darkness, and he suggested that there might be some real pastors and eminent men in religion found elsewhere, to whom it would be better to refer than to the Popes;—and, addressing the fathers assembled in a council, he said "What think you of this man, the pope, placed on a lofty throne, shining in purple and gold, whom do you account him? If destitute of love, and puffed up with the pride of knowledge only, he is Antichrist," etc.

We have also to subjoin to this dark chapter some account of one who appears to have been as a light in our country. This was Alfric, sometime abbot of Malmesbury, who was made archbishop of Canterbury about 995. The following

is an extract of a letter written by him to a nobleman whilst he was abbot :—"Thou hast oft entreated me for English Scripture, and I gave it thee not so soon, but thou first with deeds hast importuned me thereto, at which time thou didst so earnestly pray me, for God's love, to preach unto thee at thine own house : and when I was with thee, great moan madest thou that thou couldest get no more of my writings." Thus we may rejoice that preaching was not then confined by the clergy to churches ; and we may hope that in those dreadful times there were others, besides this nobleman, who thirsted for the Scriptures, and sought peace through the preaching of the Gospel.

Alfric translated, or paraphrased, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, parts of the books of Kings, Esther, Judith, and the Maccabees. Of the four Gospels he writes to his friend :—"These be the four waters of one well-spring which runs from Paradise far and wide over the people of God. I have written already of the four books about forty sermons and more in the English tongue." Of the Epistle of James he writes : "James the Just wrote one epistle of great instruction for all men who observe any Christianity in their lives."

Alfric wrote eighteen homilies for the use of the clergy ; and there is a sermon of his still extant, in which is found the following Scriptural argument against Transubstantiation. "Some things are spoken of Christ by signification (we should say emblematically), and some are things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on the Lord's day rose again. He is said to be bread then by signification, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain ; He is called bread because He is our life and angels' life, He is said to be a lamb for his innocency, a lion for strength, wherewith he overcometh the devil. But Christ is not so, notwithstanding—after true nature—neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why then were bread and wine called his body and blood ? Truly the bread and the wine which in the supper of the Lord by the priest are hallowed, show one thing without unto human understanding, and another thing within to believing minds. Without, they are seen bread and wine both in figure and taste ; and they be so, truly after

their hallowing, but Christ's body and blood by ghostly mystery."

This good man, seeking to find some spiritual profit even in the custom of mixing water with the wine—unauthorised by Scripture—says, "The wine represents the blood of Christ, the water the people—that Christ may be with us and we with Christ—the head with the limbs and the limbs with the head." He explained eating the whole lamb with the purtenance thereof, to represent receiving with greediness the word of life; and says, concerning the eating of the body of Christ, "*he that tastes it with a believing heart hath that eternal life.*" Perhaps this is the fullest expression of salvation by Christ alone—salvation entire, and for ever for every believer—which is to be met with in the writings of these times.

It is a melancholy proof of infirmity that one who knew so much of the Bible should have earnestly contended for anything that it does not warrant. Alfric was zealous for the celibacy of the clergy; and when he became primate, displaced all the canons of Canterbury cathedral who would not abandon their wives, in order to put in their room Benedictine monks. His notions, however, were evidently founded on a mistaken or partial interpretation of Scripture and not from entire disregard for it. The one wife of the bishop and deacon, distinctly named in the Epistle to Timothy, seems to have been utterly overlooked or forgotten; and Alfric, who endeavoured at least to argue from the word of God, refers to the circumstances of the disciples who left all to follow Christ; that is, said he, they forsook every worldly thing, and the company of their wives. Perhaps the good archbishop had not compared Scripture with Scripture, as we have the privilege of doing, for it is plain he only refers to passages in the Gospels. The Epistles appear to have been generally less studied in these days, and he must surely have overlooked the fact that the apostles, the brethren of the Lord, and Peter, did *not* abandon their wives, as we are plainly told by the apostle Paul (1 Cor. ix. 5). We know there may be circumstances in which, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, a servant of God may have to leave his wife (Mark x. 29) as well as all other possessions and relationships; but the Lord's ordinary rule was, that a

man should cleave to his wife, and not put her away. Surely had Alfric seen that "forbidding to marry" was one of the proofs of departure from the faith, he would not have taught as he did. Amongst his canons, written for the bishop of Sherborne by way of episcopal charge, there are many things worthy of notice; but he begins with the error first alluded to, and after saying, "I tell you, priests, I will not bear your neglect of your ministry," he proceeds to teach that it was their duty to abandon their wives in obedience to the law of Christ; and, misquoting the words of the Lord, adds, that he himself said in the Gospel, "he that hateth not his wife is not a minister worthy of me." He probably referred to Luke xiv. 26—a word which was doubtless intended as a touchstone to the multitudes, who were then, or are now, professing to go *with* Christ, but who are not really preferring him to all else, nor prepared either to renounce or to bear anything for His sake. See verses 25—27.

There can be no doubt, according to previous evidence in this chapter, that the clergy of these days were for the most part immersed in self-indulgence; and there are words of Alfric's, which seem as if he meant to testify that their wickedness was such that they had completely destroyed the church; he began, however, his efforts at reform in a wrong manner, by exhorting them to give up their lawful connections. In the nineteenth of these same canons, Alfric writes, "Now it concerns mass-priests, and all God's servants, to keep their church employed. Let them sing therein the seven-tide songs appointed them." Thus the psalmist said, "Seven times a day do I praise thee because of thy righteous judgments." In the twenty-first, "Every priest before he is ordained must have the arms belonging to his spiritual work [we see no mention of "spiritual gifts" from the Head of the Church], that is, the holy books, viz.: the Psalter, the Epistles, the Gospels [the whole Bible, we know, was a rare possession], the Missal, the book of Hymns, the Calendar, the Passional, the Penitential, and the Lectionary." It would have been well, indeed, if the time and cost of copying these many books which were of human invention, and contained many vain rites and ceremonies, and traditions and superstitions, had been devoted to furnish them with all

the Scriptures. Alfric adds, "These books a priest cannot do without, if he would properly fulfil his office, and desire to teach the law to the people belonging to him. And let him carefully see that they are *well written*." The twenty-third canon is as follows: "The mass-priest shall, on Sundays and on holydays, explain the Gospel in English to the people, and by the Pater [the Lord's prayer] and the Credo, shall, as often as he can, stir them up to faith and the maintenance of Christianity. Let the teacher be warned to avoid that which the prophet has said, 'Dumb dogs, they cannot bark.' We ought to bark and preach to the laity, lest perchance we should cause them to perish for lack of knowledge. Christ saith of ignorant teachers, 'if the blind lead the blind.' Blind is the teacher if he is illiterate and deceives the laity by his ignorance. Beware of this, as your office requires."

It is certain that the truths contained in the selections of Scripture used by the priests, were sufficient to make souls wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus; but they were darkened by the errors of their other books; yet we may hope there were others, besides Alfric, who preached in accordance with the word of God: "he that tastes of Christ with a believing heart hath that eternal life."

We must not omit to mention Maiolus, an abbot of Clugni. He was so fond of reading that he once nearly lost his life by reading on horseback, as he was thrown back by the branch of a tree. In crossing the Alps he was taken prisoner by the Saracens; and one of them, it is said, when seizing his books and other valuables, grieved him by putting his foot on the Bible that was amongst them. His letter asking for his ransom-money ran as follows:—"To the lords and brethren at Clugni, the wretched Maiolus, a captive in chains. The floods of ungodly men have made me afraid, etc." But the most interesting part of his story is, that when urged by Otho II. and his empress to accept the papacy, he refused to leave his little flock, desiring to live in poverty and not in the magnificence of a papal court, because of the example of Christ. Being still importuned, he gave himself to prayer for divine direction, and satisfied himself that he was right in his refusal by this text (Col. ii. 8), "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit,

after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."

It is well to remember that the worst of men, and the worst of doctrines, are those that make the most noise in the world, whilst those "*preserved in Christ*" and *by Christ* shed their quiet light even where the darkness comprehends them not.

APPENDIX.

At the commencement of this chapter we have spoken of the religious changes brought about by carnal weapons during this period, and we shall here insert a few particulars concerning Norway and Denmark, which will illustrate this point, and at the same time fill up what is wanting in the history of those countries. These particulars, however, carry us on into the eleventh century.

We have already mentioned that the profession of the name of Christ was taken up by Olave, and acknowledged by Sweyn, during their invasion of England; and that the latter helped to seat Olave on the throne of Norway after their return. Haco Jarl, whose kingdom he took away, was a pagan and a tyrant; Olave's first object was to spread his new religion; we say *his* religion, for we dare not call it that of Christ, although it bore His precious name. Olave must be regarded as a man who had embraced certain opinions which he had the boldness to avow, and the courage to force upon others at all hazards; for he was of a far more chivalrous spirit than Athelstan's pupil. Sigurd, an abbot, who accompanied Olave on his leaving England, was scarcely less adventurous than the king himself, and gave him his counsel and assistance in all his undertakings. Olave, at his accession, held a general assembly, and the Norwegians, overawed by his power, yielded for the most part to his wishes concerning religion, and took measures at least to join his new faith with their ancient idolatry. Those who would not obey were subjected to all kinds of vexations, and many left the country. But Olave's designs extended beyond Norway; and on the arrival of three

vessels from Iceland he would not allow them to depart till the crews were baptised. The Icelanders deliberated. Some objected to the new religion as only fit for women, some proposed at once to attack the proselyting king. On hearing this, Olave commanded them to be brought into his presence, and said that he hoped his forbearing to punish them would dispose them to embrace the Christian faith before leaving Norway; but that God did not wish people to come to Him by constraint. One of the Icelanders replied, "that it was indeed kindness which would gain him, and perhaps the next winter he should have less respect for Thor." The king then explained to them his views, and invited them to his Christmas feast. They consented to be baptised, and remained for some time to receive more instruction. In 997, Olave and Sigurd set out on a missionary journey fully armed; but some dared to resist; and the king, returning to his previous thought, that force might be improper, summoned another national assembly. The pagans came in great numbers and well armed, and Olave foreseeing that it might be dangerous to him to be found in the minority, gathered his bravest warriors round him, placed himself on a rock, and tried the effects of his eloquence. "You ought," exclaimed he, "to serve me, but before me the King of kings whose servant I am. You ought to be the soldiers of Him who has created heaven and earth, and to expect your best reward from Him who will make you become from servants the brothers of His only Son and heirs of heaven; for the kingdoms of this world are not established till their citizens are brought up for heaven." Three orators had been commissioned to repulse the king's proposal, but there was no one to reply to this harangue, and many of the hearers consented to be baptized without farther opposition. The temples were everywhere beaten down and the idols destroyed, and a church was raised on the spot where this assembly was held. Some English priests were left in that province to baptise and instruct the women and children.

At a royal feast held about this time, some one ventured to remark that Christianity had not made so much progress as it was thought; and on the king's inquiring who still opposed, he was directed to a valiant young warrior named

Endrid. Olave desired that he might be called ; but Endrid returned word that he would come to the king when he wanted to see him, but if the king wished to visit him he would find him at home. Olave, accordingly, went towards his dwelling with a great suite, and on the road was met by Endrid and invited to a repast. The king refused to enter the house of an idolater, but he had a tent erected near it in order to converse with him. On being asked if he was not aware that obstinate idolaters were to be severely punished, he replied, that his dwelling was so placed that he could defend himself against all sorts of violence. He had no confidence in gods of wood and stone ; but he was not acquainted with the king's god, and would not give himself to him, unless he were almighty.

Olave offered to prove that his God was almighty, by challenging Endrid to contend with him in the arts of swimming, shooting with the bow, and fencing, in all of which he was said to be much skilled. The pagan agreed that this would be the best way to discover the truth of the matter, and as the king's superior skill was proved after three days of trial, Endrid and his house were baptised. Another of the conversions effected by this courageous monarch is thus related. A feeble Irish vessel was struggling with the storm on the coast of Norway, when one of the king's boats with thirty men went out to its assistance. A cable was thrown out, but it was broken ; and the Irish skiff was in danger of destruction. The king himself, however, was at the helm of the royal boat, and by his boldness succeeded in saving the Irish. Among them was a famous skald named Halfind ; and Olave proposed to give him an opportunity of learning Christianity. The poet listened whilst his royal deliverer repeated the creed and the Lord's prayer, and then went on his way. A few days after, he came and desired the king to listen to some verses which he had composed in his honour ; and when he refused, told him that he also should reject the stories that Olave had tried to teach him, for they were not at all more beautiful than his composition. The king, fearful of losing him as a convert, accepted the verses, and retained him in his service ; but as in this situation Halfind often heard the ancient gods spoken of with contempt,

he said one day, "If you will not believe in them, you need not despise them," and immediately commenced an ode in their honour. The king was displeased, and ordered him to compose a Christian hymn. Matters went on in this way, till at last by reproaches and exhortations the king constrained the skald to be baptised. But argument was more rarely used by the king than an offer of single combat, and there was scarcely any one who would not rather accept the religion than the challenge of so powerful a warrior. In 998, a rebellion burst forth, and Olave was obliged to consent to another assembly, the question of national religion being still unsettled. Olave gathered a band of Christians, and desired the pagans to meet him at the Yule feast. On this occasion he used subtilty, and pretending that he was sensible he had greatly offended the gods, said that he proposed to offer as an expiatory sacrifice six of the noblest youths of Drontheim, whom he named, and desired them to find six others. They stood aghast but could say nothing, as their religion authorised such sacrifices. Then addressing them with bitter irony, Olave asked if they doubted the joys of Walhalla; their devotedness to their gods had surely merited reward, and they should be ready to depart with joy. The hesitation was too evident to be denied; and he continued with seriousness; "Listen to my counsel, worship the God of heaven and earth, and expect no help from idols which have deceived you till now." Many were baptised on the spot, but the pagans still insisted on a general assembly, at which they required that Olave should do sacrifice as Haco had formerly done. On the appointed day, both parties came together in great numbers, and Iron-beard, the orator of the pagans, desired the king to sacrifice to Thor. Olave had formed his own plans, and proceeded to the temple with his companions, carrying his heavy lance. The idol was a large martial statue seated in a chariot, to which were harnessed two oxen, all of wood, and a crowd of other idols were placed around. Iron-beard desired the king to take hold of the silver chains that harnessed the oxen; and as this was considered a decisive mark of attachment to the idol, he gave a savage laugh of joy when the king seized them, and said, 'Thou

too art a worshipper of Thor!" Olave boldly replied, he was about to show that he was a worshipper of God, and not of the devil; and, raising his lance, he overturned the idol with a blow, and his companions broke it to pieces. Iron-beard wished to leave the temple and stir up the people, but he was killed on the threshold; and Olave presented himself in his stead, offering to the pagans instant battle, or the acceptance of his religion. There was no alternative; and six hundred men with a great number of women and children were baptised on the spot. Priests and soldiers sent by the king finished the conversion of the whole district of Drontheim, and, sword in hand, he himself went from place to place in the same service. A near relation of his own not being moved by threats or promises, his house was set on fire, and many perished in it; and as he was himself escaping he was taken by the king's orders and thrown into the sea. In another province, the chief who resisted and insulted both the king and his religion was put to death by placing a serpent in his mouth, and the people consented to be baptised without further opposition. As soon as Olave had turned his back they set up a colossal image; but he returned in great wrath, smote it in pieces, told them that the devil was the author of their religion, and threatened them with torture and death if they would not profess Christianity. His soldiers seconded his reasonings so forcibly that the people were obliged to submit.

The irritated inhabitants of Drontheim at length chose as their king, Eric, son of Haco Jarl; and he purchased help from Sweyn Otho to prepare a fleet against that of Olave. The king fought from a long high vessel called the great dragon, and his companions supported him with lion-like courage; but enormous blocks of wood were thrown from the land, and his ship being ready to sink, he and his most valiant warriors threw themselves into the sea, and were seen no more.

His wife wished to die, but fearing to offend God by suicide, she asked Sigurd what was the most frugal regimen that a human being could adopt,—and then took only one apple daily, till at the end of nine days, she died. Olave *disappeared* in A.D. 1000. The lovers of the marvellous

said that he escaped drowning, and swam to a neighbouring island, and that afterwards he made a pilgrimage to the Holy land, where he became abbot of a Syrian convent. His removal seemed to effect more in favour of his religion than all his efforts; for his singular courage was remembered and his fiery zeal admired after he was gone; and he was soon honoured as a saint throughout the country. His successor overcame by mildness the prejudices that he had attempted to root out by force. Olave Skoetkonung, king of Sweden, was touched by the preaching of some missionaries sent into his country by Olave Trygweson, who had given his sister in marriage to a Swedish count, in order to extend the profession of Christianity. He was baptised the year after the death of the king of Norway; and from that moment became the ardent champion of his adopted religion.

Sweyn for a long time employed himself in the protection and encouragement of Christianity in his own state; and in assisting to propagate the same in Denmark and Norway, by sending them English missionaries. Canute, his son, was baptised in his infancy; and on his death-bed Sweyn urged him to continue to spread Christianity in Denmark, and desired to be carried back into that country for burial. Sweden had long before been divided into bishoprics, and was partially evangelised; and Libentius, archbishop of Hamburgh, who was distinguished, like his predecessors, for his zeal and piety, rejoiced in his old age to see that Christianity was likely to flourish in the North. The remarkable similarity that exists between the ancient Danish and English churches, makes it probable that the same architects were employed in both countries, or at least that the buildings belong to the same period. Olave of Sweden entered into an alliance with Sweyn, for the express purpose of furthering the progress of Christianity in their States; and it appears that he was more enlightened than his brother-kings in the North. Peace was enjoyed during his reign, and piracy, the former glory of his country, greatly diminished. He tried all the arts of persuasion with the pagans, and discountenanced the rash zeal of some of the English missionaries who were disposed to use violence. It seemed to be a matter of conscience with him; and he

wished it to be so with others. The natural frankness and independence of the Northern character were entirely opposed to the bondage enforced by Rome; and in all these proceedings we hear nothing of the Pope or his pretensions: neither seem to have been acknowledged in these regions at this period. The people would not bear to be shackled by their own sovereigns, who were rather the heads of republics than despotic chiefs, and it was not therefore likely that they should be enslaved by a foreign bishop. Olave himself, having spoken too imperiously in one of the national councils, was reprov'd by a popular judge. He told the king boldly that the will of the people on that occasion was peace with Norway, and if he were not of their mind he would be exposed to their wrath, the effects of which had in earlier days thrown into the water five kings prouder than himself. The people approved by clattering their arms. Olave submitted, and he reigned in peace till his death in A.D. 1026.

Olave II. a prince to whom Olave Trygweson had stood god-father, came to the throne of Norway, at the death of Eric, in A.D. 1019; and he set himself to follow the example of him whose name he bore. We seem to be reading the history of the first Olave over again, except that schoolmasters were used by the second Olave in the prosecution of his designs, as well as his own right arm. He at last fell a victim to a party raised up by the pagans, and was, like his exemplar, enrolled among the saints of the North. It was rumoured abroad that all kinds of maladies were cured at his tomb; and only the light of the Reformation dispersed the superstitions connected with his memory.

CHAP. XVII.

A.D. 996—1031. Robert the Wise, and his Times.

ROBERT SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER, HUGH CAPET.—HIS CHARACTER.—ATTEMPTS TO SEPARATE HIM FROM HIS WIFE.—HIS EXCOMMUNICATION, DIVORCE, AND FAMILY TROUBLES.—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN FRANCE.—HENRY II. EMPEROR.—POPE OF ROME.—ROBERT REFUSES THE EMPIRE.—CONRAD EMPEROR.—HIS VICTORIES.—HISTORY OF HUNGARY UNDER STEPHEN SURNAMED THE SAINT.—KINGS OF POLAND AND BOHEMIA.—ADALBERT'S RELICS.

ROBERT, son of Hugh Capet, who had long held the regal dignity in conjunction with his father, became sole king of France at the age of twenty-five. No monarch ever bore a higher character in that country. It was said of him he was as much the master of his passions as of his people; but it was a flattering description of him which was uttered by the monks when they said, after his death, "We have lost a father who governed us in peace; we lived under him in security; for he did not oppress, or suffer others to oppress: we loved him, and under his protection we dreaded no one besides." Robert was a studious and not an ambitious prince, and exhibited so much of the devotion that was admired in this age, that he obtained the title of the Devout, or the Pious, as well as the Wise. He built many churches, and was the founder of the cathedral at Paris, which was raised on the ruins of a temple to Jupiter, built by the boatmen of that city in the reign of Tiberius. It will be remembered that Pope Silvester II., the learned Gerbert, had been the instructor of Robert, during his residence in France. When his pupil came to the throne, he assumed towards him the place of a master. In the ~~first~~ instance he desired him to restore to the archbishopric of Rheims, Arnolph, who had been deposed by a council in 991, and had remained in prison till the death of the king, because of his having been concerned in an attempt to place the Duke of Lorraine on the throne. Robert yielded

to the pope's request in this matter ; but soon found that by so doing he had exposed himself to interference of a more disagreeable nature. It often happens that persons who, like the Pharisees of old, omit "the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith," are, like them, very scrupulous about things comparatively unimportant, or very severe in exacting obedience to their own commandments. It was, probably, in order to increase their own opportunities for interference in the concerns of others, that the Greek and Latin priests instituted so many laws concerning marriage ; and the latter had so far added to God's commandment in the days of Robert the Wise, that they disallowed of marriages between persons who were even related in the seventh degree, and introduced many other absurd restrictions. Now, Robert had married Bertha, widow of the Count of Chartres, and sister of Rodolph, duke of Burgundy—a connection desirable as linking him with the most powerful peers of France, but still more, because Bertha was an amiable princess and capable of bringing him domestic happiness. But Rome, jealous, as it were, of the peace of France, regarded this connection with displeasure as being contrary to its laws, for Bertha was related to Robert in the fourth degree ; and the relationship was alleged to be increased by his having stood godfather to one of her children by her first husband. It was true, that some bishops in France had authorised the alliance, but Silvester alleged that the papal dispensation could alone make it lawful. Accordingly he set at nought the marriage, imposed a seven years' penance on the king and queen, and put the kingdom under an interdict, that is, prohibited any religious service to be performed in it, till the bishops, who had allowed the marriage without his consent, should come in person to Rome to seek his pardon. But Robert was for some time wise enough not to give heed to this unrighteous assumption of authority ; and as he would not separate from his beloved wife, a council was called at Rome, in which the pope presided, and Otho III. being himself present, and no friend to Robert on political grounds, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him. The account of the effects of this procedure comes from the pen of a cardinal priest of Rome, who

wrote fifty years later, and whose object doubtless was to make the papal anathema as terrible as possible. He relates that Robert was abandoned by all his courtiers, and that the only two servants who did not forsake him cleansed by fire all the vessels that he had used, and threw to the dogs such victuals as he left, being fearful of touching anything that had passed through the hands of an excommunicated person. It was, moreover, reported that the queen who had a dead child had given birth to a monster—a child with the head and neck of a goose. This last particular might suffice to bring in the narrator guilty of exaggeration in the rest of his account; but there can be no doubt that France was thrown into great confusion, and the king himself brought into unbearable distress by the despotism of the papal tyrant; for, shortly after the excommunication, he sacrificed his own domestic comfort in order to restore quietness and good order in his kingdom. Bertha was divorced; the bishops went to Rome and threw themselves at the feet of the pope, and the churches were re-opened, and all the ceremonies went on as before.

Not only did Robert suffer pain in separating from his first wife, but the person whom he afterwards married, Constance, daughter of the Count of Arles, was of such an opposite disposition that she was a troubler of his peace and of that of the nation. Even in his own house when he wished to do any kindness, he was so afraid of the interference of this imperious woman, that he used to give money to his servants, saying, "Take care that Constance does not know it." It has been alleged, on the other hand, that Constance had her grounds of complaint in the singular manners of her husband, who indeed, it appears, was more fit to live in a monastery than in a palace. He had generally three hundred beggars or poor people living under his roof, and would frequently wash their feet and dress their sores; and the queen, who preferred her own pleasure, had no sympathy with him in such engagements. It is, moreover, probable that Robert, however well-meaning, did little good in keeping so many idle persons about him; and it is related that one beggar whom he concealed under his table and fed from his plate, unknown to Constance, took away the golden ornaments from his mantle; and

another, whilst he was at mass, attempted to cut the gold fringe from his robe. And once, when the queen had given him a splendid lance, he called to a beggar, as he was going to a church, to get some tools to take off the rich silver ornaments; and sitting down with him in a retired place, Robert helped him to cut them from the lance, and put them into his wallet. It is certain that Robert and Constance were an ill-assorted pair, having entirely opposite tastes. The king, it is said, was very fond of singing, and being once desired by the queen to compose a song in her praise, he preferred singing a hymn in praise of the martyrs; but as she heard the words "O Constantia Martyrum," *i.e.* "O Constancy of the Martyrs," and did not understand Latin, she supposed it was something flattering to herself. Once, when Robert went on pilgrimage to Rome, he was seen to place a sealed packet on the altar of St. Peter's; but when the monks after his departure went to open it, in expectation of some splendid present, they found it contained nothing more than church music, of which he composed a great deal. Whilst Robert spent his time with monks, and in assisting in church services, Constance was engaged in frivolous amusements, and surrounded with minstrels and troubadours; and she filled the court with young Provençals, nobles of her own province, whose gay dress and disorderly manners offended the king and his friends.

Robert had four sons and two daughters. His eldest son died young; the second was an idiot, and of the two others, Henry and Robert, Constance preferred the younger and wished him to be the heir. In this, however, the king resisted her, and Henry was consecrated to the regal office in a public assembly. Irritated by this opposition to her will, Constance tried to set the two brothers at variance, and, being disappointed in that attempt also, she made them both miserable by her petty acts of persecution. At length they fled from the court and took up arms against their father; but they soon repented, and he, who was not the cause of their unhappiness, had the consolation of seeing them return to a sense of their duty. A few years after his second marriage, Robert became heir to the dukedom of Burgundy, by the death of his uncle, but he could only

obtain possession of it by force of arms. He bestowed it on his son Henry; and when that prince succeeded to the crown, he gave it to his brother Robert, whose descendants possessed it for nearly three centuries. Robert the Wise had imbibed a taste for literature and science from the instructions of Gerbert, and, on the throne, exerted the most ardent zeal for the restoration of letters, and not without success. One of the most melancholy circumstances of his reign is connected with a sect, said to have held the doctrines of the Paulicians, discovered at Orleans in 1017. It appears that some of the Paulicians had escaped from the bloody persecution under Theodora, and hid themselves in Bulgaria, and from thence, increasing in numbers, and varying probably in religious opinions, spread into Italy and other parts of Europe. Their history is very obscure; but, however belied by their enemies, there seems reason to believe from the complaints made against them, and from the treatment that they received, that there were those among them of whom the world was not worthy.

A certain Italian lady was said to have introduced these novel opinions at Orleans, and they were embraced by twelve canons of the cathedral, men eminently distinguished for their piety and learning, and by a considerable number of citizens above the lowest class. The king assembled a council at Orleans to try these heretics, and every effort was made to persuade them to change their opinions; but as nothing could move them, the leaders were sentenced to be burned alive, 1022. Constance, the queen, who was probably glad of any opportunity for the indulgence of her own tyrannical disposition, seemed to take a pleasure in the punishment of the condemned, and stood at a church door to see them pass by to the place of execution. Seeing among them one who had formerly been her confessor, she displayed her cruel zeal by striking out one of his eyes with a switch which she held in her hand. We read of no such exhibition of violence from the king.

We have little farther to notice in the life of Robert, except his refusal of the imperial crown; and the circumstances under which it was offered to him must lead us back to the history of the empire after the death of Otho III.

As Otho died without children, there were many candidates for the throne; from among these, Henry, duke of Bavaria, was elected A.D. 1002. He was the grandson of Henry I. The first care of Henry II. was to settle the affairs of Italy; and he was successful in expelling both the Saracens and the Greeks; and at the death of Silvester, he established in the popedom John XVII., a Roman of noble birth. He, however, died the same year, and was succeeded by John XVIII., also a Roman. During his pontificate A.D. 1005, Henry was again called into Italy to oppose Ardouin, marquis of Ivrea, who had assumed regal power. At his approach, the usurper retired, and Henry was crowned king of Lombardy and Pavia by the archbishop of Milan. But some of Ardouin's partisans in that city inflamed the populace to such a degree that Henry's life was only saved by the troops who defended the palace; but the alarm reaching his camp outside, the rest of his soldiers climbed the walls, and began a terrible massacre of the citizens. The emperor stayed their violent hands, and some of the chief men of Pavia came to implore his forgiveness attributing their disloyalty to the adherents of Ardouin. Henry replied that mercy was his favourite virtue, and that he would rather have the obedience of affection than that which was produced by fear. The troubles of Germany obliged Henry at this time to return thither without visiting Rome; but opportunity was afterwards given him. John XVIII. retired to a monastery; his successor, Sergius IV., was esteemed humble and liberal-minded; he died 1112. Benedict VIII., bishop of Porto, was appointed to succeed him, with the emperor's authority; but as he was opposed by Gregory, the pope set up by a faction in Rome, he fled to Henry for assistance. The emperor conducted him to Rome, and established him in the papal chair; and in return for this favour Benedict crowned Henry and his wife Cunegunda in the church of St. Peter's, and gave to the emperor an apple of gold, surrounded with two circles of precious stones, and surmounted with a cross of gold, A.D. 1014. At this time, Henry quieted fresh tumults raised in Lombardy by Ardouin. In 1016, the Saracens invaded Italy; and Benedict in person, at the head of his troops, drove them away; this warlike

pope also defeated a considerable body of Greeks who had landed in his territories. Weary of the toils and trials of government, for he had been harassed by his own vassals, and especially by Boleslaus, king of Poland, Henry at length assumed the habit of an order of monks, whom he had long imitated in many of their practices, and he was formally received into the monastery of St. Val. But the abbot was a man of shrewdness and good sense; and as soon as he had welcomed the new monk, he addressed him, saying:—"Monks owe obedience to their superior: I order you to continue to reign." The emperor obediently resumed his place, and continued to prosper as an earthly ruler till his death, A.D. 1024. He was afterwards canonized. It is said, he was more ruled by conscience than any prince of his age. Benedict died in the same year, and was succeeded by his brother, John XIX., who retained the office till his death, 1033. The emperor Basil II. died one year after Henry II.

Henry had no children, and with him ended the Saxon line of emperors. Warm disputes arose about the succession; and the crown was offered to the king of France; and though, by accepting it, he might have been the head of an empire as extensive as that of Charlemagne, Robert the Wise refused to do so: we have before observed, that he was not an ambitious man. He found troubles enough at home; and to those which we have already mentioned may be added a frightful famine, in which his afflicted subjects not only fed on disinterred bodies, but murdered travellers and decoyed away children for food. A butcher of Tournay was condemned to be burnt for exposing human flesh for sale in his shop.

Robert survived his refusal of the empire about seven years. He died of fever in July 1031, at the age of sixty, as he was returning from a pilgrimage to some of the chief sanctuaries in France.

After Robert had refused their application, the electors of Germany assembled in the open fields, between Mentz and Worms, no hall being large enough to hold them. They encamped, and carried on their deliberations for six weeks; and the choice at last fell on Conrad, son of Herman, duke of Franconia, surnamed the Salic, because he was born

on the banks of the little river Sala. But several of the German princes revolted against him after his election ; and Robert, with his peaceable inclination, was happy in being spared the contests whereby Conrad established himself on the throne. Having defeated his enemies in Germany, Conrad marched into Italy and quelled the revolt of the Lombards, and then went to Rome, where he was anointed and crowned by Pope John XIX. A.D. 1027. At this ceremony, Canute, king of England, and Rodolph the duke of Burgundy assisted. Conrad's reign was a perpetual scene of warfare. He was recalled to Germany by fresh rebellion ; but, after appeasing it, he procured the sanction of the diet to the succession of his son Henry, and the young prince was solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Henry I. succeeded his father Robert on the throne of France, A.D. 1031.

Henry III. became emperor at the death of Conrad his father, A.D. 1039. After obtaining his wishes in the elevation of his son, the emperor attacked his opponents with fresh vigour, and completely defeated them. Among those whom he slew in battle, was Ernest, duke of Suabia, on whom a kind of curse was affixed by the empire, answering to that of excommunication by the church. It was the first occasion on which an individual was put, as it was called, to the ban of the empire ; and the curse against the troubler of the public peace ran thus : " We declare thy wife a widow, and thy children orphans, and we send thee in the name of the devil to the four corners of the earth." The person so proscribed, like the outlaw in later days, was considered beyond the protection of the laws, so that any one might take his life or goods with impunity. It was said to be giving him a wolf's head. As soon as Conrad had subdued his nearer enemies, he turned his arms against the Poles and Hungarians ; and when Rodolph, with whom he had formed a friendship at Rome, died without children and left him Burgundy regardless of the claims of Robert the Wise, Conrad took up arms to obtain it ; but his war with the Poles drew him away, and the king of France quietly secured it for his own family, as we have before observed. Conrad had been for the second time victorious over the Poles, when the news reached him of a revolt in Italy,

excited by Hubert, archbishop of Milan, a man whom he had loaded with favours. He rapidly marched to that city, took it by surprise, and condemned the prelate to perpetual banishment. This was the emperor's last expedition. He bore the character of a just and noble-minded prince; but during his rapid career, we see him incessantly engaged in warfare. The five popes who had ruled from the beginning of the century were men of morality and outwardly decent behaviour; but at the death of John XIX. in 1033, Benedict IX. was raised to the popedom, and lived in the utmost licentiousness. He was the nephew of his predecessor, and obtained his office by bribery; but his horrible conduct provoked the Romans to such a degree, that they degraded him in 1038. One of the last acts of the Emperor Conrad was to restore him. He died in Germany, 1039.

Stephen, king of Hungary, surnamed the Saint, was the coteremporary of Robert the Wise, and of Henry II. whose sister he had married; and he died only one year before Conrad. During his reign of forty-one years, he showed the greatest zeal for the propagation of Christianity, and was much helped by the labours of Gisela, his wife. Hungary, under their control, became an altered country. A church was built for every ten villages, and furnished with an ecclesiastic; and Stephen, sparing neither pains nor expense, often traversed his kingdom in company with his missionaries, exhorting and encouraging his people to abandon idolatry. In the fourth year of his reign (1001), he sent to Rome to describe his work, and to seek the Pope's help and blessing. Silvester II. granted all his desires, and desired that he should have a cross carried before him, as a mark of his apostleship, saying, that he who gained over so great a people to the faith, might well be called an apostle of Christ. Stephen was also honoured by the ceremony of consecration in an assembly of bishops; and the crown which he received was entitled, "holy and apostolic." This distinction is still retained in Hungary. Unhappily, the honours paid to Stephen by the Pope, were the means of enslaving the people to Rome, and they were never permitted to possess the Scriptures in their native tongue. Such was Stephen's veneration for his patron,

that whenever the pope's name was mentioned in the public reading of any of his edicts, he prostrated himself, as if in adoration.

It is certain, however, that the exertions of Stephen were the means of drawing his people out of barbarism. He became their lawgiver, and tried to moderate their ferocious and warlike spirit, by directing them to agricultural and other industrial occupations; but in his time neither the nobles nor people could read anything written, and he was obliged to make known the determinations of his council, and his own laws by means of heralds. He wrote a collection of precepts intended for his son Emmeran, exhorting him to sincere humility, the true greatness of a king,—to patience, gentleness, heart-prayer, compassion for the poor, and defence of the oppressed—and setting before him the duty of walking before his people as a model Christian. Emmeran died before his father, with the reputation of a saint.

The friendly disposition of Stephen encouraged many to undertake the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, who had been previously deterred by the difficulties of a more circuitous route; and, besides treating the pilgrims with the utmost kindness, and loading them with presents on their way, the king, at his own expense, built great houses for their accommodation at Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and other places. These pilgrimages had a civilising effect, by bringing the people of Europe into more friendly intercourse with each other, and giving occasion for the exercise of hospitality to strangers; and sometimes returning pilgrims brought back useful products or new ideas from more polished nations, and opened the way for commerce. It was not likely that the great changes effected or contemplated by Stephen should occasion no resistance; and we find that four pagan counts conspired against his life. One of them entered by night the apartment in which the king lay ill; but his exclamation of "Who goes there?" inspired the murderer with such terror, that he threw away his dagger, and asked for mercy. The king pardoned him, but the other conspirators were put to death. Stephen had not used force in proselyting; and it was only the personal love which his people bore him that enabled them to receive a religion

and priests connected with Germany; for that country was the object of their traditional abhorrence as the grave of so many thousands of their fathers. The superficial nature of their profession was made manifest under other rulers.

Stephen died in 1038.

During the reign of Robert the Wise, the two other newly baptised nations, Bohemia and Poland, made little progress. Boleslaus II. king of Bohemia, who died in 999, was succeeded by his son Boleslaus III. surnamed the Red. He was an idle, cruel, and avaricious prince, and there was little but trouble in his kingdom till his death, which took place in 1037. His cotemporary, Boleslaus I., king of Poland, deprived him of some of his territories; but he was chiefly engaged in a bloody war with the Prussians, intending not only to revenge the death of Adalbert, but to force upon these barbarians the reception of Christianity; but neither the gentler nor the severer means that were used could induce these inflexible people to shake off the idolatry of their ancestors, although they were an isolated nation of pagans surrounded on all sides by professed Christians. There were, however, some pagan tribes of Sclavonians in the northern parts of Germany, who for five centuries resisted the immense force that was used to draw them, or drive them into the Church. Each sovereign, in his turn, attempted their conversion by force of arms, and by missionaries; the former probably neutralising the power of the latter. Pagan idolatry, as a national profession, was not in fact blotted out of Europe till the end of the twelfth century; and probably families and individuals might be found attached to it three centuries later.

Brezislaus, who came to the throne of Bohemia in 1037, was distinguished for his political sagacity and valour, and for his kindness to the poor; and Severus, who was for thirty-six years archbishop of Prague, laboured with him for the improvement of his people. He carried on war with Poland for the recovery of the possessions that had been torn from his predecessor, and actually took Gnesen the capital. The chief prize in that city was the body of Adalbert; for the fame of this relic was so great, that both Severus and the king judged they might reap advantage from it. To this end the archbishop undertook to sup-
ern-

tend its removal to Prague; and it was strange indeed, that the dry bones of their martyred bishop should have an influence in that city which his living presence failed to gain. Great alarm spread among the people on hearing that some soldiers who were about to pillage the tomb in the presence of Severus, were driven back by a vehement flame which issued from the pavement; and the archbishop, probably the contriver of the lying miracle which he would deem a pious fraud, told them that the anger of God could only be appeased on certain terms. These were, that polygamy and arbitrary divorce should be renounced throughout Bohemia, that the murder of near relations should be punished by exile, that burials should take place around the churches, that trial by ordeal should take the place of personal revenge, and that drinking-houses should be put down as the nurseries of crime and vice. The duke and all the people consented to these new laws at the tomb of Adalbert: it was agreed that the hotels should be razed; that their keepers who transgressed the law should be publicly whipped; and that every one frequenting such a place should be fined and imprisoned.

The ruling pope, Benedict IX., was so displeased by the removal of Adalbert's remains, that Brezislau sent an ambassador to Rome, in 1039, to justify himself. The papal council debated whether he should be put to death, deposed, or banished; but at last agreed to excuse him on condition of his employing a portion of the vast riches that he had taken from the shrine at Gnesen in building a great convent to be filled with Latin monks. The king was glad to procure forgiveness on such easy terms.

CHAP. XVIII.

Times of Robert the Wise. A.D. 1017—1041.

REIGN OF CANUTE THE GREAT.—THE TWO OTHER KINGS OF THE DANISH LINE, HAROLD AND HARDICANUTE.

WHEN Edmund Ironside met Canute in battle array near Gloucester, he proposed that they should settle their quarrel

by single combat, but the Danish prince, being his inferior in strength and stature, would not accept a challenge of so dangerous a nature. Uniting, however, in Edmund's desire to prevent farther bloodshed, he recommended a consultation of the officers of both armies. They all met accordingly in the little island of Alney, in the Severn; and when it was at last agreed that the kingdom should be divided between Edmund and Canute, the two kings embraced, exchanged arms and garments, and swore to keep the peace. Canute was in no-wise privy to the murder of Edmund. It was accomplished by the traitor Edric Streon, surnamed the Infamous, who had married the daughter of Ethelred, and by whom Edmund was brought up when left an infant at the death of his mother. Edmund left two sons, the elder named after himself; the second, Edward. But, though Canute was guiltless of Edmund's blood, he immediately took advantage of his death to lay claim to the whole country; and as some were inclined to support the late king's children, he summoned a general assembly, at which he obliged the officers who had concluded the treaty at Alney to depose, that it had been then agreed that the entire kingdom should fall to the surviving king, without any mention of the young princes.

The English perceived that it would be dangerous to dispute even a false statement with one who could obtain by force what he failed to get by fraud, or as a willing gift, and all gave him their allegiance. Canute was twenty-one years of age when he was crowned king of all England. He immediately divided the country into four districts. Mercia he put under the government of Edric Streon, having promised him that he would raise his head above all the other peers—an engagement, as we shall find, that had a deeper meaning; Northumbria he placed under Eric. East Anglia under Turkill; and Wessex had his own immediate oversight. Northumbria, having a Danish population, was to retain its own laws; and the Anglo-Saxon usages were to be followed in the rest of the kingdom. Very early in his reign, Canute called a council to make known the principles on which he intended to act; and it must have been soothing to the people to find that a king of that savage race of idolatrous pirates with whom the English

nation had had such long and sorrowful acquaintance, as deadly foes, should be disposed in the providence of God to treat them all with the same regard; to do justice and to love mercy.

"Henceforth," said Canute, "let every man whether rich or poor be esteemed worthy of right, and let him be judged with a just doom." And in order to diminish the frequency of the punishment of death, he thus decreed: "Let not God's handywork and his purchase which he dearly bought, be destroyed for things of small value." And again, to lessen other customary severities: "We forbid any Christian to be sold wholly out of the land, or into a heathen country, lest the soul which Christ bought with his own life should perish."

Other curious statutes of this same council prove, that besides the toleration of the practice of slavery,* above alluded to, all kinds of heathen practices were carried on in England either by the semi-barbarous Danes, or by the English who had learned their ways, or retained the ancient superstitions of Druidism.

"We strictly prohibit all heathenism, or that men worship idols or pagan gods, or the sun, or moon, or fire, or rivers, or fountains, or stones, or any kind of trees: or practise witchcraft, or contrive murder by lots, fire-brands, or other jugglings."

In several of his laws Canute orders his people to banish themselves, if they will not desist from the sins which he forbids. It would seem almost as if, in his early zeal, he had caught the spirit of David when he said:—"I will early destroy all the wicked of the land." But the love of power was a temptation to injustice which he did not resist, and though shrinking, as it were, from the immediate destruction

* Ancient historians report, that it was a common vice of the English to sell their children as slaves, even when they were not in that extreme want and poverty which is sometimes alleged as the excuse for their having done so. Bristol was the place of exportation for slaves sold into Ireland, and they were shipped there, coupled together by fetters. They were chiefly young people.

It seems to have been the fashion in Ireland for persons of property to be waited upon by English slaves.

The laws of Canute did not prevent the practice of selling slaves into Ireland; we know not whether they hindered the exportation of any to heathen countries.

of the sons of Edmund, he sent the young princes to the court of his ally, the king of Sweden, with an intimation that he desired their death. We have already mentioned Olave as being a more consistent professor of Christianity than many; and it is gratifying to find that he would not do evil to please his brother-king; yet, being afraid of protecting the boys himself, he sent them to his relative, Stephen, king of Hungary, to be brought up at his court. Christianity was now firmly established in that country, but it was that of Rome. The elder prince married the king's sister, but died without children. Edward, the younger, married Stephen's sister-in-law, Agatha, the daughter of the emperor Henry II. They had five children, two of whom, Edgar Atheling (*i. e.* the heir, Saxon), and Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, we shall particularly mention hereafter. But the sons of Edmund Ironside were not the only rightful heirs to the throne of England, and Canute wished to be guarded on all sides from rivals. Two sons of Ethelred by his first wife remained; and these the Danish king also banished. One of them who returned was killed by his orders; the other was supported secretly by his friends.

Emma and her two sons, who were still at the court of the duke of Normandy, were the next in Canute's thoughts, and he proposed to secure himself against their claims in a more desirable manner. He made an offer of marriage to the widow of Ethelred, stipulating that their common offspring should succeed to the kingdom, and at the same time he proposed his own sister to the duke; Richard consented, and Emma was again sent into England; but though the people were surprised and displeased at her marrying the enemy of her husband and family, they were glad of a queen to whom they were accustomed. The duke of Normandy did not long survive his sister's second marriage, and his son and successor, Richard III., dying a year after him, without children, was succeeded by his brother Robert, a prince of valour and abilities. After Canute by all these steps had got rid of his royal rivals, Edric Streon came forwards, complaining that he had not been sufficiently rewarded for paving his way to the throne. Canute immediately ordered him to be beheaded as the punishment of

perfidy towards Ethelred and his son ; and that he might fulfil his former promise, ordered the head of the traitor to be placed on the top of the highest tower in London, and the body to be thrown into the Thames. At the same time, the king banished Eric, and Turkill taking alarm and fleeing into Denmark, was there slain by his orders. Other nobles of inferior rank were also destroyed ; for he had only elevated these Anglo-Saxon lords, to appease them till he should be fully settled on the throne. Having thus secured himself, he levied a tax of eighty-three thousand pounds for the payment of arrears to his troops, eleven thousand of which were raised from London alone. That city had certainly cost the Danes many losses, having obstinately resisted in two sieges, through the attachment of the inhabitants to their English prince. Canute, however, acted with sufficient wisdom to reconcile his English subjects ; their lives and properties were protected with the same care as those of the Danes, and by living peaceably together, they gradually became one people. As soon as England wore a quiet aspect, Canute determined to visit his other kingdom, Denmark, and accordingly embarked, taking with him all whom he thought it might be dangerous to leave behind. Amongst these was Goodwin, the chief of the English warriors, on whom he had bestowed the command of the troops. It is necessary to speak of the early history of a man, who attained remarkable eminence. A Danish chief, who had lost his way after an action with the Saxons in the time of Ethelred, met with a herdsman's son, and asked for direction to the Danish fleet. The youth replied that the way was long and difficult, and that if he fell into the hands of the peasants on the road, they would surely kill him. The chief took off his ring, saying, he would give it to him, if he would be his guide. The herdsman's son, whose name was Goodwin, refused the ring, but said that he would try to lead him safely, and at the end accept such a reward of the service as he might please to give. He then conducted the chief to his father's cottage for rest and refreshment, and on the morrow brought two horses to the door for their journey. On parting, Goodwin's father said to the chief that he committed to him his only son as a guide, and as his life would be endangered, were it known that he

had saved a Dane, he begged that he would get him into the service of the Danish king, if they reached his ships in safety. The chief having regained his companions, gratefully complied with the request. Goodwin married his sister, and was raised by Canute to the dignity of Earl, on occasion of military service performed by him during his stay in Denmark.

In 1026, Olave, king of Sweden, was succeeded by his son, Asmund Jacob, a professor of Christianity, and one who exerted himself to soften the manners of his people by wise and humane laws. He particularly opposed private revenge and judicial combats. He also sought to extend a right influence in Denmark and Norway, but marred his own usefulness by a slavish subjection to the archbishop of Bremen, a papal agent who wished to bring all the northern kingdoms under the dominion of Rome. This king, having some cause of offence against Canute, invaded Denmark; and in 1028, the king of England again left his adopted country for his native land, accompanied as before by English troops. The campaign, however, was unsuccessful; they suffered greatly, and Canute displayed the worst features of his character. One night, as he was gaming with a nobleman who had shortly before saved his life in an encounter with the enemy, he became so angry, that his friend thought it best to leave him. Canute accused him of cowardice. "Was I a coward," cried the warrior, "when I saved you from the fangs of those Swedish dogs?" The king could not endure this merited reproof, and in wicked ingratitude caused his deliverer to be killed.

During another visit to Denmark, Canute took advantage of the troubles of Norway, arising out of the contests between pagans and Christians, to make himself master of that country; and his eldest son, Sweyn, was crowned king there in order to keep possession of it in his name. Harold, his second son, surnamed Harefoot, on account of his agility, accompanied him into England; but Hardicanute, the son of the second marriage, was left in possession of Denmark.

Canute, the sovereign of three kingdoms, returned to England in triumph, and some of his flatterers carried their adulation to such a pitch, that they one day remarked in

his presence that everything was possible to him, likening him, as it were, to God.

In order to rebuke their folly, he ordered his chair to be placed on the sea-shore when the tide was coming in, and as the waters approached him, issued his commands to them to retire. He waited, as if expecting obedience, till the waves washed over his feet, and then turning to his courtiers, seriously addressed them on the impotency of kings, and the Almighty power of the King of kings, saying, "Let Him only be honoured with the name of Majesty, whose nod, whose everlasting laws, the heavens, the earth, the sea with all their hosts obey." From that period it is said that he refused to wear the crown. It appears, indeed, as if Canute at this time were either satiated with the poor honours the world could bestow, or filled with remorse on account of the evil ways in which he had earned them, for a considerable change occurred in his manner of life. He ceased to exert himself, either in extending or preserving his dominions, and, seeing all things in peace, determined on a pilgrimage to Rome. On his way, we are told that he scattered silver and gold with unparalleled liberality. It was during his stay there, that he assisted at the coronation of the Emperor Conrad; and he was in such good esteem among the potentates of Europe, that he received from him and from the pope munificent gifts, with a promise of exemption from all toll from his subjects, in passing through their respective countries as pilgrims: this latter privilege was also accorded to him by Robert the Wise, then in the last year of his reign. Canute, on his part, confirmed the gifts of his predecessors to the popes, and obtained from John XIX. various privileges for the English college at Rome. From Italy, the king wrote to the nobles and clergy of England, and expressed his repentance of his sins. "If," said he in this letter, "through the intemperance and negligence of my youth I have done what was not just, I will endeavour, hereafter, by God's help, entirely to amend it. As you yourselves know, I have never forborne to apply myself and my labour, nor will I ever forbear to devote either, to the necessary utility of all my people." Yet we do not read that Canute brought forth any of the fruits which the Scriptures show to be

meet for repentance; he did, however, abundantly please the monks by furthering the worldly interests of their order. He also built many churches in England, Norway, and Denmark, enriched the clergy, and bestowed revenues for the support of small chapels called chantries, on some of his fields of battle, and in other places, where he appointed mass to be sung for the souls of those who had fallen in conflict with him. He built one church over the grave of St. Edmund at Bury (hence called Bury St. Edmund's), but levied a rate on the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk for its support; the first instance, perhaps, on record of a compulsory tax for the support of an ecclesiastical edifice. Canute testified his honour for unmarried priests, by allowing to them the rank of thanes.

Canute was far more popular than those two princes whom he called his sons; and some went so far as to say they were not his own children though they had been imposed upon him as such when infants. Canute, indeed, was far more moderate than conquerors in general, and considering that he had so recently emerged out of the barbarity of paganism, and that his native country was below England in civilization, he appears a very extraordinary man.

He is described as well-spoken and cheerful, and a liberal patron of the Scalds and Gleemen. Not only so, a ballad which he himself composed, was long a favourite amongst the common people of England. It arose out of his happening to hear the psalmody issuing from the monastery of Ely, as he was navigating the stream that passed thereby. The only original fragment that remains may show how little our language has altered since the days of Canute, *i.e.* during 800 years.

Merrily sung the Monks, within Ely,
When Canute, king, rowed thereby.
Row, my knights; row near the land,
And hear we these monks sing.

In the original it runs thus:—

Merie sungen the Muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut-Ching, reu ther by.
Roweth Cnihtes, naer the land,
And here we thes Muneches saeng.

A causeway raised among the marshes, connecting Peterborough and Ramsey, known by the name of the King's Delf, remains as a memorial of the reign of Canute. It was done by his command.

The only memorable event that occurred after Canute's return from Rome, was his last appearance at the head of a formidable army on the frontiers of Scotland, in order to intimidate Malcolm, the king, who had refused him homage for Cumbria. Happily, no blood was shed, as Malcolm, though he would not in person own himself the vassal of the Danish king, agreed that his grandson and heir, Duncan, should be put in possession of Cumbria, and make the required submission. Canute survived this expedition four years, and as Basileus or Emperor of the Anglo-Saxons, for that was the title he assumed, he could boast that the English, the Scots and the Britons, the Swedes, the Danes and the Norwegians acknowledged his power. He died at Shaftesbury in 1035.

Harold Harefoot was declared successor to the crown of England by Canute's will, and he had probably hoped that his other sons would be satisfied with the northern kingdoms, which they had long held for him. Hardicanute, however, was preferred by the English, and ought to have been king, according to Canute's treaty with the duke of Normandy on marrying his sister. Earl Goodwin espoused the interests of the son of Emma, and civil war would have ensued, had not the nobility come to an agreement that the queen should be established at Winchester in right of her son, till he should arrive; and that Hardicanute should be king of Wessex, leaving the possession of London, and of the provinces north of the Thames, to Harold. In this arrangement Alfred and Edward, the elder sons of Emma by Ethelred, were quite overlooked; but these young princes took the opportunity of visiting their mother in her royal state, accompanied by a numerous retinue. They were induced to take this step, because their powerful cousin Robert, duke of Normandy, had died on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and at the accession of his son William, yet a minor, that country was involved in troubles.

But Harold took advantage of Hardicanute's delay, and

gained over the Earl Goodwin to his side, by promising to marry his daughter; and through that nobleman's influence he was proclaimed king of all England. The archbishop of Canterbury, not seeing his title to be good, refused to give him the crown and sceptre with the usual blessing, but laid them on the altar. Harold, however, pursued his course independently of ecclesiastical sanction, and is said to have showed his contempt for religious observances, by purposely ordering out his dogs at the time of worship. Emma, the queen, on the contrary, was very attentive to the forms of religion, and her son Edward obtained from the monks the title of Saint and Confessor, because of his profession of godliness.

Harold was so jealous of the Saxon princes, that in concert with Earl Goodwin he laid a plan for their destruction. He invited them to his court with many expressions of friendship; and the queen, afraid either to send or to refuse them, at length permitted Alfred to set out with a train of six hundred men. On their way to London, they were met by Earl Goodwin, and suspecting no evil, complied with his invitation to pass the night at Guildford Castle. When they retired to rest, their arms were taken from them; and after nine-tenths of his attendants had been cruelly murdered, Alfred was deprived of his eyes, and conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after. The melancholy tidings soon reached Winchester, and Emma fled into Flanders with her son Edward, and received protection from the Earl Baldwin. From thence, Edward proceeded to Normandy, and remained at the court of his cousin William. Hardicanute visited his mother in Flanders, to consult with her about regaining the kingdom, and while they were together they heard of the death of Harold I. 1039.

Hardicanute, or Canute the Hardy, was so named because of his robust constitution; but his habits of intemperance quickly destroyed his health and strength. The death of Harold left no barrier between him and the throne of England, and with the sixty ships which he had collected on the coast of Flanders, he immediately went to claim the kingdom, and received the allegiance of Earl Goodwin, and

all the nobles. The vengeance which he could not execute on his brother when living, he madly indulged by insults to the dead body. By his orders the corpse of Harold was dug up and thrown into the Thames, and when it was drawn up by some fishermen, and buried in the church of Clement Danes, he had it disinterred and again thrown into the river. A second time it was taken up with greater secrecy, and buried in Westminster. Goodwin, whose sole object was to keep in favour with the party in power, assisted Hardicanute in his brutal treatment of the dead; but the king could not forget that the earl had betrayed his interests in his brother's reign, and had been concerned in the murder of Alfred and his men. The arrival of his half-brother Edward, whom he received with favour, induced him to proceed against Goodwin, as the prince loudly demanded justice; but before the day of trial came, the wealthy earl appeased the king's wrath, by a magnificent present, and when he and other great men swore that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, he was acquitted. They probably meant that no guilt attached to him for obeying Harold's orders. The gifts whereby the eyes of Hardicanute were blinded, was a galley with a gilt stern, rowed by eight men, each of whom wore on his arm a gold bracelet, weighing sixteen ounces; and besides their sumptuous clothing, the rowers had helmets, swords, and lances shining with gold. Hardicanute was a covetous prince, and demanded from the country the ancient payment of Danegelt, desiring to raise £21,099, merely for the troops which he had brought with him from Denmark. There was great discontent in various places, but at Worcester the populace rose and killed two collectors. The king vowed revenge, and the three most powerful nobles Goodwin, duke of Wessex, Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, were sent to execute his vengeance. By Hardicanute's command they burned and plundered the city, but they spared the inhabitants, and confined them in the small island of Bevery in the Severn, till the king's royal forgiveness was obtained by the intercession of Goodwin. Such violent proceedings were but of short continuance, as Hardicanute was cut off only two years after his accession. On the occasion of his sister

Gunilda's departure from England to become the wife of the Emperor Henry IV. this royal glutton kept up the feast night and day, and at last, at the nuptials of a Danish lord, he fell speechless from taking an inordinate draught, and a few days afterwards expired, A.D. 1041.

CHAP. XIX.

Henry I. of France, and his Times. A.D. 1031—1060.

HENRY'S ESTABLISHMENT BY THE HELP OF THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, ROBERT THE MAGNIFICENT, AND HIS CONNECTION WITH WILLIAM, AFTERWARDS CONQUEROR OF ENGLAND.—HENRY III. OF GERMANY.—COTEMPORARY POPES.—INFLUENCE OF HILDEBRAND.—SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMAN PRINCES IN ITALY.—STATE OF HUNGARY.—VENICE.—HENRY OF GERMANY, AND HENRY OF FRANCE, LEAVE THEIR THRONES TO THEIR INFANT SONS.

HENRY and his brother Robert had not been set at variance by the efforts of their step-mother, during the lifetime of their father, but when Robert the Wise died, Constance succeeded in making a treaty in favour of his younger son. A. D. 1031. Henry was obliged to retire, and took refuge in Normandy. Richard II. duke of Normandy, died in 1027, but he left four sons: Richard III. his successor, who had married Adela, daughter of the king of France; Robert; Mauger, archbishop of Rouen; and Henry. Richard besieged Robert, with whom he had a quarrel, in the castle of Falaise; and his brother, professing a wish to be reconciled, opened the gates and invited him and his nobles to a banquet. After this banquet, Richard and his companions died; and Mauger excommunicated Robert on the charge of having poisoned them. Robert did not vindicate himself, but he got the sentence reversed, and succeeded to the dukedom. He was a man of great bodily and mental powers, and was much looked up to by the worldly princes of his time; but though some distinguished him with the surname of "the Magnificent" he was more

commonly known by the horrible name of "Robert the Devil."

This prince immediately took up the cause of the young king of France, and marched his army to Paris. Constance sued for peace, and retired to a convent—her favourite son, Robert, was satisfied with the gift of Burgundy,—and Henry rewarded the duke's services by some additions to his territory. In 1035, Robert the Devil, probably troubled by the remembrance of his crimes, resolved to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land; but before his departure he tried by every means to secure the dukedom to William, his only child, who was illegitimate. He made his nobles swear allegiance, and appointed Alain, duke of Bretagne, his guardian; he also exacted a promise of protection from the king of France in return for past favours. The duke died abroad, and his ambitious brothers, Mauger and Henry, tried to set aside the claims of young William. The king of France risked his own life in defence of the child's title, and the duke of Bretagne did his part; but, as the young duke grew up and began to manage his own affairs, he displayed such extraordinary talents that Henry grew jealous; and in 1041 he appeared in arms against him with other enemies. But his ingratitude did not prosper, for he was three times defeated by the young duke. Normandy, however, long continued to be a scene of war; and the duke of Bretagne was supposed to be poisoned during his stay there, as he died very soon after his return. At length, the king of France repented of his behaviour, and by assisting William in a battle with the remaining malcontents, put him in full possession of Normandy. This William was the Conqueror of England; and our next period will comprise the history of his life and times.

It must be remembered that Henry III. (surnamed the Black), became Emperor of Germany eight years after Henry I. came to the throne of France. War with the Bohemians, the Poles, and the Hungarians, occupied the early part of his reign, and Italy afterwards engaged his attention.

Benedict IX. had not learned by his first deposition to improve his manner of life; and the Romans, provoked by his scandalous behaviour, deposed him a second time in

1044, and created another pope, Sylvester III. The faction which supported Benedict, took the name of Pandolphi from their chief leader: and his opponents were called Ptolemei, after their leader. At the end of three months the Pandolphi drove out Sylvester, and restored Benedict; but the latter, on finding that the Romans would not tolerate him, sold his office to Gratian, an archpresbyter of Rome who took the name of Gregory VI. But even after he had received the money, Benedict refused to give up his title; and the three popes, upheld by their several partisans, took up their residence in different quarters of Rome, and dividing the papal revenue between them lived in the most licentious manner. Gregory VI. carried his rage so far that he obtained the surname of the Bloody. The account of these popes or antipopes is very conflicting. Some say that Benedict retired to a monastery, and Sylvester resigned his pretensions for an additional sum of money, leaving Gregory in full possession, and that his popedom was famous for his successful efforts in clearing the public roads of the robbers which infested them. It appears, however, that the Emperor Henry, who had not been called upon to sanction his election, marched his army into Italy, and assembled a council at Sutri in 1046. There all the three popes were declared unworthy of the office, and Henry procured the election of a bishop who was his chancellor, and who took the name of Clement VI. His first act was the coronation of the emperor and Agnes his wife; and at this time the Romans took an oath never to elect a pope without the approbation of the reigning sovereign. The papal office, which seemed fatal alike to peace and life, was held by Clement little more than a year; and at his death Benedict IX. again forced himself upon the Romans. But he was displaced by a pope named Damasus II. elected in Germany by Henry, and sent by him to Rome, and, as he died only twenty-three days after his election, the emperor, in a diet held at Worms, appointed Bruno, a bishop and a man of noble family, to succeed him in 1048. Bruno accepted the robes of office; but Hildebrand, a monk, who had high ideas of the supremacy of Rome, told him that the emperor alone had no power to create a pope, and persuaded him to go into Italy as a private person.

Bruno consented, and Hildebrand accompanied him, and used many means to retard his election in order to assume the credit of obtaining it for him. Bruno took the name of Leo IX, and is still distinguished as St. Leo, in the Romish calendar of saints. His accession forms a remarkable era in the history of the Popes; for Hildebrand, one of the most ambitious men who ever breathed, ingratiated himself into the favour of Leo, and almost entirely swayed his counsels, and those of his successors; so that he paved the way for the immense pretensions with which he armed himself when he came to the papal throne. Hildebrand was the son of a carpenter in Tuscany, and rose from the station of a monk at Clugni to the rank of an archdeacon; the favour of Leo raised him higher. He was of a bold and enterprising genius, austere in his manners, and of the most unbending disposition: his whole aim seemed to be the aggrandisement of the bishopric of Rome; and those acts of Leo and his four successors which promoted this object, must be attributed mainly to the suggestions of Hildebrand.

In 1049, Leo IX., without consulting the king of France, announced that he would hold a council at Rheims, for the reformation of the Church throughout his dominions, and Henry found it was vain to oppose so despotic a ruler. The pope came thither and deposed and excommunicated not only such of the clergy as were convicted of gross crimes, but some bishops of exemplary life, who were disposed to obey the king rather than himself. Leo afterwards held similar councils in Italy and Germany; and it was his zeal in the government of the Church, as well as his private conduct, that won for him the title of Saint. Had he confined himself to the correction of the enormous vices that prevailed among the clergy, he might have earned commendation, but it is evident that his severity arose out of a desire to increase the opulence and authority of the Church of Rome, as it was exercised towards such as did not deserve punishment.

The state of Italy at this period so much affected the parallel histories of Germany and France, at present under our consideration, that it is necessary in this place to describe it.

The duchy of Benevento, which comprised a great part of the present kingdom of Naples, remained independent alike of Charlemagne and his successors. Sicily and the opposite provinces of Apulia and Calabria were for the most part the prey of the Saracens; but several lords had possessions there, and the Greek and German emperors long contended for the nominal sovereignty. The Norman adventurers sometimes enlisted in the service of the Greek governor, who was called a Catapan, sometimes fought for the pope, and sometimes for the independent princes; and the duke of Naples having profited by their arms in a war with the Duke of Benevento, permitted some of them to settle in the country; and the city of Aversa, which was founded in 1030, became the foundation of the Norman power in Italy. The disturbed state of Normandy after the death of Robert the Devil, made this settlement in Italy appear more desirable, and Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman lord, who had six sons, sent forth the three elder to seek their fortune in the new colony. These young men, William surnamed *Fier-a-bras*, Drogo, and Humphry, were of a most warlike spirit, and gave such assistance to the Catapan in his war against the Saracens in Sicily, that the island might have been restored to the Eastern empire, had not the Greek become jealous of the valour of his allies. He provoked the Normans by unjust treatment; and though only a few hundred in number, they rose against him, and by the generalship of the three brothers, made themselves masters of the greater part of Calabria and all Apulia, in A. D. 1041. William made himself count of Apulia. Adventurers from Normandy continually joined the first settlers, and the various captains divided the towns and villages among them. In 1046, at the death of William, his brother Drogo became count of Apulia, and chief of the Normans in Italy. At this time the three younger sons of Tancred left their country with a train of followers; they divided themselves into bands disguised as pilgrims, and under pretence of going to Rome, reached Apulia in safety. The elder of these youths was Robert, surnamed Guiscard (the wizard), of whom we shall have abundant occasion to speak hereafter.

Whilst the Emperor Henry III. was in Italy, Drogo and

some of his companions waited on him at Capua, and having no strength to resist such a warlike people, he entered into a solemn treaty with them, and legally invested them with such of his territories as they had acquired by force. He had little objection to their inroads on the duchy of Benevento, and when they had seized nearly one half of it, he bestowed the city of Benevento and its dependencies on the Norman prince, to hold as a fief of the empire, on condition of his wresting it from a duke who was too independent to please him. Robert Guiscard displayed even greater military talents than his brothers; and the Norman princes soon became the terror of Italy, and were viewed with alarm by the Greeks. They took possession of Benevento, and that city refused to open its gates even to the pope in person. Leo IX. began his reign by excommunicating the sons of Tancred; but he could do nothing to stop their progress, and at length he went to the emperor at Worms, to implore his assistance. In 1053, Henry furnished him with an army, and the pope marched in person against the Norman princes; but he was defeated and led captive to Benevento, and a large number of bishops and inferior clergy were either killed or taken prisoners. The pope was treated with so much respect by the conquerors, that he revoked his sentence of excommunication, and added his sanction to their former conquests. But the terror and excitement he had endured occasioned a violent attack of illness, and he died at Rome, whither he had been safely conducted by the Normans, in April, 1054. Hildebrand procured the election of a German bishop as Victor II., and instead of consulting the emperor previously, according to the former engagement, he waited on him afterwards to announce the choice of a new pope. Henry was at that time greatly harassed by the Hungarians. Andrew I., who had become their king in 1046, drove out of the country or put to death all the foreigners, who were chiefly Germans; he oppressed the professing Christians, and established the ancient manners and idolatry of the nation. Gerard, a bishop, with three of his colleagues, who had laboured arduously in the days of Stephen, determined to go to the king to try to appease his wrath, but in travelling along the banks of the Danube, they were attacked by some pagans, who over-

whelmed them with stones. Gerard, it is said, died with the words of the first martyr on his lips, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Christianity probably became more firmly rooted in Hungary under the persecutions of Andrew; for though he ruled fourteen years with an iron hand, it continued to spread slowly and irresistibly.

Henry III. was unable to overcome the king of Hungary in battle, and therefore agreed to furnish him with an annual tribute of money and soldiers, in order to ensure peace. The emperor, in fact, wanted to make another journey into Italy; and he had a most singular object in view. His own sister, Beatrice, had married the duke of Mantua, and after his death accepted the offer of the Duke of Lorraine, and espoused her daughter to Godfrey, Duke of Spoleto and Tuscany, son of her husband by a former marriage. In forming these connections, she had not asked the emperor's consent, and Henry was so fearful that she would obtain too much power, that he wished to prevent her from fulfilling her engagements. He actually brought her back with him as a captive.

In this expedition he also sought to strengthen his own interests in Italy by forming an alliance with Contarini, the doge or chief magistrate of Venice.

Venice, for a long period, was in subjection to the Greek empire, and in token of it sent annually a mantle of cloth of gold to Constantinople for the emperor; but at the close of the tenth century, it became a free republic; and so increased in power by means of its commerce, that it was at this time only rivalled by Genoa, another independent commercial republic, whose forces had wrested the island of Corsica out of the hands of the Saracens.

Henry III. proved the vanity of his jealous struggle for earthly power, as he died soon after his return to Germany, A.D. 1056. Two years before, his infant son, Henry, had been recognised as the heir of the empire, in a diet which the emperor convoked for that purpose at Cologne, and the title of King of the Romans, which was always afterwards used to distinguish the heir of the imperial crown, was first bestowed upon this young prince.

Henry IV. was five years old at his father's death, and

was entrusted to the care of his mother, the Empress Agnes, during his minority.

The Pope Victor II. died the year after the emperor; his successor, Stephen IX., brother of the duke of Lorraine, only ruled one year; and the next pope, Nicholas II., who was elected in 1058, pursued all the plans of Hildebrand. He was opposed by an antipope, Benedict X., and on his removal, assembled a council at Rome, in which an important decree was passed, designed to prevent the tumults that commonly accompanied every new election. The law of Nicholas empowered the seven cardinal bishops, i. e. the bishops of the territories adjoining Rome, and the cardinal presbyters, i. e. the ministers of the twenty-eight parishes, or churches of Rome, to create a new pope whenever a vacancy occurred. The temporal lords, the lower clergy, and the people, who were thus deprived of their former privilege, bitterly complained, and the law afterwards underwent some changes. Nicholas, moreover, proposed that the pope should be chosen out of the church of Rome, if a proper person could be found there; if not, that he should be elected elsewhere. This decree ended thus: "All this, without any prejudice to the honour of our dear son Henry (who is now king, and shall soon be emperor as we have promised him), or to the honour of his successors on whom the apostolical see shall confer the same high privilege." Thus, Nicholas pretended to bestow that which the emperors of Germany had so long accounted their right, and made use of as such. In the same year, Robert Guiscard, coming into the possessions of his deceased brothers, did homage to the pope, and received from him the ducal crown. This was the origin of the papal claims in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

We reserve a future chapter for a fuller description of papal assumption in the days of Hildebrand.

In 1059, the failing health of the king of France induced him to propose the coronation of his son Philip, though only seven years old. The ceremony took place at Rheims, and the bishops, abbots, and lords there assembled took the oath of fidelity to the infant sovereign. Henry I. died the next year, 1060.

When Henry lost his first wife, being distantly connected

with almost all the royal families of Europe, he was obliged to procure a wife from Russia; and the Czar Yaroslav, whose history we are about to relate, sent him his daughter Anne. She was a very quiet, harmless queen, and endowed a convent. After her husband's death, she had no power in France, and afterwards married a vassal—the Count of Cressy. The regent chosen by Henry I. was Baldwin, surnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders, a nobleman of high integrity, who had married his sister Adelaide. The monarchs of the chief countries of Europe, Henry IV. of Germany, and Philip I. of France, were both now under nine years of age. Their long contemporary reigns lasted till the end of the century, and will be resumed in connection. We will now observe the remarkable features in the history of the Russian and Greek empires during the times of Henry I. of France.

CHAP. XX.

Times of Henry I. continued.

RUSSIA AFTER THE DEATH OF VLADIMIR.—CONTESTS FOR THE DIGNITY OF CZAR.—YAROSLAV PROCLAIMED.—HIS ZEAL FOR CHRISTIANITY.—ISASLAV, CZAR.—SUBTERRANEAN CONVENT AT KIW.—LABOURS OF THE MONKS.—THE GREEK EMPIRE UNDER THEODORA AND ZOE.—CONTESTS BETWEEN THE POPES AND PATRICIANS.—THE COMNENI FAMILY.—ISAAC I. RETIRES THE YEAR BEFORE THE DEATH OF HENRY I.

It has been said that Vladimir left twelve sons: they were his children by different wives. He had partitioned his dominions among them, and none of them were at Kiow when he died, and Svatopolk, his nephew, who had recently married the daughter of Boleslaus, king of Poland, usurped the authority. Boris, a son of Vladimir, who was fighting with a neighbouring tribe, was entreated by his soldiers to march to Kiow and make himself Czar, but he refused, because of his eldest brother's superior right. Svatopolk, however, regarding him as a rival, sent to take

away his life. When Boris heard that the assassins were approaching his tent, he poured out his soul to God in the language of the psalms, and whilst he was praying for his murderers, they pierced him through with their lances. Svatopolk also put to death two other sons of Vladimir, one of whom was in the midst of his lamentations for the loss of his father. Yaroslav—the eldest son—who resided at Novogorod, then assembled his forces against Svatopolk, who is surnamed the Wretch, and on the day of battle took these words as his motto, “Let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end.” He was victorious, but Boleslaus with a powerful army re-instated his nephew at Kiow, and Yaroslav was thinking of escaping beyond the sea when the people of Novogorod offered to put forth their whole strength to resist the king of Poland. Several conflicts followed, till at last Yaroslav met his cousin in battle on the spot where Boris had been slain. Taking advantage of the circumstance, he exclaimed in the hearing of his troops, “The voice of my brother’s blood cries to heaven;” and they fought with such fury, that Svatopolk was entirely beaten and driven out of the country. Yaroslav was proclaimed Czar, A.D. 1019. Two of his murdered brothers were placed on the list of Russian martyrs, and the convent erected to their memory became a nursery for ecclesiastics. In the midst of perpetual wars, Yaroslav was assiduous in giving laws to his people, and in extending the knowledge of Christianity among them. He caused a large number of ecclesiastical writings to be translated from the Greek, and copied some with his own hand to present to different convents. He formed a society at Novogorod for the translation of the Greek fathers, and founded a school there for the gratuitous instruction of more than three hundred boys, the sons of clergy or magistrates, who were to be prepared for civil or ecclesiastical offices. He built and endowed a number of churches in the towns and villages of his empire, and instructed the priests how to teach the people, yet some of them continued their ancient idolatry; and even in the seventeenth century one of the eastern districts was entirely pagan. Yaroslav further distinguished himself by trying to make the Russian Church independent of the patriarch of Constantinople by appointing bishops

without his authority. Hilarion, the hermit already mentioned, attracted the notice of the Czar, by his austere habits, which afforded a strong contrast to the voluptuous manners of the capital, and he induced him to forsake his cave for the bishopric of Kiow. Yaroslav died in 1054, aged seventy-six. He divided his provinces among his five sons, and many struggles followed. Isaslav, his successor at Kiow, was a great friend to the priests; and in his dominions the manners of the people became softened, schools were multiplied, the towns began to rival each other in the erection of splendid churches, and Greek singers were introduced.

The cave deserted by Hilarion had been for some years uninhabited when it was discovered by a German monk named Anthony, who adopted it as his place of residence, and shortly after, attracted by his name, some other monks dug out subterraneous cells, and made an excavation for a church, and the whole mountain was gradually filled with inhabitants. These monks employed the rich gifts of the princes and people, in forwarding the designs of Isaslav, and founded many useful institutions. At a later period, a great subterraneous convent was made in the rock, in which many thousands of ecclesiastics were prepared for the service of the church; and some of these were martyred whilst labouring among the pagan tribes. In this retreat the monks employed themselves in translating or copying the classical authors, and doctors and lawyers were also trained there: in fact, the most distinguished men both in church and state, issued from this subterranean dwelling. It yet remains as one of the greatest curiosities of Russia; and in it are preserved the bones of Anthony in a silver coffin. The dried bodies of many other reputed saints may be seen in different recesses.

Whilst so many important events were transpiring in Europe, the Greek empire fell into extreme weakness. Constantine IX., the last of the Basilian or Macedonian emperors, had three daughters. Edrica took the veil in his life-time. Zoe and Theodora were requested by their dying father to marry, that they might be able to retain the empire. Zoe alone consented, and fixed upon Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of good abilities and handsome appear-

ance. He refused to resign his own wife for the sake of the imperial dignity; but she besought him to do so when she found that the despotic empress would deprive him of his eyes or his life, if he did not consent to her wishes. Romanus III. was accordingly proclaimed emperor, as the husband of Zoe, and his own wife retired to a convent, 1028. He proved a weak ruler; and, after labouring at home without success, was defeated by the Saracens, whom he encountered at Aleppo. He died in 1034; probably under the effects of poison administered by Zoe, as immediately after his death she married and raised to the throne her favourite chamberlain, under the name of Michael IV. Michael was originally a money-changer, and had been guilty of great extortion; and his brother John, a eunuch, who had charge of the revenue, outdid him in avarice. The emperor was attacked with epileptic fits, which were beyond the cure of the most skilful physicians; and his conscience, which was often tormented by guilt, could not be healed, though, in obedience to the advice of his monks, he did penance in sackcloth and ashes and made pilgrimages to the tombs of different saints. They neither directed him to the alone means of peace, nor advised him to restore his unjust gains. Seeing that his brother was irrecoverably ill, John proposed as his heir to the empire, his nephew Michael, who was surnamed Calaphates in reference to his father's trade of careening vessels. Michael IV. retired to a monastery, and Michael V. was proclaimed emperor, after promising the most implicit obedience to his adoptive mother Zoe, A.D. 1041. But his first act was to disgrace John, and he afterwards banished the empress and her sister. The people lamented over the loss of their mothers, as they called Zoe and Theodora; and, at the end of three days of insurrection, they drew Zoe from her prison, and Theodora from a monastery, and condemned Michael to be deprived of his sight, and to end his days in a convent. He had only reigned four months. The sisters were now to be seen sitting on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and receiving foreign ambassadors; but they only remained thus united during two months. At the age of sixty, Zoe chose a third husband, Constantine, surnamed Monomachus; the tenth Constantine who had occupied the throne of Constantinople.

The contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which had been long suspended, was revived, in 1053, by a patriarch of a turbulent spirit, Michael Cesularius. He commenced by writing a letter to one of the bishops in Apulia, accusing the Latins of various errors. Leo IX. answered this letter in a most imperious manner, and assembled a council at Rome, in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated. Constantine tried to stifle this controversy at once, and desired Leo to send legates to Constantinople to concert measures for the restoration of peace. Three legates, accordingly, arrived with letters from the pope, addressed both to the emperor and the patriarch. Constantine stood greatly in need of the assistance of the Germans and Italians against the Normans, and hoped to secure it by obtaining the goodwill of the pope, who was in high favour with the emperor, Henry IV.; but the arrogance of Leo, and the tone of his letters, excited the patriarch Michael in the highest degree, and the issue of the conference was most opposite to Constantine's wishes. The Roman legates, finding that Michael would not yield to their claims of the supreme authority of the pope, went to St. Sophia's, and publicly excommunicated the Greek patriarch and all his adherents; they also left a written paper containing their horrible anathemas on the high altar, and then shaking the dust off their feet, departed from the city, A.D. 1054. The patriarch, in his turn, violently excommunicated the legates and all their adherents, and procured the emperor's permission to burn their act. These measures were followed by a multitude of controversial writings on both sides, which only served to add fuel to the flame.

Constantine Monomachus was greatly afflicted with gout, and his way of life encouraged instead of corrected the general corruption of manners. He survived Zoe, but died in the same year that these violent anathemas were exchanged between the Greeks and Latins.

In November, 1054, Theodora was again brought forwards, and in her name the empire was peaceably governed by four eunuchs during nineteen months. This last descendant of Basil the Macedonian, expired in August, A.D. 1056.

She had named as her successor, Michael, surnamed Stratioticus, or the Warrior, because of his military fame ; but he was then in the decrepitude of old age. The Greek people, it was said, had been for years transferred like a herd of cattle to the care of any ruler whom Zoe and Theodora pleased to appoint ; and the elevation of Michael VI. was considered an insult to more esteemed generals. A secret assembly was held in St. Sophia, and Catacalon, a valiant officer, was named as a more suitable emperor ; but he directed their attention to Isaac Comnenus, who besides his military talents had the advantage of noble birth. The Comneni were of Roman origin, and had lands in the neighbourhood of the Euxine. Manuel, the head of the family, had made himself useful to Basil II., and left his two young children, Isaac and John, to the care of that emperor at his death. They were brought up in the palace, educated by learned monks, and trained for the high commands to which they were speedily promoted ; and their brotherly union, and marriage connections with the highest families, increased their power.

It was unanimously agreed that Isaac Comnenus should be invested with the purple ; and the associated generals parted, arranging to meet again at the head of their detachments in Phrygia.

The cause of Michael was hotly defended by the foreign mercenaries composing the imperial guard, and he was on the point of making an advantageous treaty with his rival ; but the voice of the people required him to resign his dignity ; and the patriarch not only absolved them from their oath of allegiance, but persuaded Michael that by retiring to a monastery he would exchange an earthly for a heavenly kingdom. With his own hands Cesularius shaved the head of the deposed emperor—the usual preparation for a monastic life ; and he then placed the diadem on the brow of Isaac Comnenus, A.D. 1057. The new emperor acted with valour and prudence in the direction of public affairs ; but his interference with the clergy drew upon him their dislike ; and the failure of his health and strength made him wish to abdicate in favour of his brother John. He preferred John to his own daughter, because he was a brave soldier, and the father of four sons, who seemed fitted to serve the

state, and in whom the advantages of hereditary succession might be secured. But John Comnenus refused an honour attended with so many difficulties ; and when his brother absolutely retired to a monastery, he allowed the purple to be transferred to a noble friend of their house.

Constantine XI. surnamed Ducas, became emperor in December, 1059, the year before the death of Henry I. of France.

The ex-emperor submitted himself to all the commands of his abbot, and, according to the rule of St. Basil, performed the most menial offices in the convent ; and, whilst in this manner he obtained the reputation of a saint, his imperial vanity was gratified by the frequent and respectful visits of Constantine. He survived his abdication two years, and died, A.D. 1061.

No history appears so barren of interest as that of the Lower Roman Empire. Its many rulers seem to pass by us like a shadow or a dream ; so little distinguished from each other, that few among them leave any distinct impression on the mind. The people, though possessed of all the accumulated stores of learning and genius bequeathed by the ancient Greeks and Romans, seemed to be in a kind of mental sleep ; and everything indicated that a lingering though irremediable decay had seized upon the very vitals of the empire.

CHAP. XXI.

Times of Henry I. continued.

ORIGIN OF CHIVALRY.—PREPARATORY DISCIPLINE AND CEREMONIES OF KNIGHTHOOD.—EFFECTS OF CHIVALRY.—MONASTICISM IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—RULE OF CLUGNI.—SCRIPTURE READING IN CONVENTS.—WRITING.—IDEAS OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.—SPLENDOUR OF BOOKS.—VALUE SET UPON THEM.

In the reign of Henry may be dated the perfecting of an institution of which there were many previous indications—

an institution to which the necessities and the temper of the times seemed alike to lead. It was called Chivalry.* The disorders occasioned by the feudal system were great and many; and the weakness of the hands into which the regal power had fallen increased them, for the sovereign failed to redress the wrongs inflicted by his vassals. Traders could not convey their merchandize along the high roads, without having to pay contributions to the possessors of the castles by which they had to pass; and if they refused to pay the tribute demanded of them, they were plundered. Females, in particular, were exposed to the greatest dangers, as few of the bold and wicked nobles scrupled to carry off any woman who fell in their way. The helpless and unarmed of every description were liable to cruel oppression and robbery. Chivalry was an institution intended to correct these evils, and was the more remarkable as a remedy, because it sprang out of the very class who were guilty of these misdeeds. The miseries then must have been very apparent when the authors of them aspired at their alleviation. That which neither the king nor the laws had power to check was to be combated by individuals who devoted themselves to the service; and their systematic and solemn preparation for the work, proved the importance that was attached to it. Much ceremony was used among the ancient Germans in sending out a young warrior for the first time; and throughout the empire of Charlemagne many forms had been used in equipping the knights or horsemen for their earliest campaigns; but the system of which we speak was not completed till the eleventh century.

Such as were intended for the practice of chivalry, and these were mostly of high degree, had a particular training from their youth. At seven years of age they entered the house of some illustrious knight to serve as pages. They were brought up by the female part of the family; and next to the love of God, respect and love for the weaker sex were most seriously inculcated. At fourteen, the page became a squire, and his office then was to dress and undress his master, to carry and fasten on his armour, etc.

* Chevalier, the French word for horseman or knight, is the derivation of this term.

At the age of twenty-one, the trusty squire, who had the necessary qualifications, might aspire to the honours of knighthood. Severe fastings, nights spent in a church or chapel in prayer and confession of sins, devout reception of the sacrament, bathing and putting on a white tunic, a crimson vest, and a black coat of mail—the respective symbols of purity—readiness to shed blood—or to die in the service—these were the preparations for the ceremony of knighthood.

At the appointed time, the knights and ladies who assisted on the occasion being assembled, the candidate fell on his knees before the king or nobleman who was to make him a knight, and to deliver to him his sword.

Many questions were proposed to him as to his future intentions; and he was then required upon oath to declare that he would at the risk of his life save the state, defend the faith, protect ladies, and defend widows, orphans, or any who were oppressed. This being over, several knights and ladies assisted in investing him with all the accoutrements and ornaments of a knight; and the first care always was to put on his spurs—the symbol of readiness to hasten wherever duty called, and then to gird him with a belt and sword. The final ceremony was called the accolade or dubbing, and consisted of three gentle strokes with the flat part of the sword on the shoulder of the candidate; and the form of words used in France was “In the name of God, our Lady, and St. Denis, I make thee a knight. Be thou loyal, brave, and hardy.” The names of St. George or St. Michael, or other saints, were used according to the reverence in which they were held in various places.

From the marvellous deeds of valour, and honourable and virtuous behaviour of many of these first knights, chivalry became so respectable, that knighthood was thought a distinction superior to royalty; and princes were found to request its honours from the hands of private gentlemen. Gentle and polished manners were required in a knight, and especial courtesy towards the female sex; and it was customary for every knight to devote himself to the particular service of some lady. Only the wives of knights were honoured with the title of Madame in France. That class which we call gentlemen and ladies, properly arose out of

the practice of chivalry. A scrupulous attention to truth, and an exact performance of every engagement, and particularly those between the sexes, became the distinguishing features of gentility. The due place of a woman had almost been lost sight of in the disorders and ferocity of feudal times; but chivalry made her an essential part of society. Mutual confidence, the foundation of all happy intercourse between the sexes, was in measure restored, and whilst females were relieved from many dangers, they imbibed the same ideas of honour that were inculcated on the knights. A princess would declare that if she kept not her faith to the knight whom she had promised to marry, she would thenceforth consent to lose all the benefits of chivalry, and would not expect any other knight to take up arms in her defence; and a young gentlewoman, whose defence was undertaken by another, reposed such confidence in her protector, that she took off her glove, and gave it him, saying, "Sir, my person, my life, my lands, my honour I deposit in the care of God, and in yours, praying for such assistance and grace, that I may be delivered out of this peril."

The romantic exploits of chivalry almost exceed belief; and the knights of the middle ages actually outdid the ancient heroes of Greece and Rome. Their extraordinary feats, and the excesses to which chivalrous excitement led, we shall have occasion to notice again and again: its abounding evils must also be proclaimed.

It will be interesting to turn our attention to the more peaceful institution of monasticism, as it existed at this period, and to mark what were its *uses*; for we have frequent opportunity to notice its abuses, and the dreadful corruptions that were so conspicuous in the system.

We have spoken of the attempts at reformation which proceeded from Clugni. Hugh, abbot of that monastery, from 1049 till the close of the century, is said to have had ten thousand monks under his superintendence; for many of the old and most of the new convents in the neighbourhood had adopted the superior discipline of Clugni. The order observed, however, appears rather to have been a revival of ancient rules, and particularly that of St. Benedict, than the introduction of any novelty, though there was good

nse enough to alter and to make improvements where the antiquated customs were more troublesome than beneficial.

It appears that Benedict did not intend his rule to supersede the holy scriptures, as he set out by saying that the most perfect rule of life is contained in the Old and New Testament; and though he invented a great variety of forms, and placed burdens on men's shoulders wherewith the word of God had not loaded the disciples of Christ, his rule enjoined the assiduous study of the Bible. The reader for the week was appointed to read at all the meals; and it was expressly required that only his voice should be heard at those times, unless the abbot, or other presiding authority, should choose to offer any brief remark for the general edification. Only such monks as could read well were employed in this service. The writings of some of the others were read in turn with the Bible.

The salutary practice of scripture-reading was in full force at Clugni, and the monasteries connected with it, in the middle of the eleventh century; and the winter evenings were spent in listening to large portions of the word of God. Indeed, the whole Bible was read through in the course of the year; but as the rule required the monks to labour with their hands, they had shorter readings in the summer, when they were more engaged in work. Certain books were appointed to be read in the refectory, others in the church or chapel adjoining the convent. The book of Genesis in the long winter nights was read through in a week,—Isaiah in six evenings, and the epistle to the Romans was commonly read through at two sittings. Great care was taken that no one should lose the advantage of hearing these lessons through being overcome by sleep. The reader stood or sat in a convenient and elevated place at the top of the refectory, the hearers leaned on benches arranged along the walls, according to their order at meal times; and as there was no light except where the reader sat, one of the monks was appointed to walk round with a wooden lantern, openly at one side, in order to observe if any brother had fallen asleep during the reading. If he perceived any one sleeping, nothing was said, but the lantern was set down with the light towards his face, in order to awaken him, and

the monk thus awakened, was obliged to take the place of the lantern bearer, and make the round till he found another slumberer.

Some books of scripture were read through more than once in the year. The Apocrypha was read in the refectory, but only some short extracts from it in the church. Augustine's exposition of the Psalms was also read, during the winter evenings,—and the epistles and other discourses of the fathers, but particularly those of Augustine. Every monk was expected to know the book of Psalms by heart; and some rules required the learning of the New Testament. The scarcity of copies of the Psalter, and its constant use in singing, probably led to its being committed to memory; for we hear of a monastery containing three hundred monks and one hundred boys, where there were only seven Psalters. The number of Psalms required to be repeated daily was originally one hundred and thirty-eight, but at Clugni fourteen were taken away on account of weak brethren.

As hospitality was a necessary monastic virtue, and the Benedictine rule absolutely required that a porter should sit at the gate of the convent, to welcome in the language of Scripture, not only the poor, but every stranger who asked for rest and refreshment, the practice of reading at meals might have been a blessing to many an ignorant traveller, who might have no other opportunity of hearing the Scriptures: and that this was contemplated, we perceive from an advice which issued from a council held at Pavia in the ninth century. "Let the stranger, the poor, the infirm be there, who, blessing Christ, may receive a blessing from the priestly table. Let there be sacred reading, and let *viva voce* exhortation follow, that the guests may rejoice, not only in having been refreshed with temporal, but with the nourishment of spiritual discourse, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ."

Next to the reading, we would thankfully notice the writing of the Scriptures, that was carried on in the convents, even throughout what are called the dark ages. Writing was such a regular business among monks that in the generality of convents a room called a Scriptorium was set apart for the purpose; and a manuscript of the eighth century contains a prayer, used at the consecration

of such an apartment, desiring that whatever sacred writings were there read or written might be brought to good effect. In the eleventh century the writing places were sometimes single cells made round the calefactory;* and such a position was most suitable for the monks who followed this sedentary calling in the winter. In the monastery of Tournay, in France, a dozen young men might be seen in such cells writing in perfect silence; for silence was enjoined in the Scriptorium, doubtless in order to secure accuracy as well as despatch in writing. Diemudis, a nun, who lived about this period in one of the monasteries in Bavaria, was famous for the beautiful and legible character which she wrote, and the multiplicity of her labours. She wrote ten ornamental books for divine service, chiefly missals; but besides these she copied a Bible in two beautiful volumes, and another in three volumes, and a great variety of the voluminous writings of the fathers; and she also carried on a very interesting correspondence with a nun a mile distant. Othlonus, a monk of Ratisbon, born 1013, and probably her contemporary, nearly lost his sight from his intense labours in reading and writing, which began when he was yet a boy. Besides his original compositions, he copied the missal nine times, the Gospels three times, and nearly forty other books.

Persons who were dedicated to the monastic life from childhood, held the place of juniors for twenty-four years; and from that time till the age of forty, though excused from certain services, and the severities of the earlier discipline, they bore the labour and general responsibilities of the monastery. Monks above forty were entitled seniors, and had increased indulgence for ten years, not being called upon to perform any of the common secular duties, except in cases of necessity. A monk in the fiftieth year of his profession had a good chamber assigned to him in that part of the monastery called the infirmary, with a servant to wait upon him; and his meals were sent from the kitchen for the sick, which allowed of greater delicacies than the common convent fare. Instead of being under former rules, the aged monk could sit or walk, go in or

* The calefactory was a place contrived for the dispersion of heat throughout the other apartments.

out at his pleasure, and might visit the choir or cloister, refectory or dormitory, with or without his monastic frock, how and when he would. And it was expressly directed that nothing unpleasant in the affairs of the convent should be brought before one of this class, that nobody should vex him about anything, but that in the most perfect peace and quietness, he might be allowed to wait for his end. We speak not here of the severe discipline of some convents, or of aged penitents. The quiet life of the monks stands in strong contrast with the storms that raged abroad during this period; and we cannot wonder that it was coveted and adopted by multitudes who had tasted of the anxieties without the walls, and all the more when it was thought a means of securing acceptance with God; and though the monasteries seem to have been especially exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, they were respected amidst the din of civil war in Christianised countries, and were under the particular protection of the princes of Christendom. They were places of refuge to such as could flee into them, whilst chivalry contemplated the protection of the helpless without their walls.

Profane learning does not seem to have been contemplated by the founders of monastic orders: their object was entirely religious. But amidst the variety of minds that were allured into retirement, it is not surprising that from the first there were monks who indulged a natural taste for study; and multitudes in after-ages carried on in the cloister pursuits that could not so easily be followed elsewhere, for lack of quietness, and through the scarcity of books. A difference of opinion as to the consistency of learning with monasticism long existed; and it became a matter of warm controversy between the more and less austere monks of later times; the former asserting that their reading ought to be confined to the Scriptures and a few devotional books, and the latter contending that a monk might lawfully be a learned man. Origen, the first who introduced the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, used to excuse his love of profane learning by saying that Israel was allowed to borrow of the Egyptians, though there was a command not to return into Egypt; and that as the children of Israel who saw a beautiful woman among their

captives, might marry her after she had shaved her head and pared her nails, etc. (Deut. xxi. 10—13), Christians might, with certain restrictions, indulge themselves in studying the compositions of heathens. The admirers of Origen's ingenuity did not fail to adopt this absurd allegory ; and for more than a thousand years the treatment of the captive woman was the standing apology for classical acquirements. Jerome came under ecclesiastical censure as a Ciceronian, that is a student of Cicero and other pagan writers, and the form of complaint ran :—"What has Horace to do with the Psalter, Virgil with the Evangelists, and Cicero with the Apostles? What fellowship has light with darkness?" The same feeling prevailed in the days of Gregory the Great. He wrote to a bishop of Gaul, who was reported to be teaching the classics, that he groaned and was sad to think the same lips should repeat the praises of Christ and of heathen divinities. Alcuin's biographer said that when he was young he read "the lies of Virgil," which he did not now wish to hear, that the sacred poets were sufficient, and that he did not wish to have his disciples polluted with the impure language of the heathen poets. It appears that when Alcuin on his first entrance into a convent was privately studying the Latin poets with a lay-brother, some of the monks who disapproved of such studies came to his cell by night, and gave him a severe flagellation ; and this nocturnal punishment made the more impression, as the young student was told that it was the infliction of supernatural visitants. These good monks did not suppose, that a thousand years later chastisement would follow the neglect instead of the pursuit of such lessons. The biographer of Odo, abbot of Clugni, tells us that he was so seduced by the love of vain knowledge that he resolved to read Virgil, and began the regular perusal. On the following night he dreamed that he saw a marvellously beautiful vase filled with innumerable serpents. This he supposed was intended to teach him the danger of the study in which he was engaged ; and from that time "he sought nourishment from the sacred writings." In the middle of the eleventh century the dread of profane learning was beginning to give way, but warning voices were lifted up against it ; and one abbot, it is said, who

read the heathen poets had nearly fallen into the error of practising what he read! The lively writer from whom we borrow this information, in accounting for the deficiency of what are called learned men in these ages, says, "It was not that they were ignorant such books existed, or were so destitute of brains and passions as not to admire the language, but they thought that as to poetry about false gods—nonsense about non-entities—or as they would have said, lies about devils—and things written which it was a shame to speak—things which children should not be taught, and which it were best for Christian men not to know—the less they had to do with them the better."*

Both in the East and in the West the practice of making gifts of ornamented portions of Scripture, was in our present period not unfrequent. We read of presents to different monasteries of a part of the sacred Scripture called a Text, wrought in gold and adorned with gems. In 1014, the Emperor Henry II. made such a donation to a church; and in 1022, on his recovery from an illness, he presented to a convent a copy of the Gospels covered on one side with most pure gold and most precious gems. The same year he met King Robert the Wise on the banks of the Meuse, the common boundary of their dominions, and that monarch offered him presents of gold and silver, and jewels, besides a hundred horses sumptuously equipped, each bearing a knight's armour; but the emperor only accepted for himself a copy of the Gospels bound in gold and precious stones, and a reliquary (case for relics) of corresponding workmanship, said to contain a tooth of St. Vincent—and for his empress a pair of golden earrings.

The Empress Agnes when she went to visit Desiderius, an abbot (afterwards Pope Victor III.), a man renowned for wisdom, made many rich gifts to the church, and among the rest a copy of the Gospels bound in silver, beautifully chased and gilt. The bindings of books were probably for the most part of plain leather or parchment; but we read of one abbot who had a fancy for adorning his books with small stones of variegated colours, cut and polished like gems. He used to employ children, or the poor, who were fit for no other work, to search for such pebbles.

* Maitland's Essays on the Dark Ages.

But sometimes, after a store of these precious books had been accumulated in a convent, need might arise for stripping them of their valuable covers, even if they were not seized by spoilers; and in the first year of this century, and again five years after, this work of excrustation was performed at Clugni and Dijon, in order to provide relief for the poor in time of famine. In this case, the valuable manuscripts were preserved; but there can be no doubt that the loss of a vast number of books was owing to their decorations.

It was natural that the copyists should set a great value upon their laborious works, perhaps for many years their sole occupation; but it came to a sad pass when merit was attached to them, and even power to atone for sin.

About a thousand years ago, a monk in Flanders imagined that his patron saint was looking on while he wrote, and balancing the account of his sins and letters. The abbot of St. Evroul, in Normandy, in the middle of the eleventh century, when lecturing his monks against idleness, used to tell them a story of a certain monk, who, after being guilty of many transgressions, wrote of his own accord an enormous volume of the divine law, and that after his death, when the evil spirits brought forward his innumerable crimes, the holy angels showing the book, and counting the letters as a set-off against his sins, found a majority of one against the demons, by reason of which the soul was allowed to return to life to have space for reformation. "Frequently think of this, most dear brethren," said the abbot, "cleanse your hearts, and constantly offer the sacrifice of the works of your hands," etc. "Only one devil tempts a monk employed in any good occupation," said another abbot, "whilst a thousand tempt him who is idle. Therefore, pray, read, write, chant," etc. It is not surprising that persons who deemed their MSS. of such value should take every means to prevent their destruction; and accordingly it was not unusual to add at the end an anathema against any one who should destroy or deface their labours; and one copyist went so far as to desire that the doom of Judas might fall upon the person who should remove his book from the monastery without intending to return it. If a book were lent, some valuable pledge was left for its return, and even some of the smaller books that were lent to children, or the

relatives of monks, might not be kept longer than one day without special leave, on pain of the librarian's dismissal, or suspension for two years. The clearer light, and the abounding instruction furnished to all classes in our days, and the advantages bestowed upon the rising generation may well occasion serious reflection. "To whom *men* have committed much, of them will they ask the more." And shall not the Judge of all require an account of His stewards ?

CHAP. XXI.

Times of Henry I.—continued.

RESTORATION OF THE SAXON LINE IN ENGLAND, IN THE PERSON OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.—HIS FOREIGN PREFERENCES.—HIS MARRIAGE.—EARL GOODWIN AND HIS SON HAROLD.—EDWARD'S CHARACTER FOR JUSTICE AND SANCTITY.—THE SAXON COUNCIL.—EDWARD'S DEATH.—ACCESSION OF HAROLD.—HIS DEFEAT OF THE NORWEGIANS.—BATTLE OF HASTINGS.—TRADITION CONCERNING HAROLD.

CANUTE had obtained the kingdom of England by violence. His sons, Harold and Hardicanute, were far inferior to himself ; and after the death of the latter, who like his brother left no child, the English were glad of an opportunity to elect a king of Saxon race, in the person of Edward, surnamed the Confessor. Edward was counselled by his friends to pass over the guilt of Earl Goodwin, and to marry Editha, the daughter of that powerful nobleman, in order to secure his support ; but their reconciliation was not at all sincere, and but of short duration. Nevertheless, Edward was crowned king with every demonstration of duty and affection from all parties ; and Goodwin, having harangued the general council on the contempt with which the Danes continued to treat the English, it was unanimously agreed that no Dane should ever reign again. The restoration of the Saxon race led at first to some violence towards the Danes ; but Edward, by the mildness of his character,

reconciled all to his administration; and in his reign the nations became entirely blended.

The royal treasury was in such an exhausted state that the king sought at once to replenish it by depriving many of the Danes of the large grants made to them by his partial predecessors, and by taking from his own mother the immense riches which she had amassed. Emma, it appears, had offended her son by her preference for Hardicanute, and instead of inviting her to court he kept her in a monastery at Winchester, where she passed her remaining days in devotional exercises. Edward's education in Normandy had given him an affection for the natives of that country, and a preference for their superior customs and manners. He placed Norman clergy in high offices in the church; and he tried to introduce French customs throughout his kingdom. The courtiers, in order to please the king, tried to imitate his foreign friends. The study of the French tongue became general; and even the lawyers employed it in their deeds and papers. But the jealousy of the English was quickly excited; and Earl Goodwin cherished their discontent in order to increase his own power. The king so much disliked this powerful subject, that for two years he delayed the fulfilment of his engagement of marriage to Editha his daughter; and, even after the ceremony was performed, he never gave her the love and confidence of a husband. Historians differ as to Editha's behaviour in these painful circumstances; but it is allowed that she was remarkably beautiful, and very different to her father in disposition. A monkish writer expressed in elegant Latin verse that Editha, the fair child of Goodwin, was like the rose springing from the thorn.

The alliance became only a fresh source of enmity between the king and Goodwin; and the earl showed his animosity as far as he dared. This powerful nobleman was duke of Wessex, and had both Kent and Sussex annexed to his government. Sweyn, his eldest son, held the same authority over the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester and Hereford; and Harold, his second son, was duke of East Anglia and governor of Essex.

A trifling incident led to open strife. Eustace, count of Boulogne, having paid a visit to the king, came to Dover on

his way home ; and one of his train being refused entrance into a lodging that had been assigned to him, forced his way in, and wounded the master of the house. A tumult ensued, in which nearly twenty persons were killed on each side ; and Eustace, overpowered with numbers, returned to the court with his followers to make complaint. The king ordered Goodwin to punish the inhabitants of Dover ; but the earl refused to obey, and laid the whole blame on his foreign friends ; and shortly after, under pretence of repressing disorder in Wales, he assembled an army and approached Gloucester, where the king then resided without defence. In this danger, Edward besought the help of Siward and Leofric, the next in rank and power to Goodwin ; and these nobles quickly gathered round him a considerable army ; for the English respected their king, not only as a descendant of their great Alfred, but on account of his general reputation for humanity, justice, and piety. Goodwin and his five sons fled the country, their estates were confiscated, and their governments given to others, and Editha the queen was confined in a monastery. The whole power of the family seemed to be overthrown ; but Goodwin was so closely connected with influential persons, both at home and abroad, that the struggle did not end here. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, sheltered him and his three elder sons, one of whom, named Tosti, had married his daughter : Goodwin's younger sons were protected in Ireland. In the Flemish harbours a part of the exiled family collected a powerful fleet. The others were equally successful in Ireland ; and though at first repulsed, Goodwin and his sons at length entered the Thames, and appeared in London. Some of the nobles proposed an accommodation ; and as Earl Goodwin disclaimed all intention of violence against the king, they came to terms ; and the whole family, including Editha, were restored to their former places. Edward consented to the banishment of Robert, a Norman, whom he had made primate, and other foreigners ; and Goodwin gave hostages for his good behaviour, which were sent over for greater security to the king's relative, William of Normandy, A.D. 1053.

Soon after his restoration, Goodwin suddenly fell speechless while sitting at the king's table, and died a few days

after. He was succeeded in his government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent and Essex, and in the office of steward of the royal household, a place of great power, by his son Harold. Harold was distinguished for his beauty and stature, his wit and eloquence; and, with quite as much ambition as his father, he had far more engaging manners, so that he won upon the king though he could not entirely allay his fears. During the exile of Earl Goodwin and his family, William of Normandy with a splendid train came over to England to visit his royal cousin. He had thus an opportunity of observing the state of the country, and could measure the probability of success in any future attempt to possess it. Edward had no children. The next heirs to the crown, the children of Edmund Ironside, were still in Hungary; and it appeared natural enough that the king should prefer a friendly relative of his own to a brother-in-law whose family had done him so much wrong. Harold, however, knew not that anything had passed between the cousins relative to the succession; but, supposing that at Edward's death William might come forward as his rival, he resolved to deliver out of the duke's hand the hostages given by his father, which were his own brother and nephew. He first alleged sufficient reasons to the king why they should be given up; and as Edward could not object unfaithfulness on his part, he allowed him to embark for France in order to claim them. But a tempest drove Harold's vessel on the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who, on learning the quality of the prize, detained him for the sake of a large ransom. The earl sent a message to William informing him that he was an ambassador from England to his court, and asking his aid. The duke determined to try to make Harold his friend, and desiring Guy to yield him up, welcomed him to Normandy with great hospitality, and restored to him his relatives. But before he departed, he made known to him his expectation of the English crown, and required Harold to take a solemn oath to support him, promising on his side to do the utmost to reward him, on his accession to the throne. Harold took the required oath at the altar on the four Gospels; but when the ceremony was over, William withdrew the altar-cloth, and shewed him underneath, the relics of some revered martyrs which

he had purposely concealed there, bidding him beware how he broke an engagement, which, according to the superstition of the day, was made peculiarly sacred by such sanction. He then dismissed him, promising at a future day to give him his daughter in marriage.

Harold afterwards avowed that he only took this oath in the belief that he and those whom he went to rescue would have lost their lives or liberties, had he refused; and on his return to England, he continued his efforts to obtain the public esteem, and was often spoken of as deserving the crown.

Edward sought to balance his power by favours bestowed on Siward, duke of Northumbria, and Algar, son of Leofric, who had held Harold's posts when he was an outlaw; but neither of these nobles were long his rivals. Siward's daughter had married Duncan, king of the Scots, and that prince being put to death by Macbeth, an ambitious nobleman, and Malcolm Kenmore, the rightful heir, driven into England, Siward was employed by the king to chastise the usurper. He accordingly attacked and defeated Macbeth and placed Malcolm on the throne; but he lost his eldest son Osbern in the battle. He was inconsolable when he heard that Osbern had fallen, till he was told that he had fought bravely, and that the mortal wound was in his breast. It was Siward's glory to be a warrior; and when the skalds sung that his grandfather had been a bear in the forests of Norway, and that under his father's uncombed locks might be seen two pointed shaggy ears, he encouraged a fable which added to the terror of his name. When death approached, he ordered his servants to clothe him in complete armour; and he sat erect, spear in hand as if about to face an enemy, till he could support himself no longer. He was one of the last specimens of that daring and ferocious race of warriors so eminent in Northern song. Tosti, Harold's brother, succeeded him in the government of Northumbria.

Algar held a high office in King Edward's court; but in those early days courtly offices had certain work attached to them; and it is said not one of the king's horses were sent to grass without an order from this nobleman. Harold procured his expulsion on the charge of treason; and Algar, indignant at false accusation, sought redress in arms; and

being protected by his father, and by Griffith, the king of Wales, who had married his daughter, he waged war with Harold and procured his restoration after much bloodshed. At Leofric's death, Harold expelled Algar anew and banished him the kingdom, and although with an army of Norwegians he invaded the country, he died before he could seriously injure his rival. After the death of Algar, Harold had none to cope with him in England; and he increased in popularity by a successful expedition against Griffith, who had continually terrified his neighbours by his incursions. He reduced the Welsh to such distress by attacking them both by sea and land, and pursuing them to their mountains, that they were glad to save themselves from destruction by offering the head of their king to Harold.

Edward appointed two nobles of their own nation to rule over them, and heaps of stones were raised in various places with this inscription, "Here Harold conquered."

Harold further distinguished himself for justice in refusing to support his own brother Tosti, when convinced of his tyranny, and in persuading Edward to give the government to Morcar and Edwin, grandsons of Leofric, whom he had been sent to chastise as rebels.

Tosti left the kingdom in a rage, and took refuge with Earl Baldwin, his father-in-law; and Harold secured the friendship of his countrymen, and entirely broke with the duke of Normandy, by marrying Algha the sister of Morcar, and widow of Griffith, instead of the princess to whom he had long been affianced. Edward, however, was far from being reconciled to the prospect of Harold's succession; and he recalled Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, from his long exile in Hungary, with the intention of making him his heir. The stranger, on his return to his native shores, was accompanied by Agatha, his wife, the emperor's kinswoman, and his three fair children, Edgar, Christina and Margaret. They were received with great rejoicings, and the name of Atheling, the Saxon term for heir to the crown, was bestowed upon the elder prince, so long an outlaw. But Edward Atheling sickened and died soon after his return, not without some suspicion that the jealous Harold had hastened his end. Edgar, his son, always bore the name of Atheling; but as his youth and weakness of mind

made him incapable of competing with Harold, great lamentations were made over his father. Christina took the veil; but Margaret afterwards married Malcolm Kenmore, the king of Scotland.

At the outset of Edward's reign, Magnus, the successor of Hardicanute in Denmark, laid claim to England; but he was diverted from an invasion by a rival at home. Sweyn, the successor of Canute in Norway, actually made a descent, but was repulsed; and towards the close of Edward's career England was so free from the attacks of the northern pirates, that the odious tax of Danegelt was entirely repealed.

Through the covetousness of the treasurer, this tribute had been raised whilst there were heaps of money in his keeping; and Edward himself at length suspecting this, took the key and went alone to the vaulted chamber called the Hoard. He returned, saying he had seen the devil dancing and grinning with delight over the gold that had been wrung from his suffering people; probably he meant to express the strong feeling he had of the iniquity of avarice. From that day the Danegelt ceased. Such was Edward's attention to the administration of justice, and such the credit in which his collection of laws was held, that a promise to "observe the laws of the good King Edward", was inserted in the coronation-oath of all his successors till the Revolution, when this ancient form was abrogated by parliament.

It was the opinion of Edward's sanctity that induced persons with a certain terrible disease to come to him to be touched; and his successors, with as little power to cure as himself, upheld this superstitious custom as a part of their royal state, till it was wisely dropped by the present royal family. This superstition gave to the disease the name that it still bears — the king's evil.

It should be noticed that the ancient Saxon Council known by the name of Witena-gemot,* or Meeting of the Wise, was in full force in the days of Edward the Confessor. The following ideas of it are gathered from a writer learned

* It was sometimes called a Micelgetheht or Great-thought; and a late clever writer wittily commented on the actual difference between this assembly and the modern Parliament, a name which is derived from the French word for *talking*.

in the ancient chronicles. Edward, like his predecessors, bore the high-sounding names of Emperor and Ruler of all the sovereigns and nations who inhabit the island — Lord Paramount of the sceptres of the Cambrians, the Scots and the Britons. In his hall the council assembled, and were arranged according to their rank. Nearest the king's person sat the chief officers of state, viz: the master of the horse, whom the Franks called Constable of the Host; the *Dish* Thane, whose symbols of office were a huge knife and wooden trencher, and who had the honour of carving for the king; and the Bower Thane whom we should call the lord of the treasury, as he kept the key of the State Hoard. The Clerks of the King's Chapel with their shaven crowns sat next: these men were originally appointed only for celebrating mass and for singing, as royal chaplains, but under Edward they obtained much influence in the council. At the head of their bench was the Chancellor who held the office of king's confessor. These chaplains had then been employed for some time as writing clerks; and Edward, in pursuance of the French fashion, had a great seal made, on which was his own effigy in royal robes, which they appended to all writs, or written letters, issued in his name. It may be supposed that when the king chose Norman clerks, great discontent was excited; for these foreigners had the power of distributing the royal favours very much as they pleased. The seats of honour next in order were occupied by bishops and abbots in their cowls and mitres, they having a double right to be present both as ecclesiastical guides and landlords. Two qualifications were necessary for a seat in the ancient assembly, either station or real property, such as might be considered sufficient security for good behaviour; but noble birth told for nothing in the council without property.

Many inferior clergy sat near the prelates, as each of them brought with him a certain number from his own diocese. In general matters, the dignified clergy had an equal right to vote with the laymen; but when church matters were to be discussed they retired and settled them together; and though they often presented their canons for the approval of the king and the rest of the assembly, lay sanction does not seem to have been needful. The lay

peers and princes, who did homage, sat below the clergy. The king of the Scots was usually excused from attendance, as the journey was dangerous and tedious, occupying about half-a-year; and when he came up to London the earls and bishops had to escort him from shire to shire, and mansions and townships were assigned to him and his attendants at convenient distances to rest by the way. The Saxons had not kept the famous Roman roads in repair; and Malcolm could rarely leave his turbulent subjects to make so long a journey; nevertheless a vacant seat was left for him in the Witenagemot. The king of Cumbria, and the under-kings appointed over the Welsh, sat next; and on the same bench, were the great earls distinguished by their golden collars and caps. The third order were the thanes with their girded swords, who, from their serving the king in war, were called his ministers. No thane could sit in the council that did not possess a certain quantity of land; the very lowest had five or six hundred acres. Some of the thanes represented the various great cities. Behind the thanes was a crowd of churls, or rustics, usually consisting of a reeve and four others from every rural township. They had no weight in the enactment of any law; but they had the privilege of crying out "Yea, yea," when the decrees of the council were proclaimed. Edward's long reign was particularly distinguished by freedom from foreign invasion; but Goodwin and his sons, who with other warlike nobles frightened away distant foes, kept him in a constant state of alarm and greatly limited his power. The services of the church and the amusements of the chase engrossed the chief part of his time. He intended to make a pilgrimage to Rome; but the pope gave him a dispensation on condition of his building a church. He therefore rebuilt the ancient abbey which stood close to his own palace at Westminster, and which had been ruined in the Danish wars; and in the presence of the nobles, assembled as usual in his court at Christmas, the building was consecrated. The king's health had been long declining, and he died on the fifth of January following, A. D. 1066. Before he expired, Harold and his kinsmen forced their way into his chamber, and exhorted him to name a successor. He mentioned the duke of Normandy, to whom his thoughts had again turned at the death of Edward

Atheling ; but Harold pressed the dying monarch so closely, that he said, "Take it if thou wilt ; but the gift will be thy ruin. Against the duke and his baronage no power of thine can avail thee !" Harold replied that he did not fear the Norman or any other enemy ; and the king faintly intimated ere he expired, that the English might name as king, Harold, or whom they liked. The day after Edward's death the funeral ceremonies took place in the adjoining abbey. He was canonised by Pope Alexander III. ; and his shrine was once rich in gems and gold, wherewith it was adorned by his successors ; but these ornaments are now carried away, whilst the massy iron-bound oaken coffin which contains the remains of the last legitimate king of Egbert's race may still be seen.

Harold took immediate advantage of the absence of William of Normandy and the youth and timidity of Edgar Atheling ; and on the very day that Edward was laid in the grave, he either persuaded or compelled the assembled prelates and nobles to accept him as king. Some say that Stigand, the primate, who, contrary to the pope's pleasure, occupied the place of the expelled Norman archbishop, was the only prelate who really acknowledged him ; but it is certain that Harold had a very strong party, though he was not unanimously recognised in England. He was crowned by the archbishop of York in the absence of Stigand. Tosti, his exiled brother, was the first to stir up enemies against him in the discontented nobles of England. The courts of Flanders, Norway, and Normandy, were alike filled with his intrigues ; and before the close of the summer he had prepared a powerful fleet and embarked for Britain with Harold Haarfager, king of Norway. It is said that one half of the Norwegians fit to bear arms were in this army, and five hundred large vessels put to sea. Harold of England, in the mean time, sought the favour of his subjects by strict justice, and satisfied the unambitious Edgar by making him earl of Oxford and showing an interest in the education of his children. He also kept up his friendly relationship with Edwin, earl of Mercia, and Morcar, earl of Northumbria, his brothers-in-law, in the hope of their defending the North.

Haarfager and Tosti sailed up the Tyne, and proclaimed full peace to all who would proceed to the south with them and win the land. Many of the Northumbrians rallied round their former governor; and the Norwegian king, unfurling the banner which he called Landeyda (desolation of the country), marched his army towards York, defeated Edwin and Morcar, and compelled the city to surrender.

Harold, having collected all his forces, reached the seat of war a few days after; and the hostile armies met at Stamford Bridge, long afterwards known as the Bridge of Battle. The king tried to detach his brother from the Norwegian king, by offering him his former possession, the earldom of Northumbria. Tosti asked the thane who brought the message what was intended for his ally. The king's ambassador replied, "Seven feet of land for a grave!" "Ride back then," exclaimed Tosti, "and tell king Harold to gird himself for the fight; for never shall it be told in Norway that Earl Tosti abandoned Haarfager." The conflict that ensued was desperate. Haarfager struck around him as if he were frantic, and when offered quarter would not yield. Tosti fell; the banner was seized; but still the Northmen renewed the fight. Late in the evening the battle was terminated by the slaughter of almost all the Norwegians: and the heaps of unburied bones, blanched by the sun and rain, long reminded the passers-by of this fatal day. Haarfager was slain; but Olaus, his son, was permitted to sail home with the small remnant of his forces in twenty ships.

It was on the morrow of this battle that Harold was apprised of the landing of his most dreadful enemy, the duke of Normandy, on the southern coast. The best part of his troops had fallen; Edwin and Morcar and even Algitha his wife, stood aloof from him; his mother mourned the loss of her son Tosti; his brother Gurth, earl of Suffolk, tried to dissuade him from giving battle to the Normans; but Harold would not hear. Gurth reminded him that his army was exhausted and the Normans in fresh strength, that the violation of his oath to the duke unfitted him to be the leader of an expedition against him, and that he should not risk his own life in a battle that must be decisive. Harold still persevered in making preparations, and by night visited the abbey of Waltham near London, which he had richly

endowed, to obtain help through his own prayers and those of the monks whom he had favoured. Two members of the convent accompanied him in the perilous movements which followed; and monks were employed in carrying messages between the hostile camps.

The actings of William from the moment that he received the news of his cousin Edward's death, require a particular narration, in order to understand the circumstances and feelings of the opposing parties. William was hunting in the park of Rouen with a train of knights and ladies, when a messenger just arrived from England announced the king's decease, and Harold's assumption of the crown. His bow dropped from his hand in his agitation, and he looked fiercely, but said nothing. Hastily dismounting, he crossed the Seine in a skiff, stalked into the great hall of his palace, and sat down, wrapping his head in his mantle, in deep thought. A Norman Baron, Fitz-Osbern the Bold, roused him; and by his advice William sent a message to Harold as his vassal, requiring him to perform his oath. Harold replied that the kingdom was his with the free consent of the state; alleged that the oath was compulsory, and insulted William with the baseness of his birth. His mother was the daughter of a tanner, to whom his father had not been lawfully married. From that moment the duke took the most vigorous measures to wrest from Harold that which he would not bestow; and nine months were spent in cautious preparation in order to ensure the success of his enterprise. Normandy was at this time in the height of its prosperity; and the duke assembled a crowd of loyal nobles, before whom he laid his plans for the conquest of England; but the feudal law did not require vassals to cross the sea, and great debates arose. Fitz-Osbern exhorted his peers to follow their lord; and when they allowed him to be their spokesman, promised to fit out sixty vessels filled with chosen warriors at his own expense, and engaged that each of the rest should do double the service which his tenure demanded. At this proposal so great an outcry arose, that it seemed as if the roof of the hall would be rent asunder; and William, who could not restore order, retired into another apartment. He then called the chief barons separately, and argued so wisely, and promised them such

large rewards if he were made king of England, that all consented to aid him ; and on the spot he wrote down the number of men which each should furnish. It will be remembered that Philip I., king of France, was a minor, and Baldwin, the regent, was father-in-law to William. Consent therefore was easily obtained that William should raise troops for his expedition, on condition of his doing homage for the English crown as for his own dukedom. The knights of Brittany, and many adventurers from Flanders and neighbouring provinces, gathered round the ducal standard, till the offers of assistance became so numerous, that William was able to select such as he deemed most advantageous. Henry IV. promised to defend Normandy during the absence of the duke ; and the alleged perjury of Harold enabled him to obtain the sanction of Pope Alexander ; for, though the matter was somewhat debated in the court of Rome, Hildebrand helped to decide it in William's favour, and a consecrated banner was sent to the Duke, with a precious ring which was said to enclose some of St. Peter's hair, or, as some say, the pope's hair merely as a token of affection.

All the vessels in William's fleet, both great and small, amounted to three thousand. It was the largest armada that had ever been seen ; and his own vessel, given him by his wife Matilda, had crimson sails and other resplendent decorations, with the effigy of a child ready to discharge an arrow from a bow at the head. Unfavourable weather delayed the gathering of the vessels, and a religious procession was appointed on the eve of St. Michael, the patron saint of Normandy. The favourable winds that sprang up soon after were attributed to his intercession ; and the Norman chiefs were in the highest spirits. According to the vain customs of the age, an astrologer who practised sorcery or divination by lot (French, *sortes*), was in the train, and he predicted that Harold would yield without a battle ; but after the landing, when William enquired for this conjuror, he found that he had been drowned on the passage ; and with much good sense he pointed out the folly of trusting to the predictions of a man who could not tell what would befall himself.

As Harold was engaged in the north, the southern coast

was undefended; and none but the peasants and thanes of Sussex beheld from the cliffs the hostile fleet as it sailed into the bay of Pevensey.

A South Saxon thane who viewed every movement, rode night and day till he reached the hall at York in which Harold was banqueting after his victory.

Boat after boat pottered out the foreign soldiers from the ships on to the shore; who, as they pushed through the surf, were seen to glisten with shields and spears. The archers in their light close dress, each with his long-bow ready strung and his quiver full of cloth-yard shafts by his side, first leaped out, and stationed themselves at different posts, so as to protect the disembarkation of the heavy armed troops. But there was no one to oppose the landing. The knights, completely clad in steel, followed by their squires carrying their swords, covered the beach, and mounted on their war-horses. The pioneers with their sharp axes followed, and materials were taken from the store-ships to form entrenchments for the camp on the spot. The site chosen was the Roman castle of Pevensey, whose walls yet exist, flanked by Anglo-Norman towers. When William first set foot on shore he stumbled and fell on the palms of his hands. His superstitious followers exclaimed that it was a bad sign. "No," said the Duke, rising up and showing a clod that he had grasped, "I have taken seizin of the land." One of his soldiers, quickly following up the idea, ran to the first cottage, and pulling from the thatch a bundle of reeds, told the king to receive these also as the seizin of the realm of which he had come into possession.

Several modes of negotiation were attempted before the rival leaders determined to try the event of a battle in which both of them were risking their all. Single combat, an appeal to the pope's decision, a division of the country, were proposals alike rejected; and on the eve of October 14th, 1066, a general engagement was decided on. The English, according to their degrading national habit, tried to drown their fears in drinking; and it is said that as the wine-cups passed freely round and round by the light of their watch-fires, profane ballads were sung during the live-long night. But in William's army the only sounds were

the chanting of the psalms and the responses of the litany; confession of sins followed; and masses were said by way of preparation for the fearful engagement of the morrow. Very early in the morning William assembled his barons, and exhorted them to maintain his righteous cause; and, in remembrance of Harold's perjury, he hung round his neck the relics by which he had sworn. Harold, with his brothers Leofwin and Gurth, took his post at the foot of the standard which was borne by the burgesses of London; for they claimed the honour of being the royal body-guard. The men of Kent, according to custom, formed the van-guard; and the whole English army, on rising ground within trenches and palisades, stood shield against shield,—a Danish fashion,—presenting an impenetrable front. The Normans were marshalled in three divisions; the last commanded by the Duke, before whom rode his minstrel Taillefer, singing aloud the lay of Charlemagne and Roland. This warrior wished to imitate the deeds that he sung, and had obtained permission to strike the first blow; accordingly he transfixed the first Englishman whom he attacked, and felled the second to the ground; and the battle then became general and raged with the greatest fury. Twice were the Normans nearly put to flight. The first time they were recalled by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the duke's half-brother, and one of the fiercest of his warriors; and the second time, William himself, who was reported to have been slain, ran through the ranks without his helmet, and called them to order. Harold distinguished himself by the greatest activity and bravery; but being at length wounded in the left eye by a Norman arrow, he dropped from his horse in agony, and was carried to the foot of the standard, around which the English rallied. The Normans fought desperately to reach it, led on by William. The slaughter was terrific. The hoofs of the horses were plunged deep into the gore of the dead and the dying; and Gurth, who stood by the standard without hope or fear, was slain by the duke. The English banner was at last cut down; and the Norman standard, the gonfanon, erected in its stead, proclaimed that William was the conqueror. But the English would not yield; and though their leaders were no more, they continued the conflict in many parts of the

field, and were only overpowered by superior numbers. From seven in the morning till long after dark the combat continued; and only the want of light put an end to the pursuit of the fugitives. Fifteen thousand Normans lay dead on the field, and a far greater number of English; and the duke himself had been in the most imminent peril, having had three horses killed under him. He ordered his men to fall on their knees and give thanks to the God of victory; and then had a spot cleared close to the gonfanon whereon to pitch his tent. He there supped with his barons, the corpses being heaped around them; and probably the conqueror's heart sickened as he viewed the dismal scene; for on that field he afterwards caused Battle Abbey to be erected, and directed that prayer should be perpetually offered for the repose of the souls of all who had fallen on this terrible day. He knew not that the doom of the dead was irrevocably fixed, and sought thus perhaps to quiet his own conscience when it accused him of blood-guiltiness.

The abbey was most richly endowed, and all the land for one league round annexed to it; the high altar was erected on the spot where Harold's banner had waved; and the roll deposited in the monastery, contained the names of those among whom the conqueror divided the lands of England. On the day after the battle, the Normans buried their dead, and allowed the English peasants to inter their own countrymen. Various accounts are given concerning Harold's remains. One account is, that after many vain efforts to find the body, the monks of Waltham took with them Edith the Fair, a lady known to Harold, to search over this field of blood, and that a mutilated corpse selected by her, was conveyed to the abbey, and entombed as the body of the king, with great honours, some of the Norman nobles assisting at the solemnity. The monks of Waltham loudly maintained that Harold was really buried in their abbey, and could point to the epitaph, "*Hic jacet Harold infelix*,"—Here lies the unfortunate Harold; but another story was current many years after, which seems never to have been disproved. It was said that a recluse, deeply scarred, and blinded in his left eye, lived to old age, in strict penitence and retirement, in a cell of the abbey at Chester, and that

on his death bed, he declared to the attendant monks that he was Harold.

It is possible that the two monks who had followed him to the field, might have aided him to escape, and that the subsequent search for his body, and even the funeral honours, were intended to avoid detection. The accounts of the ancient writers, with respect to the finding of the body, are thought to be more difficult to reconcile with each other, than the idea of escape with the existing circumstances. Harold reigned only nine months and nine days; he had taken immense pains to rise a little higher than his fellow men; but the end was destruction to himself and to multitudes.

His youngest daughter married the Czar of Russia; and their daughter became the wife of Waldemar, king of Denmark.

Harold was the last king of Anglo-Saxon race; and the fact of his falling in the defence of his country against a foreign invader endeared him more to the memory of the nation than any action of his life.

Our next portion of history is comprised within the life and times of William, duke of Normandy, conqueror of England; but as he did not become king till six years after the death of Henry I. of France, we shall introduce an intermediate chapter, in order to show the state of Europe, at a time when the popes were aspiring to universal dominion; and the character of the sovereigns who owned, as well as of those who resisted, their claims.

CHAP. XXIII.

Europe in the time of Hildebrand, showing the pretensions of the Popes to Universal Dominion. A.D. 1060—1085.

REGENCY OF THE EMPRESS AGNES.—HER STATE OF MIND.—EDUCATION OF HER SON HENRY IV.—REGENCY OF BALDWIN THE PIOUS, AND EDUCATION OF PHILIP I. OF FRANCE.—OPPOSITE CHARACTER OF THESE PRINCES.—HILDEBRAND BECOMES POPE.—HIS CONTESTS ABOUT CELIBACY AND SIMONY.—DISPUTE ABOUT INVESTITURES.—HILDEBRAND'S LORDSHIP OVER SOVEREIGNS.—STATES OF THE CHURCH.—WAR WITH HENRY IV.—INTERFERENCE WITH HUNGARY, DENMARK, RUSSIA, BOHEMIA, POLAND, AND SPAIN.

WE have already observed the influence exercised by Hildebrand at the papal court. As soon as Nicholas II. was dead (1061), he persuaded the Romans to violate the rights which that pope had confirmed to the emperors, and procured the election of Anselm, the bishop of Lucca, one of the seven cardinal bishops, without even sending any information to the imperial court. Anselm took the name of Alexander II. and was entirely prepared to carry out all the plans of Hildebrand, who still held only the rank of archdeacon.

The bishops of Lombardy were displeased at the disrespect manifested towards their sovereign, and complained to the empress. Agnes assembled a council at Basil to defend the rights of her son; and the bishop of Parma was created pope, under the title of Honorius II. A long and furious contest was carried on between these two popes, as both supported their pretensions by force of arms. After much bloodshed, Alexander was acknowledged through all Europe, but he could never engage his adversary to resign his claims.

The regency of the empress was disturbed by other causes. She was a woman of spirit and talent, and naturally gifted for so commanding a station; but the feudal lords were unsubmissive to a female sovereign; and her preference

for an episcopal counsellor, the bishop of Augsburg, excited jealousy. Besides all this, Agnes had a troubled spirit, and an uneasy conscience; and her unhappy state led her to go from place to place, to offer alms and prayers, or to seek counsel of such as had a reputation for holiness. An extract from one of her letters to a certain convent, may suffice, as a description of her feelings. "Agnes, empress and sinner, to the good father Albert, and the brethren assembled in the name of the Lord at Frutari, etc. My conscience terrifies me worse than any spectre. Therefore I fly through the places of the saints, seeking where I may hide myself from this terror; and I am not a little desirous to come to you, whose intercession I have found to be a certain relief."

It was probably because her uneasiness of mind led her to hang upon the bishop of Augsburg, that she was at length accused of being guided by him, and of not considering the public good; and at the end of six years her son was artfully withdrawn from her care by his uncles, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and committed to the charge of the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen. Agnes, under these circumstances, determined to devote herself to a religious life, and withdrew to Rome. Peter Damian, a monk, whom she met with in that city, said, that with deep anguish she made a general confession to him of such things as he considered only vain thoughts and childish levities, for which he knew not how to assign her any penance. Probably he knew not either how to direct her to the alone source of peace, and might not have considered that whatever were the amount of the sinner's debt the sinner could have *nothing* to pay, and that the blood of atonement was as necessary for the thought of foolishness, and for the soul that had been lifted up to vanity, as for the purging of the most guilty conscience. John, abbot of Fescamp in Normandy, who wrote a little book for the use of the empress, was, it is judged from some remains of his manuscript, more capable of directing her into the way of peace. Henry IV., after his removal from his mother, found himself under two guardians of very opposite character. The archbishop of Cologne tried to inspire him with a love of learning and virtue; the archbishop of Bremen permitted him licentious indulgences, in order to gain a greater

ascendancy over him ; and some of the habits then acquired he never afterwards lost. We know that, except by the grace of God, every man having good and evil put before him, would naturally refuse the good and choose the evil. In the meantime, Baldwin, the regent of France, was giving to the young king, Philip I., such an education as seemed suited for his rank, and was discharging his duties in an honourable manner. History scarcely furnishes us with an example of a more peaceful and wisely managed minority ; and it is pleasant to associate with this fact, that the title of the Pious was affixed to the name of Baldwin. The regent contrived to control the nobles with such skill that he did not offend them, and to ward off war by appearing fully prepared for it. He was censured for allowing William of Normandy to raise troops both in France and Flanders, when preparing for the invasion of England ; but the duke was his son-in-law, and probably he feared to oppose a noble of such ambitious temper, lest he might turn his arms against the young king. When William had actually conquered England, Baldwin was alarmed at the power obtained by a vassal of France, and sought to strengthen Philip by a close alliance with Scotland. Soon after the treaty was concluded, he died, leaving his charge at the age of fifteen, in undisturbed possession of the kingdom, A. D. 1067. The reign of Philip I., extending through forty-eight years, was fruitful in great events to Europe ; but the licentious pleasures in which he indulged himself after the loss of his guardian, held him captive and kept him from being a conspicuous actor in the scene before us. The career of Henry IV. was very different. He had the advantage of commencing his course of independent action at a maturer age, as he was twenty-one before he assumed the sovereign power, A.D. 1072. His first object was to remedy the disorders connected with the feudal system, and especially to punish the lords who exacted tribute from passers by, and even imprisoned harmless travellers who did not submit to their extortions. He began with the duke of Saxony, in whose territories such evils were of constant occurrence ; and that prince, in revenge, urged other nobles to associate with him in opposing the emperor, under pretence that their liberties were attacked. At this

moment, Alexander II. by the counsel of Hildebrand, summoned Henry to Rome, to answer certain charges; but the young emperor, taking no notice of the pope's mandate, engaged in war with his rebellious lords; and after a bloody victory, made himself master of Saxony. His chief opponents then publicly entreated his forgiveness, which he generously granted; and thus peace was restored to Germany. At this time Alexander died; and, on the day of his interment, Hildebrand was unanimously chosen pope by the cardinals, abbots, monks and people, A.D. 1073. He took the name of Gregory VII. Henry had not been consulted on the occasion; but his confirmation of the election was subsequently asked for and obtained; and little perhaps did he imagine, in thus giving his sanction, that he was establishing a tyrant who would leave him but little peace, and who was bent on setting his throne above all other thrones. The leading idea in Hildebrand's mind was, that the supreme authority over the universal church, and over the kingdoms of the world, belonged to the bishop of Rome. By his words and writings he boldly declared it; and every act of his public life was performed with a design of substantiating it. He was a man of uncommon genius, as well as boundless ambition; but he was devoid of religious feeling and moral principle; and regardless even of the dictates of conscience. His purpose was to obtain for the papal see the allegiance of all the kings and princes of Christendom, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom their rights might be examined, and their contests determined.

Had the success of Gregory been equal to his desires, all the kingdoms of Europe would have been at this day tributary to the Roman see, and its princes the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended vicar on earth. The opposition that he encountered rendered his whole pontificate a scene of dreadful commotion in church and state; but he obstinately continued to pursue his great object, and made many steps towards its accomplishment before the end of his life. In order to prepare fit tools for the work which he had in hand, Gregory began by issuing the most despotic edicts concerning the clergy: his first object was to secure their celibacy; his second

desire was to prevent their buying and selling benefices; a practice which was called simony. His intention doubtless was to deprive the priests and monks of all connections which might create any division in their interest, as he desired them to be entirely taken up with the furtherance of his ecclesiastical views. Not only did he aim at severing unlawful ties; but he determined to dissolve the bonds of marriage, and to deprive every faithful husband, amongst the clergy under his control, of both wife and child. In 1074, he assembled a council at Rome, which prohibited every species of simony in the severest manner; decreed that all who took orders should abstain from marriage; and that such as had wives or concubines should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees he sent out with circular letters to all the European bishops, threatening the heaviest penalties against the disobedient. He also sent ambassadors to Henry IV. urging him to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such as had been guilty of simony. The emperor received the legates graciously, and applauded the zeal of their master; but neither he nor the German bishops would permit them to assemble councils in Germany to punish past offences. In the meantime violent seditions arose in that country, on account of the proposed dissolution of marriage ties; and tumults were excited in England, Belgium and France on the same score. In Italy the flame spread, and many of the ecclesiastics, especially those of Milan, chose rather to abandon their benefices than their wives: they even separated themselves entirely from the church of Rome, and branded the pope and his adherents with the name of Manicheans, because those heretics were supposed to be averse to marriage. The better sort of clergy desired, like the Greek priests, to live with the wives whom they had married before their consecration, and disallowed a plurality of wives; but there were vast numbers of priests and even monks who dismissed those whom they entitled wives, at their pleasure, and lived in open and gross immorality. Gregory's laws were unjust and criminal in confounding these different classes; and the merciless hand of this pontiff involved a great number of husbands and wives with their numerous families in disgrace, perplexity,

anguish and want. He gave over the married priests to the civil magistrates to be punished as disobedient subjects, with the loss of their substance, and the worst marks of infamy. Time and the perseverance of Gregory calmed the tumult excited by this unhappy contest; and the European princes concerned themselves little about it, as it did not bear upon their interests: but the contentions on the subject of simony continually increased, as all the temporal rulers were interested in the question. In 1075, Gregory called a council which excommunicated several German and Italian bishops, suspected of influencing Henry in favour of simoniacal practices, and also anathematised any one who received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from a layman, or any layman by whom such investiture should be performed.

The carrying out of this sentence of excommunication would have thrown all the rulers, and the greater part of the bishops and abbots of Europe, out of the pale of the outward church. It was Gregory's war signal, and quickly met its response from the neighbouring powers. A few words as to the origin of this famous dispute are here necessary. At a very early period the princes of Europe made grants to the clergy of certain lands, castles, etc., but of these they could not become lawful possessors, till they had taken the usual oath of allegiance to their sovereigns as supreme proprietors, and received from their hands some tokens of the transfer of such property. Originally the same forms and ceremonies were used on these occasions, as on investing counts, etc., in their feudal tenures: written contracts were signed, and a wand or bough presented as a token of the gifts. But when the possessors of such benefices died, it was so usual for the princes to sell them to strangers, or give them away to their favourites, that the clergy determined to adopt a plan, whereby they might preserve among themselves the right of electing successors to deceased bishops or abbots. Accordingly, whenever a vacancy occurred, they, without delay, consecrated one of their own order; and this ceremony being considered irrevocable, princes were obliged to consent to their election. Unwilling, however, to lose such opportunities of gratifying their own avarice, or of obliging their

friends, the princes thought of a method of preserving their former powers; and to this end they ordered that, as soon as a bishop expired, the magistrate of the city in which he resided, should seize his ring and crosier—the two badges of the episcopal office—and send them to court. The solemn delivery of the ring and crosier was an essential part in the ceremony of the consecration of a new bishop; and the prince, holding these in his own hands, gave them to whom he would. The man of his choice had then to go to the metropolitan bishop, by whom he was to be consecrated, and deliver them into his hands, in order to receive them again from him; but in this manner the prince was able to put into the vacant office whomsoever he pleased. The custom appears to have obtained in the days of Otho the Great. The Emperor Henry III. was ready to resign the privilege—but Henry I. of France, vehemently maintained such a right. The great offence to the papal see and its supporters, was, not that bishops and abbots should take the oath of allegiance to their temporal sovereigns, like other feudal lords, but that the staff or crosier, and the ring, which denoted *spiritual* authority, should be conveyed, or as they said polluted, by their hands; and what rendered the system of investiture most odious, was, that it destroyed entirely the free election of bishops and abbots. Henry IV. wrote a respectful letter to the pope, saying that he had done amiss in exposing benefices to sale, and promising amendment in that respect; but he was absolutely immoveable as to the rights of investiture. With the support of the German princes, he might have been independent of the pope; but some of them were his secret enemies, and Gregory knew how to take advantage of every circumstance favourable to his designs. He wrote to Henry, accusing him of dissolute conduct and of simony, and ordering him to repair to Rome to answer before a council the charges laid against him. About the same time he wrote circular letters to the bishops of France, in which he accused their king of being a tyrant and spending his days in vice, and threatened him with excommunication. He pretended also that his kingdom was by ancient custom tributary to the pope as a father and patron, and required a silver penny

from every individual. This demand was made by his legates every year, but in that country was entirely refused. Gregory also addressed an epistle to Philip recommending him an humble and obliging behaviour, on consideration that his kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter (that is of himself as the vicar) and that he had the power to bind and to loose him both in heaven and upon earth. France was not disturbed by civil war; and these messages and letters passed lightly over Philip, as he cared for little besides his own pleasures; but when the pope's legates came into the presence of Henry, a victorious young emperor of five and twenty, jealous of his dignity, he repulsed them with disdain and left them to the insults of his attendants. It is even supposed by some that he made use of a notorious Italian robber to seize upon the pope while he was performing service in a church at Rome, and thus endangered his life. But it is certain that he assembled a council at Worms, in which he deposed Gregory with the concurrence of all the bishops and clergy present, two only excepted, and wrote to him and to the people of Rome, to announce what had been done, saying that the grounds of this act were that Gregory had infected the church of God with many novelties and abuses, and erred from his duty to the emperor his sovereign in many ways. The pope answered by assembling more than an hundred bishops, by whose authority and his own he issued the following bull. "In the name of Almighty God, I prohibit Henry, the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Germanic kingdom and Italy. I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him, and strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending on him as a king." In writing these words, Gregory knew that many of the princes of Germany only wanted an excuse to make head against their emperor; and accordingly, the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Carinthia, the bishops of Wurtzburg and Worms, and several other eminent persons, with Rodolph duke of Suabia as their leader, openly revolted, and by the pope's desire met together to deliberate upon the treatment of Henry, A. D. 1076. They all agreed to choose a new emperor, in case of his continued disobedience to Gregory's orders, and proposed to invite the pope to a congress at Augsburg to settle

the matter, and in the meantime decided that Henry should be suspended from his royal dignity and live in obscurity.

Gregory had secured the sympathy of many of the bishops by his circular letters, in which he declared them superior to kings, and their appointed judges : and it appears that those who had deposed him were now as ready to depose Henry ; and it was boldly asserted that one bishop who had been instrumental in Gregory's condemnation, was seized with sudden illness, and on his death-bed repented of what he had done as an act of sacrilege.

Perceiving that the rebellious faction daily grew stronger, Henry, by the advice of some of his friends, adopted the extraordinary resolution of anticipating the proposed trial before the pope in his own country ; and in the following year, and in the depth of winter, set out with a few servants to seek a private interview with him. Gregory was at this time staying at the fortress of Canosa, in the Apennine mountains, with Matilda, countess of Tuscany, daughter of Beatrice already mentioned as being carried away by her brother, Henry III., just before his death. The pope had persuaded her, on the death of her mother and of her husband, to settle all her possessions upon the church of Rome. She was the most powerful and wealthy princess in that country, and possessed in her own right almost all those territories now entitled the States of the Church ; besides some important fiefs of the empire. Gregory was intimately, some said criminally, familiar with her ; but he was then seventy-two years of age, and pretended to the place of her spiritual father and director. His epistles to her were written in the most devout language, but his great object probably was to obtain her immense treasures and goodly lands. When Henry presented himself at the gate of his noble cousin's residence, he was required to dismiss his guards before he could enter the inner court ; and there he was stripped of his royal robes and clothed in hair-cloth, and left as a penitent with his feet bare and his head uncovered, exposed to the cold for three days fasting. It was in the month of February 1077, and the winter was particularly severe. On the fourth day, the suppliant emperor was allowed to kiss the pope's feet ; but even by this act of humiliation could not obtain absolution till he had promised

to submit to the decisions of the council to be held at Augsburg, and had also taken an oath of *true obedience*, such as becomes a Christian, to St. Peter and his vicar; promising to act as the soldier of the church. He was even then desired not to assume the title or ornaments of a king, nor to exercise any royal prerogative before he received permission from the approaching council. Henry escaped with his life from Matilda's fortress, but gained nothing from his visit; whilst the arrogance of Gregory was so greatly increased, that he wrote, in reference to his harsh behaviour towards the emperor, that it was his duty to pull down the pride of kings. But the pope was more hated in his own country than elsewhere; and the princes and bishops of Italy, who had looked to Henry as a bulwark against the assumptions of the papal tyrant, expressed such resentment at his yieldingness, that he again took up the marks of royalty which he had laid down. On the other hand, his confederate opponents in Germany, hearing of this change in his conduct, assembled in the month of March, and elected the duke Rodolph emperor in his place. This step involved Germany and Italy in a long continued war; as the imperial party was the strongest in the latter country, the papal party in the former. Matilda's troops maintained the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, Henry carried on war with Rodolph. In 1078, the duke was crowned at Mentz; but Gregory, not having been consulted about his consecration, refused to confirm it, saying he would support the one who should pay most obedience to the Roman see. Two years after, Henry being vanquished in a battle with the Saxons, the pope sent out a second excommunication against him, and at the same time made a present of a golden crown to Rodolph bearing this inscription in Latin, "The Rock gave Peter the crown, and Peter gives it to Rodolph." "I deprive Henry of his crown," said the imperious pontiff, "and bestow the empire of Germany on Rodolph."

These great deeds and words soon came to nought. Henry, with several of the Italian and German bishops, deposed Gregory a second time in a council at Mentz, on the ground of his being a supporter of tyrants, and an encourager of simony, sacrilege, and magic; and in a synod held soon

after, they named as pope, Guibert, the archbishop of Ravenna, 1080.

Rodolph again assembled a large army; and Henry met him with all the forces he could collect near Merseburgh. The battle was furious and of doubtful issue, when Godfrey of Bouillon (Boulogne), a noted warrior, whom we must again mention, cut off the hand of Rodolph, and mortally wounded him. His party immediately gave way; and the duke, as his end drew near, recalled to mind that with that dissevered hand he had once expressed his allegiance to Henry. He deplored his perfidy and rebellion, and confessed the imperial dignity was not his right. The death of Rodolph, and his last words, helped to establish Henry in Germany; and, having got rid of his most formidable foe, he marched into Italy in 1081, intending to crush his papal opponent, who was hotly defended by the troops of Matilda. Twice he was obliged to raise the siege of Rome, but returning to the attack a third time, he became master of the greatest part of the city in 1084. His first step was to place Guibert in the papal chair; and the new pope, under the name of Clement III., immediately bestowed the imperial crown on Henry; and he was saluted as emperor by the Roman people. Gregory had accompanied his last anathema with an apostrophe to the Apostle Peter, ending thus, "Let your justice be so speedily executed on Henry, that no one may doubt of his falling by your means, and not by chance." He had also, according to the complaint of those who deposed him, "dealt in divinations and interpreting dreams;" and so confident was he in the truth of astrological predictions, that after describing the approaching doom of Henry, he wrote that he was not pope, if it did not happen by a certain day. The result of the quarrel was then enough to shake the confidence of the most superstitious. The emperor laid siege to the castle of St. Angelo whither his mortal enemy had fled; but Robert Guiscard, the Norman count who had enlisted on the side of the pope, forced him to retire, and brought Gregory in safety to Rome. Not, however, thinking him safe there, he conducted him to Salerno, where he died in the following year. He maintained with his last breath the justice of his quarrel against Henry, and said that it was because

he had loved justice, and hated iniquity, that he died in exile, 1085.

The Roman church worships him as a saint ; and about the beginning of the seventeenth century, a festival was instituted in his honour ; but the emperor of Germany and the kings of France, and other Roman Catholic princes, never allowed of its celebration.

We should have but narrow conceptions of Hildebrand's assumption of authority over princes, if we confined ourselves to his contests with Henry IV., and his unsuccessful claims upon Philip I. He first applied to William the Conqueror for the arrears of the Peter-pence, a payment of one penny from each house in England, originally intended for the support of the Saxon school at Rome, but afterwards claimed by the popes as a tribute due to themselves ; and not satisfied with making this demand, he summoned the king to do homage for England, as a fief of the Roman see. William easily granted his first request, but entirely refused the second, saying that he held the kingdom of God only, and by his own sword.

The resolute monarch wrote thus to the haughty pontiff, "Your legate admonishes me that I should do homage to you and to your successors, and tells me that my predecessors used to send money to the church: to the latter I have consented, the former I admit not; I have been unwilling to do homage, neither will I now offer it to you," etc.

But if the silver-penny for every house, as well as any other mark of subjection, were refused by France, and merely sent from England as an ancient custom, without attaching to it the idea of tribute, Gregory was not at all deterred in carrying out his idea of universal dominion. He wrote to Solomon, king of Hungary, "You may learn from the elders of your country, that Hungary belongs to the church of Rome;" and when that prince was dethroned by his cousin, Gregory upheld the usurper Geysa II., desiring him however to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Roman see. This was one occasion of the pope's quarrel with Henry IV., to whom Solomon did homage in order to secure his dominions. Gregory wrote to Sweyn II., king of Denmark, asking him if he were resolved, as he always had been before, to submit himself and his kingdom to the

prince of the Apostles, as he would then let him know in detail what were his wishes. Isaslaf, grand duke of Kiow, who had been chased from his territories by his brother, Vladimir II., applied to the emperor of Germany for help, and in 1075, sent his son Demetrius as an ambassador to the pope. Gregory afterwards by letter addressed the young prince as king of the Russians, and gave him the sovereignty of Croatia and Dalmatia, on condition of his paying two hundred pieces of gold every Easter, saying that he might expect from the intercession of St. Peter all kinds of favours in this world and the next. In this act the pope intruded on the rights of the emperor of Constantinople to whose sovereignty Croatia belonged.

Gregory's interference in Bohemia may also be related. The duke Brezislau had died in 1055, and his son Spittingger was completely enslaved to Rome; Pope Nicholas II., or rather Hildebrand, gave him permission to wear an episcopal mantle, and to assist in divine service, on condition of his paying an annual tribute to the vicar of St. Peter. Wratislaus II. succeeded him, and made a struggle for liberty; for in the year 1079, he wrote to Gregory, begging for the same exemption from the Latin tongue as had been granted by one of his predecessors to the Moravian church a hundred years before. His reply ran as follows:—"Gregory bishop, servant of the servants of God, to prince Wratislaus, health and apostolical benediction: know, dear son, that we cannot by any means grant your desire, for after having well weighed the scriptures, we find that it pleases Almighty God to have worship performed in a foreign tongue, for fear it should be understood by every body, and particularly the unlearned; for if it were sung and heard by all intelligibly, it might very easily be exposed to contempt and disgust, or the half-instructed who understood it ill, might be able in hearing and examining it too often to introduce errors among the people. Let it not be alleged that formerly something was granted to the newly converted, or to whole nations; for great evils arose from it and we have seen the indulgence was misplaced; therefore what your people so unreasonably ask must not be done, we forbid it in virtue of the power of God and St. Peter, and we exhort you to oppose such a folly in every possible way." Thus was Bohemia for a

while left in the profoundest darkness, but the roots of papal tyranny penetrated less deeply there than elsewhere, as we shall notice hereafter. Gregory seized on a favourable opportunity for laying claim to Poland; for the king Boleslaus II. had caused the bishop of Cracow to be put to death; and he not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but dethroned him, and dissolved the oath of allegiance taken by his subjects, expressly forbidding the nobles and clergy to elect a new king without the consent of the Roman pontiff. A letter exists written by Gregory to the bishop of Padua, exhorting him to engage Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and other German princes, to submit themselves and their dominions to papal jurisdiction. He also extended his pretensions to Spain, maintaining that it was the property of the Roman see from the earliest times, but that the act whereby it was secured to the bishops of Rome had been lost among other ancient records. The king of Arragon and other Spanish princes returned a favorable answer, and paid him regularly an annual tribute. Gregory had no regard for truth in any of his transactions; his conscience seems to have been seared as it were with a hot iron. The Spanish Christians had long been distinguished by their resolute resistance to the attempts made by the popes to displace their ancient Gothic Liturgy; but Alexander II. had persuaded those in Arragon and Catalonia, to conform to the Roman worship; and Gregory exhorted, threatened, and entreated, without ceasing, till the kings of Arragon and Castile agreed to introduce the Roman service throughout their dominions. The nobles of Castile proposed to decide the question between the two Liturgies by single combat, one fighting for the Roman, the other for the Gothic form; the Gothic champion proved victorious. The next trial was made by fire, and both Liturgies being committed to the flames, it was managed to preserve the Gothic; but the authority of Gregory triumphed over everything. He wrought upon the mind of Constantia the queen, and she determined her husband Alphonso, king of Castile, to abolish the Gothic services. We subjoin to this account a specimen of the war of words carried on between the aspiring Pope and the Emperor, who, in the hands of God, was the instrument of checking his proud career.

"To Hildebrand—no more pope, but false monk. Thou hast merited such a salutation by the general disorder thou hast excited in the Church. Thou hast trodden down bishops and priests, like serving men, to attract the favour of the populace. We have suffered such things till now, out of our respect for the apostolical see; but thou hast taken our humility for fear; and thou hast not been ashamed to lift up thyself against our royal dignity, which thou hast threatened to take away, as if we held from thee an empire to which the Lord Jesus Christ has called us. I myself, who, according to the holy fathers, can only be judged by God, thou hast attempted to excommunicate, as formerly the bishops abandoned to divine judgment the apostate Julian. Descend then from thy apostolical seat, thou who art condemned by this sentence, and by the judgment of all our bishops; and leave it to another who shall not soil religion by his violence, but shall preach the holy doctrine of St. Peter."

Gregory deigned not to reply by direct address to the Emperor; but his bull was couched in the language of prayer addressed to St. Peter.

"I believe that it has pleased thee by thy grace, and not on account of my works, to subject the Christian people to me as to thy representative. I forbid then, in the name of the Almighty God, to king Henry, the government of Germany and Italy.....and since he has divided the Church, I bind him on thy part with the bonds of proscription, in order that people may know and learn that thou art Peter," etc.

But, as we have already related, it was Gregory himself who died in banishment: we shall again return to the history of the Emperor Henry after his death.

CHAP. XXIV.

Life and Times of William the Conqueror, and of his son William Rufus. A. D. 1066—1100.

FIRST ACTS OF WILLIAM I.—HIS CORONATION.—HIS ABSENCE IN NORMANDY.—EDGAR ATHELING AND HIS SISTER, QUEEN MATILDA.—TYRANNY AND CRUELTY OF WILLIAM.—BISHOP WULSTAN.—LANFRANC.—WILLIAM'S FAMILY TROUBLES.—DOOMSDAY BOOK.—THE NEW FOREST.—MISERY AND DEATH OF THE CONQUEROR.—ACCESSION OF RUFUS.—HIS IRRELIGION.—WAR WITH HIS BROTHER.—SCOTLAND.—RUFUS OBTAINS NORMANDY.—HIS DEATH.—ANSELM.

WE have seen our own beautiful island successively pass

under the dominion of the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes; the Romans introduced civilisation; the Saxons brought back barbarism by their conquest; the later Danes were about as intelligent as the later Saxons; but in every case we have seen prolonged and fearful struggles before the country changed hands. It might have been expected from the previous history of England, and from the common jealousy of foreigners, and above all from the hatred shown to the Normans in the reign of Edward the Confessor, that William, on coming to our shores with a design of conquest, would have had to dispute every foot of ground. But we shall now have to notice that it was otherwise, and though he did not get into full possession of the kingdom without many struggles, the event of the contest could never appear doubtful after the decisive battle of Hastings. That battle struck terror into all but the stoutest hearts; and when Morcar and Edwin, the head of the English chiefs, who had fled to London, desired to place Edgar Atheling on the throne, and to resist the invader, the clergy, many of whom were Normans, stirred up the people to receive William as their king. William, in the meantime, was taking revenge on the townsmen of Romney, who had slaughtered some of his troops when they landed there by mistake; and he afterwards made himself master of Dover Castle. At Dover he left a good opinion of his justice, as he made reparation to some of the inhabitants whose houses had been burned by his soldiery. A dysentery among his troops delayed the conqueror's march to London, but at the end of some days he encamped in its vicinity, and burned Southwark in order to terrify the citizens into submission. Morcar and Edwin made some resistance, and he turned aside; but these chiefs, finding themselves unsupported by the people, soon retired into the north, and Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, went to William at Berkhamstead, and swore allegiance to him. The archbishop of York, and the bishop of Winchester followed; and Edgar Atheling, having by their persuasion thrown himself at the conqueror's feet, was received into his favour. William then proceeded to London, and was met by the magistrates, who offered him the keys, saying, that they had always been accustomed to kingly

government, and they knew of no one more worthy to reign than himself.

The coronation was fixed for the next Christmas day, at Westminster Abbey; and William, professing great reverence for the pope, said, that the ceremony should not be performed by Stigand, who without the papal permission had taken the place of Robert, the Norman primate; and therefore called for Aldred of York. On the appointed day, this archbishop formally demanded of the English in the assembly, whether they would have William for their king, and the bishop of Constance put the same question to the Normans: with one accord they answered Yes. The duke took the usual oath, and swore also to govern all his subjects by the same laws, and he was then anointed and crowned. The loud shouts that followed the ceremony were mistaken by the Norman troops outside the building for the noise of an affray; and they began to insult the populace and set fire to the neighbouring houses; but the appearance of William himself appeased the tumult. After his coronation, the king retired to Barking, and received the submissions of the chief nobility, who had not been present at the Abbey; and having obtained possession of Harold's treasures, and receiving large offerings from many of his new subjects, he began to reward his friends. He gave liberally to his troops, and sent Harold's standard to the pope, with valuable presents, and also gifts to the chief monasteries and churches in France, where prayer had been made for his success. He also distributed his bounty to the English monks, and founded the new convent at Hastings, which he called Battle Abbey. William made a great show of justice and moderation during the first three months of his residence in England; and all promised fair for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. Inter-marriages united the Normans and English; and when Morcar and Edwin made their submission, the Conqueror even promised his own daughter to the latter. In March, 1067, William resolved to visit Normandy, and, in apparent courtesy, but with deep design, he took with him Prince Edgar, the primate Stigand, the Earls Morcar and Edwin, Waltheof the son of Earl Siward, and others whom he thought it dangerous to leave behind. He made the

abbey of Fescamp his residence ; and when Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and other powerful princes and nobles, came to congratulate him, the English courtiers with their rich embroidered garments and splendid equipages astonished their eyes, and gave to William's train something of the appearance of an ancient triumph. During the king's absence, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his half brother, and Fitz-Osborne, were left in charge ; but their government occasioned the most serious discontent, and the dread of a revolution induced William to return to England. It was even rumoured that a general massacre of the Normans had been fixed for a certain day. From this time, it appears, that the king had no other intention but of reducing the English to absolute slavery, although he concealed his purposes a little while longer. He began by confiscating the estates of the rebels, and giving them to his own officers ; yet he restored to their possessions such of the English as had been expelled during his absence. At the same time, he imposed a general tax on the whole people, of the same nature as the odious Danegelt. Githa, mother to King Harold, having the same spirit as her husband and sons, excited the inhabitants of Exeter to refuse a Norman garrison ; and the men of Devonshire and Cornwall flew to arms. The king, however, put down this revolt, and Githa hastily escaped to Flanders with her treasures ; and William, having built a citadel at Exeter, dispersed his army into their several quarters throughout the kingdom, and retired to Winchester. There he was joined by Matilda, his wife, whom he greatly loved ; and by his orders she was crowned by Aldred. This archbishop sought, but in vain, to check the arbitrary proceedings of the king towards his country-men ; and he laid their woes so much to heart, blaming himself for having sanctioned the invader, that he died prematurely.

William had five daughters. But he did not keep his promise of giving one of them to Edwin ; and this chief and his brother were at last exasperated to such a degree by the tyrannical conduct of the Norman sovereign, that they put themselves at the head of an insurrection of their countrymen ; and engaged the aid of the princes of Wales, Scotland and Denmark. The king advanced with great speed to York, before the rebels had collected their forces,

and obliged them to seek his mercy. The chiefs he spared for a time, but confiscated the estates of their followers, and made peace with Malcolm, king of Scotland; so that they were effectually deprived of support.

In every step taken by William he displayed the most remarkable talents as a general and a politician; but he seems to have had no sense of honour and justice, and no rule of action but his own will. In recklessly pursuing his own gratification, regardless of a nation's suffering, he was, however, treasuring up anguish for his last days.

Edgar Atheling, fearful of remaining within the power of a king who seemed bent upon the ruin of his countrymen, escaped with his sisters to Scotland, and was followed by many of the noblest Saxon families. Malcolm generously welcomed the fugitives, and soon afterwards married the princess Margaret. This alliance was much for the benefit of the Scots, who were in a far lower state of civilization than the English, and much more ignorant of Christianity. The English settlers gradually diffused their language and manners; and the queen, who is highly celebrated for her piety, liberality, and humility, produced a great reformation in the kingdom, and, by her gentleness, tempered the ferocious spirit of her martial husband.

It is said that Malcolm used to handle with great respect and even kiss the books that he saw his wife peruse, though he was so illiterate as not to be able to read their contents. They had six sons and two daughters, on whose education the queen bestowed uncommon care; and three of their sons who reigned successively were considered excellent monarchs. It is a singular circumstance, that their daughter Maud, who was looked upon as a pious person, was, in the end, married to Henry, the Conqueror's youngest son, who was born after Matilda joined him in England. At this period, however, no union between the rival families seemed in any wise probable; for William by degrees threw off all disguise, and the enmity between the Normans and English rose to the greatest height.

Three sons of Harold, with the assistance of Dermot, an Irish prince, landed in Devonshire, but were driven back with great loss. But this did not prevent the Northumbrians from rising; and they were supported by the Danish

troops under the command of Osberne, the brother of king Sweyn, and two of his sons, and by Edgar Atheling and the exiled warriors in Scotland. The Norman garrison at York, three thousand in number, were put to the sword without mercy. Hereward, an English chief, fortified the Isle of Ely as a retreat for his followers. Edric the Forester, with the help of the Welsh, assaulted the Normans at Shrewsbury; and the inhabitants of Somerset, Dorset, Cornwall, and Devon, in like manner, rose against their foreign governors. The king, with the utmost coolness, surveyed the danger on all sides, and assembling his forces marched against that which appeared most threatening—the insurrection in the North. He detached the Danes from their allies by large presents, and by giving Osberne permission to plunder the sea-coast, on condition of his returning to Denmark. When he arrived at home the king banished him for this treacherous proceeding. Waltheof, Edric, and some others, were allured by promises of favour and honour, which were strictly fulfilled; and Edgar Atheling and his party retired into Scotland. The king might have won upon all by extending his clemency; but, instead of this, after swearing by God's splendour, his favourite oath, that he would not leave a Northumbrian alive, he laid waste the fertile country between the Humber and the Tees, sixty miles in extent; burned the houses, seized the cattle, destroyed the instruments of husbandry, and left the people either to perish miserably or to seek subsistence in Scotland. From the Tees to the Tyne, the advancing army spread the same desolation. In this manner it is said that the lives of a hundred thousand persons were sacrificed—the ruins of the houses and the roads were covered with corpses—none were left to bury the dead. Some who fled to the mountains and forests lived by plunder, or were reduced to such extremity of famine as to eat dogs, horses, and even human flesh. The English, in many parts of the country, were so irritated by the insolence of the victorious Normans who had been put over their heads, that, whenever they had opportunity, they put them to death; and murder became so common, even in the public roads, that the king published an edict, inflicting a fine upon the hundred in which any murdered person was found. The fine, however,

was only exacted when the dead man was found to be a Norman.

Confiscation became general after William's terrible campaign in the north ; and the surname of Wolf, given to one of his generals, to whom he granted the county of Chester, may give an idea of the reputation earned by his lieutenants. They imitated their leader.

Yet even William had his moments of feeling. He could admire valour in his most determined opponents ; and it is related, that when the news of the death of Edwin was brought to him, he turned aside and wept. He shewed, also, his respect for Hereward, the last supporter of Saxon liberty. This chief, like a second Alfred, remained in his encampment among the marshes, resolved to hold out though all England had submitted ; and Morcar, Stigand, and some of the most noted of William's adversaries, joined him in the Isle of Ely. The island was so difficult of access, that the Normans could only attack it by making a wooden causeway three miles in length to cross the marshes ; and this was burnt by the besieged. William then turned the siege into a blockade ; and the monks becoming impatient of confinement, made their peace with him by admitting his soldiers into their monastery, which formed a part of Hereward's fortification. But the Conqueror restored the last of the Saxon chiefs to his possessions, in honour of his bravery, and severely taxed the treacherous monks. Morcar, too, who had been allured to leave his band by fair promises, was imprisoned for life ; and several other prisoners of war received the same sentence, or were deprived of their eyes or hands, and sent into different parts of the country as monuments of the severity with which rebellion was punished.

In order to complete the subjugation of the people, William introduced the feudal law into England, and divided the whole country, exclusive of one thousand four hundred and twenty-two manors, which he reserved for himself, into seven hundred baronies, to be held as fiefs by his great barons, and sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knight's fees for inferior vassals. Hardly any Englishman was admitted into the first class ; and thus the English nobles and thanes were obliged to do service to some Norman, as

a superior lord, even for the lands which were their own by inheritance. The Saxon titles of *earldermen* and *thanes* now gave place to the Norman titles of *counts* and *viscounts*. Church lands had hitherto been free from obligation to support the king in war; but William placed all on the same footing, and required a certain number of knights or soldiers from the bishops and abbots, according to the extent of their property. In vain did the pope and the clergy protest against this charge. The king was determined to extend the same iron rule over the church which he had sworn to protect, as over the nation whose liberties he had sworn to defend; and, though he had professed to visit upon Harold with such severity the crime of perjury, he broke his own solemn coronation oath in every act. Even the property which the oppressed English had sent into monasteries for defence, he forcibly seized, under pretence that it belonged to rebels. In order to get rid of the few remaining English bishops, and to proceed in his spoliation on some religious pretext, William professed his desire to receive a legate from Rome; and Ermenfroy bishop of Sion, was accordingly sent by the pope. In a council held at Winchester, Stigand was deprived of the primacy on certain frivolous pretexts, to make room for Lanfranc, a royal favourite. Almost all the other English prelates were compelled to renounce their sees, or fled to avoid the disgrace of doing so. One stood his ground with great firmness. This was Wulstan, bishop of Winchester, a man who had the credit of having put an end to the odious practice of exporting slaves from England. Being required to give up his pastoral staff and ring, he boldly said to the king, "I received them from a better man than thou, and to him only will I return them," and so saying laid them on Edward's tomb; the monks add, that he struck his staff into the stone, and none could move it.

Either William's admiration for his frankness and courage, or his well known inoffensiveness of character, caused Wulstan to be restored to his see, and treated with favour. He is said to have been gifted as an evangelical preacher and a pastor. When some complained of their sufferings from the Normans, he replied, "It is a rod which God sends to punish you for your sins: suffer it with patience." We notice Wulstan elsewhere.

Lanfranc was a man of eminent learning, and a great student of the scriptures; but the fact that he introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation, shows his want of spiritual understanding. In 1075, William made a decided separation between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by forbidding any person to be tried in a civil court for a matter "concerning the regimen of his soul;" and in the same year a bishop was prohibited from attending at any civil trial, in which the criminal might lose life or limb.

Before this time a priest was not permitted on some occasions to be present at a marriage; but now, all marriages were declared spiritually void, when the parties did not receive the blessing of a priest. The contests about the celibacy of the clergy we have noticed in the history of the papacy. Lanfranc was one of the most zealous supporters of that system. The arrogance of Hildebrand, at last, irritated the proud spirit of William to such a degree, that he ordered that no pope should be recognised in his dominions, without first being recognised by himself; and that no orders from the church of Rome, or canons of any council, should be in force till ratified by him. Thus, in the providence of God, one tyrant was made the means of checking the career of another. William was forty-two years of age when he became king of England, and had three sons whom he left in Normandy, Robert, William, and Richard. The eldest, surnamed Courthose, from the shortness of his legs, was promised the dukedom, as soon as his father obtained quiet possession of England. In 1076, the young prince reminded the king of his claim; but William, who was as regardless of his word to his son as to his people, returned him a rough answer, viz.—that he should not put off his clothes till he went to bed—in other words, that he must expect nothing before his death; and, in order to silence his son's demands more effectually, William went into Normandy with his wife and his son Henry, and resided there some years. William and Henry gained their father's affection by submission to his will. Robert was his mother's favourite; but he possessed the same uncontrollable and ambitious spirit as his father, and his jealousy towards his brothers disposed him easily to take offence. Whilst the king and his family dwelt together in the castle of l'Aigle,

William and Henry one day amused themselves by throwing water over their brother as he passed through the court; and Robert, instead of understanding it as sport, drew his sword to take revenge. The whole castle was in tumult, and the king with difficulty appeased the quarrel. Robert complained of his partiality, and that same evening left the court, and began to raise insurrection in the province. The prince had always resided in Normandy, and was more popular than his father; he had previously been suspected of stirring up Philip of France to invade the dukedom, and now many of the French nobles took his part. It was supposed that Matilda, his mother, secretly supported him.

William was, at last, obliged to call an army of English to his assistance; and, desirous of winning the favour of their imperious monarch, they put forth all their strength, and regained for him all his hereditary provinces.

Robert was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerbray, within the dominions of the king of France, and was there besieged by his father. The young prince and his partisans frequently sallied forth, and the most chivalrous encounters took place under the walls. In one of these, Robert unhorsed an aged knight, whose face was concealed by his helmet, and was about to inflict a deadly wound, when the voice that called for another steed, assured him that he was on the point of killing his own father. Struck with remorse, he immediately dismounted, entreated his pardon on his knees with many tears, and gave him his own horse. The old king, however, cursed his son; and it was not till the following day, when the importunities of his wife and his nobles were added to the prayers of Robert, that he appeared at all reconciled to him.

Edgar Atheling, weary of the ineffectual attempts that had been made to restore him to the throne of his fathers, came to William whilst he was in Normandy, and resigned all his claims. The king allowed him a pound of silver a day; and after many changes, he at last engaged in the crusade. On his return to England, William took with him his son Robert, and used his martial talents in repelling an invasion of Malcolm, king of Scots; and in overawing the Welsh. In both services he was successful. England

was at this time in complete peace—the nation was thoroughly enslaved. The conqueror had prevented nightly meetings for conspiracy, by making it unlawful to have either fire or candle after a certain hour of the evening. The custom was in existence before in Normandy. The warning was given by a bell called the Curfew (*couvre-feu*) Bell. In 1080, a survey of England was commenced by royal command, and the particulars of it were recorded in what are called the Great and Little Domesday* books still preserved in the Exchequer. It was accomplished in six years, and chiefly referred to the king's own lands. As far as it goes, however, it is most curious and important; but this record alone would suffice to prove the rapacity of William, as it is evident that an inordinate portion of the land was reserved for himself. It appears that he was the richest king in Europe, for besides the rent of all the crown lands, he received all the taxes, tolls, customs, and fines; and his army could have cost him little, as his vassals were required to have 60,000 men always ready to bring into the field at their own expense.

William had a great passion for hunting; and not satisfied with the extensive royal parks that existed, he, at this time, formed that which is still called the New Forest, in Hampshire. With the utmost tyranny, he sacrificed the comforts of hundreds to his amusement, and depopulated the country for a circuit of thirty miles, destroying thirty-six churches, besides all the villages, and scattered houses and convents. He made the sufferers no compensation. An old chronicle says, "He made many deer parks, and he established laws by which, whosoever slew a hart or a hind was deprived of his eyesight. He forbade men to kill harts or boars, and he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. He decreed that the hares should go free. Rich men bemoaned it, and poor men shuddered at it; but he was so stern, that he recked not the hatred of them all. In his time had men much distress."

But William could not enjoy any rest; one disturbance

* The title was meant to express that the record possessed the correctness of those that will be presented in the Judgment day.

followed fast upon another throughout his reign. In 1082, he found that Odo, whom he had made earl of Kent and who had accumulated immense riches, was on the point of embarking with all his treasures for Italy, with other wealthy nobles; having formed a project of buying the papacy, which he expected would shortly be vacant, as the death of Gregory had been predicted by an astrologer. The king ordered him to be arrested: but no one dared to touch him, as the person of a bishop was considered sacred. William therefore seized him with his own hands, replying to his assertion of privilege, that he arrested him not as bishop of Bayeux but as earl of Kent. Notwithstanding the threats of Gregory, Odo was kept in close confinement; and it was with great reluctance that William in his dying hours gave orders for his release. In 1083, Queen Matilda died, broken in heart through the difference between her husband and son, and troubled in conscience with the part she had taken in the matter. Her loss was a great affliction to the king. Three years after, he went into Normandy, and, during his residence there, quarrelled with the king of France, because some of his barons had made incursions into the dukedom. Philip, it appears, had little power to control his powerful lords; but instead of seeking reconciliation with William by proper apology, he provoked his rage by unseasonable jests. The king of England led his army into the isle of France, laid the country waste, and even threatened Paris; but whilst his troops were engaged in burning the town of Mantes, his horse, treading on some fiery embers, plunged so violently, as to occasion him serious injury, and he was obliged to be carried in a litter to Rouen. As he grew worse, he was removed out of the noise of the town to an adjoining abbey, and there died, after an illness of two months, September 1087. He left a sum of money to the clergy of Mantes, to compensate for the injury that he had done, and made similar attempts at reparation of his other violence committed in France; he also tried to ease his conscience by causing large sums to be distributed among the poor. But the many evils that he had occasioned were entirely beyond his power to remedy; and he seems to have been the prey of fruitless remorse, not knowing where to turn for forgiveness and peace. He

owned himself a usurper, and guilty of all the blood that had been shed in England, and desired that some of his most distinguished prisoners should be released. To Lanfranc he wrote, urging him to secure his son William's succession to the throne, and desired the prince to carry the letter himself. To his son Robert he left the long coveted inheritance of Normandy; to Henry the possessions of his mother and five thousand marks. At the same time, being acquainted with the superiority of his youngest son, he observed, with keen foresight, that he would one day surpass both his brothers in power and wealth.

William died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, being the fifty-second of his ducal power, and the twenty-first year of his reign over England. He was buried in a monastery that he had built at Caen, of which Cicely his eldest daughter was abbess. There existed a distant relationship between William and Matilda his wife; and when the pope granted a dispensation for the marriage, the duke promised to build this monastery. It appears, however, that he had never paid for the ground on which it stood; and the prior forbad the burial on his estate. Henry satisfied his claims, as far as the place for the grave was concerned, on the spot, and the poor remains were then lowered into the ground. Few of William's followers waited to attend his funeral; they were busied in paying their court to his successor in England. Yet the king had for the most part favoured the nobles, whilst he oppressed the poor; and it has been remarked, that only one nobleman was executed during his reign; this was Earl Waltheof, the son of Siward, on whom the king bestowed his niece Judith in marriage, and very extensive domains, on his giving in his allegiance. Judith, who loved another better than her own husband, brought about his ruin; for after Waltheof had confessed to her a conspiracy that had been formed against the king, from which he was resolved to withdraw, she sent word of it to her uncle, exaggerating her husband's guilt; and even when Waltheof had made personal confession to the king and received promise of his forgiveness, Judith did not rest till she procured sentence of death against him. This wretched woman died miserably, rejected by the person for whose sake she had sacrificed her husband.

William, according to the custom of princes, sought to strengthen himself by forming alliances through the marriage of his daughters. Constance was united to the duke of Brittany; but they had no children. Adeliza was offered to Harold, and probably afterwards promised to Earl Edwin; but she died unmarried. Adela was married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons—William, who was imbecile; Theobald, whom we mention elsewhere for his piety; Stephen, afterwards king of England; and Henry who became abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester. The Conqueror betrothed his youngest daughter Agatha to Alphonso, king of Galicia; but she died on her journey to meet the bridegroom.

William, surnamed Rufus or the Red, on account of the colour of his hair, resembled his father in character but not in talents. There was no prospect of prosperity to England when committed into such hands. He left the abbey whilst his father was expiring, and seized the strong fortresses of Dover, Pevensey and Hastings; and secured the treasures at Winchester before it was generally known that the king was dead.

Lanfranc had been the tutor of William Rufus, and had taken part in the ceremonies of his knighthood. He warmly favoured his pretensions, and having great influence with the bishops and nobles, he lost no time in assembling them, and proceeded to the coronation of his pupil only eighteen days after the death of his father. But this great despatch did not prevent an insurrection in favor of Robert; and Odo was no sooner released from prison than he set himself to oppose the dying wish of the Conqueror whose tyranny he had felt. Many of the barons who had estates both in England and Normandy, did not like to pay allegiance to two masters, and greatly preferred Duke Robert. The two brothers were equally brave; but Robert was open and generous, William haughty and violent; and the easy indolence of the former left to his vassals a freedom which they never could hope to enjoy under the firm but tyrannical sway of William. But all the opposition that was made to William's continuance on the throne was rendered vain by his prompt measures and the strong support of Lanfranc.

Odo himself was obliged to flee into Normandy, and the duke's fleet never dared to land on the shores of England. William, by Lanfranc's advice, had secured the help of the English people by making them promises of good treatment, and by allowing them to hunt in the royal forests ; but when his dangers were over he would not fulfil his engagements. Lanfranc faithfully rebuked his insincerity ; but William replied, "Do you think it possible for a king to keep all his promises?" and he never forgave the primate's generous expostulation. At his death, which took place two years after, William retained the revenues of the archbishopric in his own hands, bestowed many of the church lands on his favourites, and even openly set up for sale some of the sees and abbacies. At one of his auctions of an abbacy, three monks were present ; two of them bid against each other ; the third was silent. "And what will you give?" said the king to the latter ; "I have nothing to give," replied he, "and if I had, I would not offer it for conscience' sake." It seemed as if his word awakened William's better judgment, and that he could, like many, admire in another a spirit which he did not himself possess ; for he replied "You are the most worthy, and shall have it for nought."

The inconsistencies of real Christians, the superstitions of the weak and ignorant, and the ill-doings of the hypocrite, have been in all ages alleged by some men as a plea for that utter indifference to truth which has its true source in the blindness of their own hearts. William Rufus, it appears, had acuteness to discern some of the falsities of the Christian profession then prevalent in his days, and he made them a pretext for mockery of all religion. He was not led away by the spirit of the crusades, though the enthusiasm was at its height in his days. One of his Jewish subjects came one day to him, offering him sixty marks if he would help him to bring back his son, who was a convert to Christianity. William, it is said, threatened and persuaded the youth, but in vain ; and at length told the father, that as he had done his best he should keep the half of the sum, though, as he had not succeeded, he did not think it right to retain the whole. Another day, for his own amusement, he desired that some of the clergy and some Jewish rabbins should dispute in his presence that he might impartially judge between them.

A dangerous illness once produced great alarm in William's mind; and in that moment, when a faithful servant of God would so gladly have set before him the Gospel of grace, the clergy represented to him that he would be eternally lost, if he did not make atonement for his seizure of church property and other impieties. Under the influence of fear, he resolved to appoint some one to the see of Canterbury, which had lain vacant for four years, and sent for Anselm, an abbot of Normandy famous for learning and piety. Anselm accepted the primacy with the utmost reluctance, probably fearful of connection with a wilful and tyrannical king. He had good reason to dread such a post; for William, as soon as he recovered, displayed the same spirit as before; so that the Saxon chronicler declares him "to have been loathed by nearly all his people and odious to God."

In the third year of his reign, William invaded Normandy, in revenge for his brother's attempt against England; and used bribery to keep the king of France aloof, and to seduce some of Robert's barons. A rich citizen of Rouen engaged to deliver up the capital to William; but Henry, who was on his elder brother's side, discovering his intention, led the traitor to the top of a high tower, and with his own hands threw him down headlong.

Matters came to such extremity between the brothers, that the nobles interposed, and engaged them to enter into a treaty, whereby William obtained some possessions in Normandy; and an agreement was made that the brother who survived should inherit the dominions of the other. War, though threatened, was never renewed between Robert and William, as the former was of the more yielding disposition; but their younger brother, seeing himself left without provision in their arrangements, seized upon a strong fortress on the coast, called St. Michael's Mount, and with his followers ravaged the neighbourhood. His brothers jointly besieged his castle; and Henry and his garrison, being reduced to great suffering for want of water, appealed to the elder princes generously to supply his necessities. Robert immediately granted the request; and also sent Henry some pipes of wine for his own use. According to the laws of chivalry, he wished to subdue him by force of arms and

not by want. William, however, ridiculed his elder brother's courtesy, and blamed his folly in thus enabling the besieged to hold out longer against them. "What!" exclaimed Robert, "is the ground of our quarrel as important as a brother? Shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" This speech has been highly commended for its nobleness; and it was noble when compared with the spirit of William; but how vain when measured by the real standard. Did not Robert know that he was daily in danger of killing the brother whom he pitied, even as he had once nearly taken his father's life?

Before the end of the siege, William, in riding near the castle alone, was attacked by two soldiers, and one of them would have slain him with his sword; but when he exclaimed, "Hold, knave, I am the king of England!" the man started back, and raised him up with expressions of respect. The king rewarded him, and took him into his service; and he then returned to England, leaving Robert to deal with their younger brother as he pleased. Soon after Henry capitulated, and was left at liberty. He wandered about for some time very poor, and with but few attendants. Robert proved his reconciliation with William in going to assist him in a war with Malcolm, king of Scotland; but the brothers, whilst together in the north of England, suffered from the effects of the desolation caused by their father, feeling the want of provisions, and the bad state of the roads in a deserted country. They made peace with Malcolm; and Edgar Atheling, who had been visiting at his court, returned into Normandy with the duke. At this time, William rebuilt Carlisle, and sent a colony thither with great privileges, to defend the frontier against the Scots. Malcolm came down to Gloucester to pay a friendly visit to the king; but finding that William would not see him unless he went through the ceremony of homage, he returned home, saying that he would only comply with that form in the appointed place, the border of their respective kingdoms. A fresh quarrel arose; and Malcolm's pride led to his destruction, for as he was ravaging Northumberland he attacked Alnwick, and Earl Moubray, the governor, fell upon him, and he was slain. Margaret, his queen, was

very ill at the time; and, when the bitter news reached her, it is said that she exclaimed, "I thank thee, O Lord, that this great affliction is evidently sent to purify me from my sins! O Lord Jesus Christ, who by thy death hast given life to the world, deliver me from evil!" She survived the shock only a few days. Margaret's religion seems to have been a reality; for her confessor, who wrote her life, says that she used to discourse with him in such a manner concerning the sweetness of everlasting life, as to draw tears from his eyes. We may hope that she made edifying communications to many others; but the fact which historians have been most careful to record is, that her husband acted as her interpreter whilst she impressed upon the Scottish clergy that the right time of observing Easter was that prescribed by the Romish church. They yielded to her arguments.

After the death of Malcolm, King William supported Duncan, who was not the legitimate heir to the crown; but three years before his own death he changed his mind, and sent Edgar Atheling into Scotland with a small army to secure the throne for Edgar, his nephew, the eldest son of Malcolm and Margaret. This enterprise was successful.

Edgar Atheling, notwithstanding his reputed weakness, seems to have been continually engaged in war; and, though he had not genius to countervail the marked superiority of the Conqueror and his sons, he was always a favourite with the English people.

In 1094, William, being in his Norman domains, sent orders to England for a levy of twenty thousand men; but when they all arrived at the sea-coast in readiness to embark, the king's ministers, having secret directions, demanded from them ten shillings a-piece, instead of their personal service. We may suppose they were glad to return home on these terms. William's object was to raise money, whereby he might again bribe the king of France and the Norman barons, and thus obtain possession of his brother's territories; for these he still coveted. He was, however, obliged to give up the design, and to return to England to repel the Welsh, who had invaded Shropshire and Cheshire. Henry, on this occasion, accompanied him; so strangely

did these brothers fight for, and sometimes against, each other. They always defeated the Welsh in the open field; but in their turn suffered greatly when they attempted to carry the war into the mountains.

The disturbance which King William sought to create in Normandy seemed to be continually visited upon him by some disturbance in his own country; and in 1095, his barons rebelled and wished to set up as their king, Stephen, his cousin, the son of Adela. William detected the conspiracy, and, whilst he sent back Henry into Normandy to take care of his affairs there, he marched in person to besiege Moubray, the chief of the rebels, in his castle. Having narrowly escaped an ambushade by the way, he blockaded the earl, and threatened to put his eyes out if the garrison would not give up. At length Moubray was delivered to him, and he sentenced him to imprisonment in Windsor Castle. He remained there thirty years. Other barons were treated very severely. In the following year, William obtained the long desired province of Normandy in a peaceable manner; for his brother, having engaged to join the crusade, found that he could not set out in such style as he deemed proper without more money, and therefore offered to mortgage his possessions for three years, for ten thousand marks. William gladly paid the sum required, but not out of his own treasures. He taxed the rich, and they oppressed the poor; and he so severely drew upon the religious houses, that in some cases they melted their silver vessels to supply the demand. Scarcely had the king taken possession of Normandy, when a fresh irruption of the Welsh called him back; and he said, in his rage, he would not leave a man of them alive. He was, however, on the whole, unsuccessful; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Chester, who were invited into Wales by some who cared not for the liberty of their country, plundered it as far as Anglesea. There they met with Magnus, king of Norway, who, being on an expedition against the Isle of Man, resolved to descend on the Welsh coast. He was repulsed; but the earl of Shrewsbury lost his life in the battle. This is memorable as being the last attempt ever made by the northern nations on our island. About this time they gave themselves more diligently to agriculture; and

this put an end to the practice of piracy, in which they had indulged for so many centuries.

William Rufus now supposed that he had vanquished all his enemies, and gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure ; great therefore was his rage, when, as he was hunting in the New Forest, a message was brought him, that Helie, a petty lord of Anjou, who had before given him great trouble, was on the point of taking the citadel of the town of Mans. Without a moment's delay, he galloped off, exclaiming, " He that loves me let him follow me ;" and he did not stop till he reached Dartmouth. The weather was so stormy, that the captain of the vessel, to whom he addressed himself, hesitated to put to sea : " Tush, set forward," said William, " who ever heard of a king being drowned !" We cannot but regret that the king's vigour of character was not used for some good purpose. Few have displayed more energy and presence of mind than Rufus, in time of danger. He succeeded in saving his castle ; but, in besieging Helie before one of his own strongholds to which he had pursued him, he received a slight wound, and consequently returned to England. This was the last year of the eleventh century. In the following year William, earl of Poitiers, and duke of Guienne, being about to join the crusade, followed the example of the duke of Normandy, and offered his dominions to the ambitious king of England, for a certain sum. Rufus consented to give it, and was about to send a fleet and army to pay the money, and to take possession of the rich provinces that had been promised him, when an accident put an end to his life. On August the second, he went out to hunt in the New Forest, and after wounding a stag, dismounted to look after his game, when Walter Tyrrel, a French knight in his train, and a skilful archer, drew his bow to aim at the same animal, and the arrow, glancing from a tree, pierced the king and instantly killed him. Tyrrel, in alarm, put spurs to his horse and hastened to the coast, where he embarked for France and joined the crusades, by way of an atonement for his involuntary deed. No one, however, would have cared to avenge William's death. It is said, the people had prayed for it long before ; and when his corpse was found by some peasants, it was carried to

Winchester for burial, without any pomp, and with no regret. There were not wanting persons to observe, that it was no wonder that the New Forest should be fatal to the family of William the Conqueror; it was but the just judgment of God for the manner in which it had been formed. We did not before mention, that Richard, his elder son, lost his life in this forest, and that Duke Robert's son was also killed there: so dangerous was this princely sport.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, had many contentions with William Rufus; he was an ardent supporter of church authority, and this king did not like to acknowledge any superior. His great offence was, that whilst there were two rival candidates for the papacy, he held up Urban II. as the one to whom obedience was due, without asking the king's consent. Subsequently, finding his position very uneasy, Anselm proposed to visit Rome; the king was willing, and not only seized the revenues of the see in his absence, but had his baggage searched for the treasures he was about to take with him, saying, that the coin of the realm must not be carried away.

Anselm feared to return during the life of Rufus, and spent his years of exile chiefly in retirement, writing on spiritual subjects. He was, however, in great favour with the pope, and was called to assist in a famous council at Bari, where the investiture of bishops was afresh disallowed to princes, and the whole Greek church anathematised, for not holding the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father. In this place, we can only farther relate concerning Anselm, that his generous feeling was shown in his serious lamentation, on hearing of the death of his royal persecutor, William Rufus, although it led to his own recall. Another English prelate testified his concern for the king in a different way; this was Osborn, his chancellor, to whom he had given the bishopric of Salisbury. Having built the beautiful cathedral of that city, he dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, *for the salvation of the souls of William and Matilda*; but thinking that such a great work might purchase something more—he added, And for the salvation of the reigning king, and of his own soul likewise!

CHAP. XXV.

Reign of Henry IV. after the death of Hildebrand.

POPE URBAN II.—HIS QUARREL WITH THE EMPEROR AND WITH THE KING OF FRANCE.—PASCAL II. DEPOSES HENRY IV.—HIS SUFFERINGS AND DEATH.—HIS SON, HENRY V., SUCCEEDS HIM.—PHILIP I. RECONCILED TO THE POPE.—THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE DUCAS AND HIS SONS.—ELEVATION OF ROMANUS IV. TO THE THRONE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

GREGORY VII. died in 1085; but Henry IV. had no tranquillity, although his formidable foe was no more. The troubles which he had excited did not cease; and the Roman clergy in particular, who had been exalted in the exaltation of their head, determined to reject a pope who had been thrust on them by the emperor. Supported by the Normans, they disregarded Clement III., who was master of the city, and acknowledged by a great part of Italy; and adopted as their pope an abbot of gentle disposition whom they called Victor III. And when his fearful spirit induced him to retire to a monastery that he might end his days in peace, he recommended as his successor a monk of Clugni, the bishop of Ostia, who was elected in 1088, and took the name of Urban II. With inferior powers, his pride and haughtiness made him an imitator of Gregory. In 1089, with his consent, the Countess Matilda married Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria. A more powerful head was in this way given to the papal faction; and though the connection seemed likely to divert her rich possessions from the Roman see, it did not have this effect, as she separated from her second husband, and before her death confirmed all her former donations by will—a will which is the best title to the states possessed by the popes. In 1090, the emperor came into Italy and defeated Guelph; but that which the papal party could not accomplish in one way, they attempted in another, and accordingly drew into rebellion, Conrad, the emperor's son, lately elected king of the Romans. He was crowned by the archbishop of Milan, and received in marriage the daughter of Roger, the Norman

count of Sicily. On hearing that his son had usurped the kingdom of Italy, Henry IV. assembled the German princes, put him to the ban of the empire, and declared his son Henry king of the Romans in his room. The imperial party was still powerful in Italy; and notwithstanding all the efforts of Urban, he could not bring the city of Rome under his yoke.

In the second year of his pontificate, he held a council at Poitiers, and excommunicated the king of France, because he had put away Bertha his wife, and the mother of several of his children. His pretence was that on searching certain genealogies, he had ascertained she was related to him within the forbidden degree; but his real motive was evinced to be his preference for another; for he took away Bertrade de Montfort, wife of the count of Anjou, and married her, thus breaking the law of God whilst he professed respect for the laws of man. Philip promised to separate from Bertrade, and the censure was withdrawn; but he afterwards called her back. Urban, in the meanwhile, was deeply involved in his contest with Henry IV., and finding all other means fail, he assembled a council at Placentia in 1095, where he confirmed the laws and anathemas of Gregory. But the most famous council held by Urban was that at Clermont in 1098 — its chief act, the proposition of the first crusade, we leave for another chapter. In this assembly, Philip I. was again excommunicated; and bishops and priests were forbidden to promise upon oath obedience to any king or any layman. In this latter point, Urban went farther than Gregory himself; but he did not live to watch the results of his own measures. On his return to Italy, he made himself master of the castle of St. Angelo and died soon after, A. D. 1099. His rival, Clement III., the emperor's pope, died the following year; and a Benedictine monk who had been chosen by the papal party, and assumed the title of Pascal II., was left sole possessor of the chair at the end of this century.

Philip I., who has been surnamed the Amorous, would not give up the object of his attachment; but, fearful that the anathemas under which he rested might shake his throne, he associated with himself in the kingdom his son Louis, then twenty years of age. He was a prince of re-

markable talents; but his kingly authority and victorious career excited the jealousy of the wicked Bertrade, and only the vigilance of his physician saved him from the effects of the poison whereby she attempted to destroy him. Yet Philip was so entirely under her influence, that, after this act, instead of giving her up, he tried to reconcile her to his son. Louis fled into England, and was protected by king Henry.

Pascal II. proved a second Hildebrand; and immediately after he came into power he called a council which cited the emperor to his tribunal; and as he did not obey the call, he was excommunicated anew, for having introduced many schisms. It appears that he was of grossly immoral life. About this time Conrad died; but the pope immediately persuaded Henry, his younger son, that he owed no obedience to an excommunicated person, and engaged the empress to publish her husband's offences. The emperor remonstrated with his son Henry; and the prince threw him off his guard, by asking his forgiveness, and telling him that he had only prepared to take up arms through evil counsel. His father restored him to his favour, and dismissed the army that he had raised; upon which his perfidious son caused him to be put in confinement, and immediately after, the pope's legates, as presidents of an assembly of his partisans, transferred the imperial dignity from the father to the son; A.D. 1106. The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne were commissioned to inform Henry of his deposition, and to demand from him the regal ornaments. The emperor received these messengers with the more surprise, as they were the persons who had most richly profited by that disobedience to the papal laws, for which he was condemned; having received from his hands the best bishoprics in his gift. He reminded them that he had freely presented to them benefices, by the sale of which he might have filled his coffers; they acknowledged that it was so, but still insisted on his giving up to them the insignia of royalty. Henry retired to another apartment, and returned arrayed in all the imperial ornaments, saying, that he had been invested with them in the name of God, by the princes of the empire; but that, if they were regardless of the wrath of heaven, and violently seized them

from the sovereign to whom they had sworn fidelity, he could not defend himself. Unmoved by his words, they took the crown from his head, and forcibly stripped him of his robes. Whilst they were so employed, Henry said, with many tears, that though he had sinned and merited such shame by the follies of his youth, he knew that God would punish treachery, ingratitude and perjury; and to Him he cried to avenge his injuries. The deposed emperor was set at liberty, but reduced to such necessity, through the pope's excommunication and his son's unnatural conduct, that he went from place to place seeking subsistence. On coming to Spire, he asked the archbishop whom he had promoted to that see, to make him a chanter or reader in the church, but even this request was refused; and it is said, that on this occasion he wept, and uttered the words of Job: "Have mercy on me, O my friends, for the hand of the Lord has touched me!" At Cologne, he met with a good reception by the people, and was recognised as emperor; and, proceeding from thence into the Low countries, he found some friends, and raised a considerable body of troops, to aid in his restoration. He also wrote to the pope to make some accommodation with him, but before anything could be effected, he died at Liege, 1106. His son Henry, instead of repenting of his treatment of his deceased father, caused the body to be taken up out of its tomb in the cathedral of that city, and had it buried in a cave at Spire, as a more fitting place for an excommunicated person. He had made his father's excommunication a cloak for his own ambition; but he proved his hypocrisy by supporting the very claims which had drawn down the papal anathemas; and Pascal, seeing that he could not be trusted as a protector, or a servant of the Roman see, went into France to seek an interview with Philip. That king offered to do public penance, and was left in undisturbed union with Bertrade; the popes had now learned that the kings of France were a convenient shelter against the emperors of Germany, and sought opportunities to secure their friendship. Philip ended his long reign, and his vicious life, by putting on the monastic habit—the fancied covering for sin. He died 1108.

When we last alluded to the Greek empire, Constantine IX., surnamed Ducas, was on the throne of Constantinople. He did not shine as a ruler or a warrior; but he was distinguished as a judge and an eloquent speaker. He thought more of the exaltation of his family than of the welfare of the state; and accordingly gave the title of Augustus to his three sons at a very early age, and at his death, left them to the guardianship of Eudocia, their mother, having obliged her to place in the hands of the patriarch, a written promise that she would not marry again.

Constantine IX. died in 1067,—one year after the conquest of England, by William of Normandy. His three sons were proclaimed joint-emperors, as Michael VII. (Ducas), Andronicus I., and Constantine XII. At the end of seven months, Romanus Diogenes, one of the bravest generals of the empire, was accused of treason and condemned to death by the senate; but Eudocia, being attracted by his personal appearance and his reputation for valour, changed the sentence into banishment, and the second day recalled him to take the command of the army. She then informed the patriarch that she desired to recall the engagement which was left in his hands; but he refused to give it up, till it was whispered that his own brother was to be her second husband. Eudocia was immediately united to Romanus; but the young princes were so much alarmed, that their guards would have destroyed the intruder, had not the empress quieted her children's fears, by assuring them of the fidelity of the protector under whose care she placed them. Romanus IV. wore the purple and possessed the imperial power at Constantinople during the reign of William the Conqueror; and as the chief event of his reign was the war which he carried on against the Turks, we take this occasion of describing the condition of a nation which must now take a prominent place in our pages. This subject, moreover, stands in close connection with the history of the first crusade, which occupies the ensuing chapters.

CHAP. XXVI.

ORIGIN OF THE MODERN TURKISH EMPIRE.—MAHMOUD THE GAZNEVIDE.—THE TURKOMANS.—THE SELJUKIAN RACE OF SULTANS.—TOGRUL BEG.—HIS ALLIANCE WITH THE CALIPH OF BAGDAD.—ALP ARSLAN, SULTAN, COTEMPORARY WITH WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.—HIS WARS WITH THE GREEKS.—ROMANUS TAKEN PRISONER.—HIS RESTORATION AND DEATH.—END OF ALP ARSLAN'S CAREER.—HIS SON MALEK SHAH.—UNITY AND EXTENT OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE UNDER HIM.—GREEK EMPERORS.—THE LOSS OF THEIR PROVINCES.—ALEXIOUS COMNENUS ASCENDS THE THRONE.

THE Scythian Turkish empire, of which we gave the history in the sixth century of the Christian era, had long been broken to pieces; but the fragments of it formed independent nations. One of these—the Hungarians—we have described as settled among the European kingdoms: another we have now to describe arising into formidable power in Asia.

Transoxiana and Chorasán may be remembered among the provinces conquered by Mahomet's lieutenants: from that time, the sovereign bore the title of the caliph's slave and paid him allegiance; but in process of time, as the caliphs grew weaker, the homage was merely nominal. Mahmoud, surnamed the Gaznevide, from Gazna the place of his birth and the seat of his government, reigned from 997 to 1028, and extended his kingdom from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, and from the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. The title of sultan, an Arabic word signifying lord or master, was first borne by him, and his greatest fame arose out of twelve warlike expeditions against the Gentoo idolaters of Hindostan. Mahmoud possessed all the early zeal of the followers of the false prophet, and to this avarice and ambition were, as in other cases, super-added, so that no difficulties turned him back. Hindostan was at this time a populous country, and its independent chiefs or Rajahs possessed immense wealth, and both military and naval forces; but Mahmoud was as daring as Alexander, and pushed his conquests farther than the

Macedonian king. After an arduous march of three months, through Cashmere and Thibet, he brought his troops within sight of Kinnoge (anciently Palimbothra), on the Upper Ganges, and the display in its streets and shops astonished them, and excited them to pursue their conquests. Delhi, Lahore and Moultan—all great cities—fell into their hands; and all Guzerat was at their mercy. The Rajahs, however, by paying tribute, preserved their dominions, and the people's lives were spared by a change of religion. Mahmoud destroyed many hundred pagodas and thousands of idols, and enriched himself by their spoils. Their most famous temple at this period, was at Sumnat, and stood on the promontory of Guzerat: three sides of it were protected by the sea, and the natural isthmus which was the only road to the city and pagoda was occupied by fanatics bent on the defence of their idol. Two thousand Brahmins served it, and twice a day it was washed with water, brought from the distant Ganges; there were six hundred inferior servants, and five hundred dancing girls in attendance; and two thousand villages were the endowment of the temple.

Notwithstanding threats of vengeance from the resident deity, Mahmoud attacked Sumnat, and fifty thousand idolaters were massacred by his troops. At length they scaled the walls of the pagoda, and Mahmoud, obtaining an entrance, struck at the idol with his iron mace. The Brahmins offered an immense ransom, and some of his counsellors advised him to spare it; but he indignantly replied, that his name should not be left to posterity as a merchant of idols, and instantly redoubled his blows. A quantity of rubies concealed in the statue, explained in some measure the high value attached to it by the priests. Mahmoud sent fragments of this famous idol to Gazna, Mecca and Medina; and the caliph saluted him as the guardian of their faith. His name is still venerable among the Mahometans, as all his vices were concealed under the veil of devotion to Islamism. The treasures which he heaped together in his storehouses at Gazna, were immense; and towards the close of his life, when visiting the vast chambers filled with all manner of riches, he could not forbear bursting into tears at the thought that he was about to leave them, and yet ordered the doors to be

closed without giving away anything. He then reviewed his forces, consisting of a hundred thousand foot, and fifty-five thousand horse, with thirteen hundred elephants, trained for war, and again wept over the transitory nature of his greatness. And equally unsatisfied is every one, although shrinking perhaps from confessing it, who heapeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich towards God.

Besides, the more settled part of the Turkish race, which was under the rule of Mahmoud, there were immense hordes of Turkomans in the wilds of Asia, who multiplied and increased in power as the strength of the Caliphate declined; and these had never embraced the religion of Mahomet.

Some of these wandering tribes had occasionally crossed the Jaxartes, and obtained a settlement in Transoxiana and Charizme, by professing Mahometanism; and to these were entrusted the defence of the frontiers against the wilder natives of Turkestan. Mahmoud had employed these fierce barbarians in his service, but was alarmed when he discovered their strength. On one occasion when he asked Ismael, a chief of the race of Seljuk, resident at Bokhara, what supplies of mercenary troops he could furnish, the Turk proudly replied, "Send one of these arrows into our camp; fifty thousand horsemen will obey the summons: if these be not enough, send this second arrow to the horde of Balk, and fifty thousand more shall come to your aid." The sultan asked how many he could muster if all his kindred tribes came into the field. Ismael replied, that if his bow were carried round to them, two hundred thousand horsemen might be gathered together. Being afraid of these formidable allies, Mahmoud tried to settle the most threatening tribes in Chorasán, that the Oxus and his walled cities might keep them from a nearer approach; but he found that they were soon weary of pastoral life, and their incursions into Persia, and the fear of their final victory over his descendants, embittered his last days. Massoud, his son and successor, was in vain advised to stop the progress of the Turkomans. One of his Omrahs, or ministers, said, "Your foes were at first but as a swarm of ants: they are now little snakes; and unless they are crushed, will soon be venomous serpents." When obliged to meet their hosts

in person, the sultan displayed most extraordinary strength and courage; and wherever he turned, they retreated before him; but when he thought himself on the point of victory, he saw his army taking to flight. In a great battle fought at Zendican, the barbarians were again victorious; and they determined to establish themselves in Persia, and to choose a sovereign on the field of battle. To this end a number of arrows, each bearing the name of some favourite chief, were placed in a bundle, and it was agreed that he whose name should be drawn forth by a child appointed for the purpose should be king. The lot fell to Togrul Beg, the grandson of a famous chief named Seljuk, who had lost his life in battle at the age of a hundred and seven. Togrul Beg was appointed Sultan in A.D. 1038—he was a Mahometan; but by his arms the Gaznevide dynasty was overturned, and the Bowide sovereign who ruled the rest of Persia, being conquered, all that fine country fell into his hands. The Turks who came to the court, and dwelt in the cities of Persia, assumed the dress, the manners, and even the language of the country; and the whole Turkoman nation embraced the Mahometan faith; the rustic part, however, continued like their forefathers, to dwell in tents, and their military colonies spread as far as the Euphrates under the protection of their native princes. The rival caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt the Abbasside and the Fatimite successors of Mahomet, courted the favour of Togrul Beg; but he refused the robe of honour sent him by the latter, and gave his aid to the former. Cayem, the caliph of Bagdad, grateful for his protection from the lesser tyrants of Asia, invited him to come to his palace, to receive the appointment of temporal vicegerent of the Moslems. The sultan set out for Bagdad to visit the head of his religion, and dismounting from his horse at the gate, and laying aside his arms, he went with his emirs into the caliph's audience-chamber. Cayem was seated in state behind a black veil, wearing the black mantle of the Abbassides, and holding Mahomet's staff in his hand. Togrul kissed the ground under his feet, and was led to a throne at his side, whilst his commission was read aloud. He was then invested with seven robes of honour; and seven slaves, representing the seven climates into which it was usual to divide the Maho-

metan empire, were presented to him ; his veil was perfumed with musk, and two crowns and two scymetars were given him, to signify that he was to reign both over the East and the West. Overwhelmed by these marks of honour, the sultan threw himself a second time at the caliph's feet, but was immediately raised and permitted to kiss his hand. In a second visit, when he had again rescued Cayem from his enemies, Togrul showed his respect for the caliph's person, by leading the mule that carried him from his prison to his palace. Their alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Cayem to the sister of Togrul ; but the sultan died shortly after, A.D. 1063, three years before the conquest of England by William of Normandy. The pompous ceremonial of the papal court, and the homage which the popes required from the princes of Christendom, may be easily compared with what was going on at the same time in the court of the Mahometan caliph.

Togrul Beg left no children, and was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslan, and no name but that of their Caliph was more respected by the Moslems ; it signified in his language *the valiant lion* ; and we shall see how far this sultan's character corresponded with his name. War between the Mahometan and the Greek empires seldom ceased ; but the victories of Basil caused an unusually long intermission in the attacks of the Saracens. It was twenty-five years after his death, that myriads of hitherto unknown enemies—the Turkish horse of Togrul Beg—overspread the frontier, which extended six hundred miles from Taurus to Erzeroum : a hundred and thirty thousand Christians perished by their swords. But Togrul himself retired from the walls of a city in Armenia ; and the Macedonian legions preserved the Greek provinces entire. Tidings of the wealth accumulated at the shrine of St. Basil in Cæsarea reached Alp Arslan, and having passed the Euphrates at the head of his horsemen, he succeeded in carrying away the doors, which were encrusted with gold and pearls. He then proceeded to the conquest of Armenia and Georgia, and with his son Malek, used indefatigable exertion in subduing the natives. They compelled such of the conquered people as would not change their religion, to wear an iron horse shoe, instead of their usual ornaments of a collar and bracelets ; but Mahometanism

never numbered these nations among its proselytes, and through ages of slavery, notwithstanding their poverty, ignorance, and vice, they maintained a regular succession of princes and bishops.

The Turks were scattered through Phrygia, laden with spoil, when Romanus was raised to the throne of Constantinople. In three difficult campaigns he drove them beyond the Euphrates, and in the fourth, attempted the deliverance of Armenia. His army was a strange medley of soldiers of different nations, and amounted to a hundred thousand men. Its chief strength consisted in his European subjects or allies, viz: Macedonians and Bulgarians; and his mercenary bands of French and Normans, under the command of Ursel of Baliol, the kinsman of the Scottish king of that name. It is a singular circumstance that the Normans at this period had not only procured permanent settlements in Italy, Sicily and England, but a strong detachment of them were engaged in fighting for the emperor of Constantinople.

The troops of Romanus were partially scattered after the recovery of a town in Armenia, when Alp Arslan came up to them with forty thousand horsemen, August, 1077. The mercenaries did not obey the emperor's call. The desertion of a Turkish tribe in his service increased his alarm; but he disdained to listen to the sultan's proposals of peace, except on such terms as he was too proud to grant; and both prepared for battle. Alp Arslan repeated the prayers prescribed by the Koran, tied up his horse's flowing tail with his own hands, put on a white garment, and perfumed his body with musk, saying, that if this were not the place of victory to him, it should be the place of his burial. At the close of a long day, little was gained on either side; but when Romanus attempted to retreat to his camp, a rival prince of the house of Ducas broke the order of the retiring phalanx, and the Turkish cavalry, arranged in the form of a crescent, closed in before the confusion could be remedied, and overwhelmed the helpless Greeks with their arrows. The emperor fought till his guards and his horse were killed, and till he was wounded and bound by the enemy. That night the Asiatic provinces were irrecoverably lost to the empire. In the morning the

imperial captive was brought before Alp Arslan; but the sultan doubted that it was Romanus, till his ambassadors, and the tears of one of the captive generals, confirmed the identity. During eight days of familiar intercourse, it is said that not a word or look of insult escaped from the conqueror. He assigned his captive a tent near his own, and twice a day led him to the seat of honour at his own table. He even censured those who had forsaken their prince in the hour of danger; and pointed out to Romanus some of his errors in the management of the war. After promising Alp Arslan an immense ransom, an annual tribute, and other advantages, Romanus was invested with a robe of honour, embraced by the sultan, and dismissed with his noble attendants, and a military guard. But when he reached the frontiers he found himself received as an enemy. The rights of the three young princes had been asserted during his absence by their uncle John; the empress had been sent into a monastery; and it was urged that Romanus as a Turkish prisoner was deprived of all his privileges. He did not yield without a struggle; and Alp Arslan was ready to aid him as an ally; still, however, on the assurance of honourable treatment, he gave himself up to his countrymen. His eyes were put out by his perfidious subjects; and he died a few days after in consequence of the operation, August, 1071.

After the death of Romanus, Alp Arslan had no farther contests with the Greeks. He was satisfied with having spoiled Asia Minor, from Antioch to the Black Sea; and he was desirous of adding Turkestan to his dominions. Twelve hundred princes, or sons of princes, were at his court; and two hundred thousand soldiers served under his command; and though possessed of the fairest part of Asia, he was not satisfied, as he longed after the original seat of his fathers. At the head of his army, he arrived on the banks of the Oxus; and twenty days were passed in going over the bridge that was thrown across that river. A fortress on the other side hindered their progress; and when the governor of it was at length led as a captive into the tent of Alp Arslan, the sultan reproached him for his obstinacy, and being provoked by his boasting of his courage and fidelity, sentenced him to be fastened on four stakes and

left to expire. The desperate prisoner rushed towards his cruel judge, the guards would have defended him, but Alp Arslan bade them forbear, for he depended on his own skill as the first archer of his age. He drew his bow; but the arrow glanced aside, and the governor's dagger entered his breast. The assassin was immediately cut to pieces, but Alp Arslan's life could not be saved. He had run his appointed course. Oriental historians have put into the mouth of the dying prince the following language:—"In my youth I was advised by a sage to humble myself before God, to distrust my own strength, and never to despise the meanest foe. I have neglected those lessons, and am deservedly punished. Yesterday, as I beheld the number, spirit, and discipline, of my armies, the earth seemed to tremble under my feet; and I said, Surely thou art the king of the world, and the most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine; and, in the confidence of my personal strength, I fall by the hand of an assassin." The tomb of the fallen conqueror bore this inscription, "O ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, repair hither, and you will behold it buried in the dust."

After many struggles with his own kinsmen, Malek Shah, the son of Alp Arslan, became undisputed sultan. Under him the Turkish empire spread to its widest extent; but with him its unity and greatness expired. On the eve of a great battle with five of his cousins, Malek Shah was about to give the signal for attack, when the caliph, who usually lived in mysterious seclusion, appeared between the two armies, and desired the combatants not to shed the blood of their brethren, but rather to turn their arms against the enemies of their religion. The sultan was thus reconciled to his kinsmen; and to Soliman, the eldest, he gave the command of the provinces wrested from the Greek empire, whilst he pursued his father's designs in the conquest of Turkestan. The news of victories won by the lieutenants who had carried on Alp Arslan's purposes, excited him to go on; and when he had passed the Oxus with all his troops, his vizir (prime minister) promised to pay the boatmen, who had transported them across the river, out of the revenues of Antioch. He did so, that it might be

remembered what remote places were under the dominion of the same sovereign. Beyond the Oxus, Malek Shah took possession of Bokhara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and reduced the savage tribes to obedience; and, at length, crossing the Jaxartes, he conquered the hordes of Turkestan, and forced the Mahometan faith on the barbarians to the confines of China. His name was seen on the coins, and heard in the public prayers of the kingdom of Cashgar in the far east; and in the west and south his sway extended to Georgia and the neighbourhood of Constantinople, to Jerusalem and Arabia Felix. The sultan perpetually removed his camp; and thus, it was said, traversed his extensive dominions twelve times. But, of all his journeys, the most remarkable were his pilgrimages to Mecca. His retinue was splendid; and, for their accommodation, he either built new places of refreshment, or enriched the cities in which they rested by the way. He built palaces, hospitals, moschs, and schools, and administered justice as he went from place to place. His passion for hunting was great; and we are told that forty-seven thousand six hundred horsemen went in his train in this pursuit. To compensate for the destruction of so many animals, he gave a piece of gold to the poor for every head of game.

But, amidst all his toils in war and peace, Malek Shah promoted the study of the Persian language and literature; and by his command the calendar was reformed by a general assembly of astronomers. The correction was dated from the Gelalean era; as Gelaledin, or glory of the faith, was one of the sultan's titles. He was also called the commander of the faithful. The prosperity of Alp Arslan and his son was in a great measure owing to the wisdom of their Persian vizir, Nizam. He served them for thirty years; and was heard to say, that his cap and inhorn, the badges of his office, were connected by divine decree with the throne and diadem of the sultan. But, at the age of ninety-three, he was accused by a jealous rival; and died by the hand of a fanatic whilst attesting his innocence. Malek Shah did not prosper after his vizir's death. He sought in marriage a daughter of the emperor then reigning at Constantinople; but she was refused to him, with carefulness not to offend him. He gave his own daughter

in marriage to the Caliph Moctadi, on condition that he should have no other wife. Malek Shah died in A.D. 1092.

The three brothers, Michael VII., Andronicus I., and Constantine XII., all wore the imperial purple; but only the eldest exercised regal power, after the death of their guardian, Romanus IV. Michael had made some proficiency in philosophy and rhetoric, and was disposed to monastic practices; but he was wholly unfit for an emperor, and became unpopular, by increasing the price and diminishing the measure of wheat. He intrusted the command of the Asiatic provinces to Nicephorus Bryennius, and those of Europe to Nicephorus Botoniates; and in the same month both these generals rebelled against him. The former was popular at Constantinople; but as his troops burned and pillaged the suburbs, the citizens refused to open the gates to him. Botoniates secured the help of the Turkish troops, commanded by Soliman, the sultan's cousin, and approached cautiously by the side of Chalcedon. A party within the city, who preferred him to Michael, gave him entrance; and the emperor resigned to him the imperial robes, and retired to a monastery. Some time afterwards, he became archbishop of Ephesus. Nicephorus III. was proclaimed emperor, A.D. 1078; and, by the help of his Turkish allies, he made Bryennius his prisoner, and secured the western provinces; but in this alliance he entirely sacrificed the more valuable provinces in the east; and the Turks, by fortifying all the passes, left no hope of their expulsion.

Soliman received the title of Gazi, or holy champion, because of his success in propagating Islamism; and his new kingdom, under the name of Roum, was added to the Oriental maps. Nice—a place so famous for its councils—became the seat of government; and, like other rich and flourishing cities of Asia Minor, was filled with moschs and Arabic schools; and throughout the country Turkish laws and manners, and the Turkish language, gradually prevailed. The Greek Christians were allowed to retain their religion on hard conditions; but many thousands of children were circumcised by the conquerors, and a multitude of captives employed as their slaves. No city withstood the

Turks so long as Antioch ; but just as the governor was on the point of surrendering, his son set off for Nice, and offered to betray the place. Soliman marched his troops by night, and rested by day ; and a journey of six hundred miles was accomplished in twelve nights. The city wherein the disciples were first called Christians, fell into the hands of the Moslems.

Nicephorus III. retained the throne of Constantinople only four years. Isaac and Alexius, the sons of that Comnenus who had refused the empire, upheld Michael VII. till the moment of his resignation, and then vowed fidelity to Nicephorus. Their remarkable endowments of mind and body, and the power of their family, excited the emperor's jealousy ; and though Alexius had vanquished three rebels, against whom he was successively sent, his unwillingness to march against a fourth—his sister's husband—was construed into a revolt, and the indignation of Nicephorus hastened the event which he had feared. The soldiers assembled round their favourite leaders, the dispute as to which of the brothers should wear the purple was terminated by the refusal of Isaac in favour of Alexius, and that prince was proclaimed emperor in April, 1081.

Nicephorus retired to a monastery, the usual refuge of dethroned sovereigns. Alexius reigned thirty-seven years. His life is written by his favourite daughter, Anna Comnena—the very princess, who, at an early age, might have fallen to the lot of Malek Shah, had he persisted in claiming a bride from the imperial family. Even the thought of having been in danger of such a fate, filled her mind with horror.

Alexius was a vigilant sovereign, and did what he could to remedy the miseries of his country, and to defend and enlarge his dominions ; but he lived in very calamitous times, when the empire was tottering to its fall. The victorious Turks overspread the Asiatic provinces ; the Normans seized those in Italy ; and Robert Guiscard, with his son Bohemond, advancing through Dalmatia and Macedonia, carried terror to the gates of Constantinople. The daughter of the Norman prince had married the son of Michael VII., and this gave him a pretext for attempting to shake the throne of Alexius ; but he died during his

enterprise at Corfu, in 1085. But the troubles of the emperor did not cease on the death of this powerful enemy. Barbarians from the North and conspiracies at home disturbed his rest; the princely luxury of his family exhausted the revenue; and the clergy were discontented at his sacrificing their wealth for the defence of the state. The most surprising event of his reign, however, was the sudden appearance of immense armies from Western Europe, threatening as it were to overwhelm his empire, but, in fact, only purposing to pass through it, in order to deliver Jerusalem out of the hands of the Turks. The circumstances which led to this undertaking, and the enterprise itself, require our particular consideration.

CHAP. XXVII.

JERUSALEM UNDER MAHOMETAN RULE.—PERSECUTION OF HAKEM.

—PILGRIMAGE.—THE CITY FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF THE TURKOMANS, UNDER ORTOK.—PETER THE HERMIT, SECONDED BY URBAN II., PROPOSES A CRUSADE AGAINST THE TURKS.—COUNCIL OF CLERMONT.—EXCESSES OF THE FIRST CRUSADERS, AND THEIR DESTRUCTION.—MARCH OF THE REGULAR ARMIES.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE GREEK EMPEROR.—SIEGE OF NICE.—PROGRESS THROUGH SYRIA.—TAKING OF JERUSALEM.—MASSACRE OF THE SARACENS.—GODFREY MADE KING OF JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM had undergone many changes during the four hundred years that it was subject to the caliphs; for though the treaty of Omar secured to its Christian inhabitants their lives, property and religion; their treatment varied according to the dispositions of their various masters. The Mahometans occupied three-fourths of the city; and the remaining quarter was left to the Christians, with their patriarch and clergy; and the Greeks and Latins, Nestorians and Jacobites, Copts and Abyssinians, Armenians and Georgians, all had their respective establishments, and maintained their own poor. The Latin pilgrims were usually transported in the vessels of the Italian republic of

nefits of commerce secured to the merchants
 e caliphs; and these Italians instituted an
 r Calvary, and founded the hospital and
 John, for the accommodation of pilgrims,
 which brought Jerusalem under the sway
 caliphs residing at Cairo, was beneficial,
 Egyptian sovereign, feeling the importance
 e Christians, protected their devotees; but
 d of these princes, involved his Jewish and
 ts in many troubles. Hakem at first de-
 zealous Mussulman, and had many hundred
 Koran transcribed in letters of gold at his
 He destroyed also the vineyards of Upper
 re abstinence from wine; but at length he
 s the visible image of God, the lord of the
 ead. A new religion was invented in his
 ysteries of which were performed on a
 Cairo, and sixteen thousand converts signed
 f faith. Hakem's law required the complete
 men; and the tumult caused by this des-
 involved the citizens of Cairo in bloody
 ny days. A persecution both of Jews and
 red; and the church of the resurrection was
 worship forbidden at Jerusalem; but Hakem
 f this severity, and had issued a mandate
 when he was assassinated. The Druses of
 still hold this madman to have been divine.
 hs granted free toleration. The emperor of
 helped to rebuild the church, and pilgrims
 fresh zeal. The altered state of Hungary
 ad between Germany and Greece; and from
 tioch—a distance of fifteen hundred miles
 iled Christian might be traversed by the
 ut thirty years before the close of the
 y, the archbishop of Mentz and three
 ;, with seven thousand followers, undertook
 but their display of wealth tempted the
 s, and after visiting Jerusalem, only two
 ed to their homes in safety. Ingulphus,
 illiam of Normandy, was of this company;
 s, that whereas they left their country as

thirty stout and well appointed horsemen, there returned only twenty miserable palmers, with staff in hand, and wallet at their back. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was therefore no small difficulty in time of peace; and after the taking of Asia Minor by the Turks, the danger increased. Atsiz, a lieutenant of Malek Shah, reduced Damascus, Ems, and other cities in Asia, and was only repulsed from Cairo by the vigour of the citizens. In his retreat, he indulged his troops in slaughter and rapine; and, after slaying in his camp the judge and notaries of Jerusalem, who came to him by invitation, he massacred three thousand of the citizens. At this time Malek Shah died, and after much contest, his empire was divided between his brother Toucush and his four sons; and became more and more disunited by the struggles of various princes. The Sultan Toucush punished the cruelty of Atsiz, and claimed Syria and Palestine for himself. Jerusalem was under the dominion of the house of Seljuk for twenty years; but the governor of the city was the Emir Ortok, chief of a Turkoman tribe. These fierce sons of the desert would not await the slow returns of commerce, and the regular profits of the pilgrimage which had satisfied the caliphs, but spoiled and oppressed the pilgrims; so that many died of famine and disease before they could reach Jerusalem. They insulted also the clergy of every sect, and even dragged the patriarch along the pavement by his hair, and cast him on a dunghill, to extort a ransom from his flock: their savage rudeness, it is said, often disturbed the ceremonies in the church of the resurrection.

A monk from Amiens, called Peter the Hermit, being at Jerusalem, was witness to some of these scenes; and the patriarch employed him to carry to the pope a description of their suffering condition, in order that he might stir up the princes of Europe to rescue or protect them from the Turks. Urban, of whom we have already spoken, approved the idea, and with his consent Peter mounted an ass, and went from place to place to excite all Christendom, to what he termed a holy war. He was a man of low stature, and mean appearance, his head and feet were bare, his garment coarse, he eat sparingly, freely gave alms, and made long prayers. His mission excited wonder and

attention, sometimes he preached in the streets and highways, sometimes in pulpits; and his keen eye and lively speech, with his sighs, tears, and lamentations, as he described and exaggerated the sufferings of the Christians at Jerusalem, moved the feelings of the ignorant multitudes who heard him. He carried a weighty crucifix, frequently appealed to the Virgin, the saints and angels; and in all his preachings set forth the object he had in view, as alike well-pleasing in heaven and earth. In the meantime the pope went to work with equal seriousness; and he called an assembly at Placentia, in which the holy war was formally proposed, but not at all warmly seconded. But as soon as the public mind was wound up to the desired pitch, another assembly was convoked at Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne. Such was the nature of the feudal system, that under the protection of this powerful lord, the king himself was not dreaded; and we have before mentioned the manner in which Philip was treated in this very council. Four hundred mitred prelates, a thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand laymen, including a martial train of knights and lords, gathered together at Clermont; and though it was November, such as could not be accommodated in the town erected tents in the open field during the eight days that the council lasted. The ambassadors of Alexius brought plaintive letters from their master, describing the danger of Constantinople; for the Turks, who had constructed vessels by the aid of their captives, at this time threatened the imperial city. Peter came forward with his pathetic tale, and expressed his eagerness to conduct an army into Asia; and, at length, Urban mounted a lofty scaffold in the market-place, and harangued the multitude on the same subject. He was interrupted by the shout of *Deus vult!* "God wills it!" the lips of thousands uttered the same cry, and "God wills it," was the motto chosen for their standard, and for their signal in battle, in all the subsequent campaigns for the conquest of Palestine.

The pope said that the words were of divine inspiration; but when he was entreated to place himself at the head of the armies of Christendom, he declined the dangerous post, urging the importance of home affairs, and desired

Adhemar, bishop of Puy, to act in his place. As a badge of their profession, it was proposed that every one who engaged in this enterprise should wear a cross on the shoulder, and Adhemar received this mark from the pope on the spot. It was called taking the cross. According to the rank of the wearer, the cross was of gold, silk, or cloth, sewed on to the garment. In the first crusade,* the crosses were of a red colour.

Those who had been present at the Council of Clermont spread the excitement throughout Europe; and persons of every rank and character assumed the cross. The spirit of chivalry impelled some of the boldest and most virtuous men of their times to offer their services; and a superstitious notion of merit in the enterprise, drew the most criminal and the most feeble, old men and boys, the sick, and even women; a love of adventure and military fame attracted a great many others. The more prudent, and such as were used to war, tarried to make due preparations for their arduous undertaking, and did not set out till the day fixed for their departure, the fifteenth of August, in the following year; but, in the spring of 1096, sixty thousand persons, of both sexes, chiefly from France and Lorraine, gathered round Peter the Hermit. His lieutenant, Walter the Moneyless, conducted a vanguard of fifteen thousand men; and Godeschal, a monk, followed with fifteen or twenty thousand peasants, collected in Germany by his own preaching. Two hundred thousand of the most brutal and depraved went after with other fanatics; and some counts and gentlemen, at the head of three thousand horse, attended the multitude, not as their leaders, but to partake, it was said, of the spoil. A goose and a goat, supposed to be the possessors, or the emblems of some divine power, were carried before the army; and these were by some considered the leaders of this frantic expedition. Peter, however, usually marched in front, with sandals on his feet and a rope about his waist. Pretending or supposing that their wants would be supplied in a supernatural way, no provision had been made for this vast multitude; and when necessity arose, they resorted to plunder. The Jews, it was held lawful to

* So called from the French *croisade*, derived from *croix* or *cross*.

rob, as the enemies of Christ ; and their riches made such a plea the more desirable to the needy. In the trading cities along the Moselle and the Rhine, prosperous colonies of Jews were settled under the protection of the princes and bishops. Many thousands were massacred ; but the more obstinate barricaded their houses and cast themselves and their wealth into the river, or into the flames, in order to disappoint the fanatical crusaders.

Nothing could exceed the enormities committed by these disorderly hosts ; and not finding Jews all along their road, they pillaged indiscriminately, and were cut off by thousands by the forces of the king of Hungary, and those of the Greek prefect in Bulgaria. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Moneyless arrived safely at Constantinople ; but their undisciplined bands could not be restrained from pillaging the suburbs, and even robbing the churches ; and the Emperor Alexius was glad to rid himself of them by transporting them into Asia. Wearied of the tumult of the camp, Peter turned back to the imperial city ; but Walter pursued his way, and was overwhelmed with all his host in the plains near Nice by the army of Solyman. Only their bones were left to tell the tale of their defeat ; and it is calculated that three hundred thousand of the earliest crusaders had perished before the disciplined armies set out. Peter, the originator of this wild scheme, was accounted at Constantinople to be a madman who had persuaded numbers of mad people to follow him.

Godfrey of Bouillon, already mentioned in our sketch of Germany, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin, assembled 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Hugh, brother to Philip I. king of France, collected a band of adventurers ; and Robert, duke of Normandy, as we have related, mortgaged his duchy to his brother William Rufus, in order to fit out a suitable army. Raymond, count of Toulouse, an aged warrior who had fought against the Saracens in Sicily, placed himself at the head of one hundred thousand men from Italy and Spain ; and Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, with his cousin Tancred, prepared a considerable force. The Norman prince had political motives in this expedition, and possibly had suggested to the pope a design which he only appeared to second. Tancred had the reputation of

being the most complete knight which this age of chivalry produced. Their presence among the crusaders altered the whole aspect of the war in the sight of Alexius; for the emperor naturally looked with jealous suspicion upon the approach of a mighty force, having amidst its leaders his avowed enemies.

Anna Comnena says, it appeared as if all Europe, rent from its foundations, were going to fall upon Asia; for, though the several leaders chose different routes, they all met by agreement at Constantinople. Godfrey led his troops through Hungary, ate bread with the king, entered into a treaty with him, and traversed the country without shedding any blood. Hugh and the nobles of France visited Rome in their way, and received from the pope the golden standard of St. Peter; but the pleasures and honours of Italy detained them; and though the coming of the brother of the French king was announced at Constantinople in the most pompous manner by four-and-twenty knights in golden armour, his vessels being scattered in a tempest, his person was seized by the lieutenants of Alexius. Godfrey, in revenge, attacked the suburbs; but when Bohemond and Raymond urged him to unite with them in taking the city, he refused. The emperor found it was necessary to pacify the leaders of the crusade by generous treatment. He, therefore, named Godfrey the champion of his empire, and made him his son by the rites of adoption; and his magnificent promises and presents induced all the chiefs to pay him the homage which he required when admitted to his presence. He sat on a high throne, silent and motionless, whilst they stooped to kiss his feet; but Robert of Paris, a French count, more independent or uncourteous than the rest, ventured to seat himself by his side. Baldwin would have forced him to retire; but he exclaimed, "A pretty clown is this Greek to sit down before such men as we are!" His words were interpreted to Alexius; and he concealed his indignation with a smile, asking Robert who he was, and whence he came. He replied, that he was of the purest and most ancient nobility of France; that there was a church in his neighbourhood, the resort of such as desired to prove their valour in single combat; that until an adversary appeared, they continued in

prayer to God and his saints, but though he had often been there, he had never found any one to accept his challenge. This curious story is related by Anna Comnena. That princess describes in a most lively manner her father's alarm, and his politic mode of passing on the crusaders into Asia, transporting them in such a manner that not any two of the confederate armies were under the walls of his capital at the same time. She likens the numbers she saw to locusts, leaves, flowers, the stars of heaven, and the sands of the sea-shore. It is calculated that a hundred thousand men, completely armed with helmets and coats of mail, were gathered in the plains of Bithynia; and besides these, there were six hundred thousand foot, including women. It is to be observed that sufficient money had been raised to defray the expenses of this great expedition; for those who could not join it, thought to share in its fancied merit by contributing their gold and silver. The outfit was on the most magnificent scale; and many princes and barons took with them their hounds and hawks. The Genoese and the Greeks laded their vessels with provisions, which they sold to the crusaders in their march along the sea-coast of Asia Minor; and by this means Genoa became almost suddenly a wealthy and flourishing state.

It has been said that probably a larger number was never contained within a single camp than when the crusaders laid siege to Nice; but it may be recollected that the children of Israel who went out of Egypt were six hundred thousand men, besides children; and a mixed multitude went up with them, which must doubtless have swelled their numbers so as to make them equal at least to these hosts. No more striking contrast could be drawn than between these two camps: the one ordered according to the will of God, the other according to the will of man; both making their way towards the same point, but under the most opposite guidance; the utmost immorality prevailing in the latter, every breach of the moral law punished in the former.

On the approach of the crusaders, Solyman shut himself up in Nice, and sent his son with fifty thousand horse to the mountains. This army twice descended upon the camp of the besiegers, which lay in an imperfect circle of six miles before the city. The Latins, however, repulsed the Turks

and Arabians, as they could not stand the shock of such multitudes cased in iron on great war-horses, and presenting to them as it were a forest of spears. The lake near the city supplied the besieged with provisions, and left them means of escape; but to guard against this, a number of boats were transported in sledges across the land by the emperor, and Nice was invested both by land and water. Just as the crusaders were on the point of taking the city, an emissary from Alexius persuaded Solyman to display the imperial banner, saying, the Latins would not dare to enter a place that had submitted to their ally, its rightful master. This expedient was adopted, and the Latin princes were loud in their complaints against the emperor's artifice in depriving them of their expected spoil.

Provoked at the loss of their city, Solyman and his son called together all their forces, including some Turkoman hordes, and amounting, as it was supposed, to two or three hundred and sixty thousand horse; but in the first battle three thousand of their warriors were slain and their camp pillaged. The Latins surveyed with surprise the foreign arms and apparel, with the camels and dromedaries, and the great treasure which fell into their hands; and as Solyman evacuated his kingdom of Roum to get help from the East, they traversed Asia Minor in a march of five hundred miles without encountering a foe. But they found the land wasted and the towns deserted; for not only had the enemy retreated, but the Christian population of every sect fled in terror. The want of water occasioned great suffering; and on one occasion when, on reaching a rocky rivulet, they threw aside their arms in their haste to taste of the stream, an immense mass might have been driven down the precipices had the Turks been at hand. Moreover, Godfrey was hurt by a bear in hunting; Raymond was taken ill; and both these chiefs had to be borne in litters; and Baldwin and Tancred separated their followers to pursue their own adventures. Tarsus was taken by the Norman princes; but they quarrelled, and Tancred returned to the crusaders. Baldwin married the daughter of a Turk who reigned at Edessa, and shortly afterwards had his father-in-law put to death; and there he founded the first Latin principality in Syria.

In the meantime, the duke of Normandy pressed forwards,

and by his personal valour broke through a fortified bridge over the Orontes, and made a way for three hundred thousand crusaders to attempt the siege of Antioch. But in such slow labour they were unskilful; and as they had not the help of the Greek emperor, they lay for many months before the city, and suffered greatly from famine. A report that they roasted and ate their captives inspired the Turks with terror; but it arose out of the artifice of Bohemond who placed some dead bodies on a spit, on purpose that they might be observed by some spies sent into the camp. Bohemond at length persuaded the Christians in the city, with whom he carried on a secret correspondence, to devise some means for their entrance; and, having laid his plans, disclosed them to the Latin princes, on condition that they would make him sovereign of Antioch. Scaling ladders were at last thrown from the walls, whereby some French and Normans entered and opened the gates of the city; and the victors shewed no mercy. But whilst the Latins were glorying in their conquest, they saw themselves encompassed by a fresh army of Turks, under the command of the emir, Kerboga. In the fearlessness of despair, they sallied forth and dispersed or destroyed these new besiegers. Kerboga's tent, capable it is said of containing two thousand persons, fell into their hands. After this second victory, the Latins gave themselves up to intemperance and every kind of vice; and their wastefulness was followed by frightful famine and pestilence. Out of sixty thousand horses only two were left; a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, was sold for a piece of gold; the count of Flanders had to beg for a dinner; and Godfrey was obliged to borrow a horse. In these dismal circumstances, Raymond was suspected of feigning illness to avoid the danger of leading on his army; the censure of the Pope recalled the duke of Normandy; Hugh made an excuse for returning to France; and many others, who were ashamed to withdraw openly, were let down by night from the walls of Antioch, and were branded on that account with the ridiculous epithet of "the rope-dancers." Godfrey, Tancred and Bohemond, determined to carry on the enterprise; and the courage of Raymond was restored in a manner altogether agreeable to the thoughts of the age. As they sat in

council, a cunning priest from Marseilles went to them, and declared that he had been shewn in a vision the place where lay the lance that pierced the Redeemer's side, and that by means of this holy lance they should get the victory. Visions, prophecies, and lying miracles had previously been used to excite the fainting spirit of the soldiers; and as the count of Toulouse seemed the most ready to accept of this new wonder, the priest at once designated him as "the guardian of the holy lance." After three days of prayer and fasting, the count, his chaplain, and ten attendants, were summoned by Barthelmy, the priest, to be present at the grand discovery in a church at Antioch; the workmen dug to the depth of twelve feet, nothing was found, and some withdrew; but in the darkness of evening, Barthelmy went down and hid in the pit the head of a Saracen lance. The work was resumed, and the hidden weapon was rapturously drawn forth, and after being wrapped in a veil of silk and gold was exhibited among the crusaders as the holy lance. The chiefs perceived that the fraudulent wonder had sufficiently excited their soldiers; and in order to take the utmost advantage of it, desired them to appear in battle array on the morrow. The next morning, the gates of Antioch were thrown open, a procession of priests and monks chaunted the psalm, "Let God arise," etc. The army was drawn out in twelve divisions, in honour, said they, of the twelve apostles, and the holy lance was borne aloft by Count Raymond's chaplain. Adhemar, the pope's legate, increased the general enthusiasm by asserting, that three of the martyrs in white garments and equipped as knights were seen issuing from the hills. Notwithstanding the success of the imposture, the author of it was afterwards suspected of deception, and doomed to a fiery ordeal. A pile of wood was erected amidst the camp, and a narrow path of twelve inches left between two burning heaps. Barthelmy passed in apparent safety; but he was so terribly scorched, that he died the next day, persisting, however, to the last, that he had told the truth.

It was in May, 1099, that 40,000 Latins left Antioch for Jerusalem; but as not half of these were fit for immediate service, they made easy marches; and, besides the help of the Italian trading vessels, they received aid from the emirs of the chief cities as they passed along.

The period of the invasion of the crusaders coincided with the decline of the empire of Malek Shah; for his four sons were disputing for the vast inheritance, and Kerboga with twenty-eight emirs, his allies, were their rivals. The caliph of Egypt, aware of the weakness of the Turks, sent Aphdal, his sultan, to besiege Jerusalem and Tyre; and he succeeded in taking these cities and restoring them to the Fatimite successor of Mahomet. Mostal, the caliph, immediately informed the crusaders that they might safely visit the sepulchre unarmed, as in past times; but the Latins replied that only the surrender of all Palestine would satisfy them, as they were determined the holy land and city should not be in the hands of any Mahometans whatsoever. On this understanding, Aladin, the caliph's lieutenant, with forty thousand Turks and Arabians, prepared for the defence of Jerusalem; but though all its natural features were unchanged, the artificial bulwarks were imperfect, and presented a very different aspect to the fortifications which were attacked by the Romans under the command of Titus.

The siege had lasted two months with various success, and much loss on both sides, when the besiegers began to suffer greatly from the want of water. Religious exercises were proposed; and the clergy, bare-footed and carrying crucifixes, led a procession of armed soldiers, with psalm-singing instead of martial music; and the cry of "God wills it!" again resounded through the camp. The Saracens, by way of insult, set up crucifixes and threw mud on them; but the Christians answered with louder shouts. That night was spent in watching; and in the morning, the crusaders, having intercepted a carrier-pigeon with a letter tied to its leg promising succour from the Persian Sultan, determined on a fresh attack.

By the aid of Genoese artisans, Raymond and Godfrey had prepared moveable wooden towers and battering engines; but the action of the latter was neutralised by bags of chaff, straw, etc., with which the Turks cased the outside of their walls. All seemed to be of no avail, when a rumour arose that a celestial knight was seen on the Mount of Olives, rallying the Christian soldiers; and Godfrey and Eustace cried aloud that it was St. George come

to their aid. The enthusiasm of the besiegers was revived; even the women shared their labours, and at the end of an hour the draw-bridge thrown out from Godfrey's tower rested on the inner wall. Godfrey and his two brothers fought like lions; their archers cleared the way, and after two soldiers had leaped on to the fortifications, the chief himself followed, and the ensign of the cross was planted on the walls of Jerusalem.

After some resistance, the Moslem soldiers fled to the Mosch of Omar. It was a magnificent edifice, built of marble and covered with lead, the inside adorned with a prodigious number of silver lamps, and many of pure gold. It was the slaughter-house of ten thousand of Mahomet's followers; and the victors boasted that they rode in Saracen blood up to their horses' knees. The next day, three hundred men, to whom Tancred in compassion had given a standard as a pledge of safety, were massacred on the plea that no faith should be kept with Mahometans. The inhabitants, armed and unarmed, were dragged into the public squares, and slain like cattle. Women with babes at the breast, boys, and even girls, were slaughtered with the men; and such as were spared the sword for the sake of their services, commenced their work as slaves by removing the dead and mangled bodies, and cleansing the streets of the blood of their brethren. Such was the rage for blood, that even the aged count of Toulouse was severely censured for granting a safe conduct to the garrison on capitulation and promise of ransom. The number of victims was calculated at seventy thousand; and the dead bodies produced an epidemic disease. In the spirit of persons who thought they had offered to God an acceptable sacrifice, the terrible work of destruction was scarcely completed, when the crusaders made their way to the sepulchre, barefoot and bareheaded; and, whilst the clergy sang loud anthems of praise, they stooped by turns to kiss the stone which was pointed out as the object of reverential regard. Their feelings were wound up to such a pitch of excitement, that, it is said, many of them shed tears in beholding the place which they had rescued at such a tremendous cost out of the hands of the Mahometans.

Four hundred and sixty years had elapsed since the

taking of the city by Omar. The Jews, few in number, who were found at this time in Jerusalem, did not escape the fury of the victors: they were burned in their synagogue. Godfrey was chosen king of Jerusalem eight days after the city was taken; but he refused the precious diadem with which his companions in arms would have crowned him, saying he would never wear a crown of gold where Christ had been crowned with thorns. He also preferred the title of Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre to that of King. His train of argument carried out might have led him and others to think, how they could dare to destroy men's lives whilst professing to serve Him who said he came not to destroy but to save; and how they could shed the blood of those whom they supposed to be his enemies in the very place where He had prayed for the forgiveness of his murderers. But such thoughts were very far from their minds, and their feet were swift to shed blood.

In the first fortnight of his reign, Godfrey had to meet the Egyptian troops at Ascalon; but, with the exception of three thousand blacks of Ethiopia, armed with scourges of iron, they fled on the first onset; and by this victory the Latins secured an establishment in Syria. Raymond had aspired to the throne of Jerusalem, but afterwards contented himself with the kingdom of Tripoli. The army of crusaders by degrees dispersed; and only Tancred with three hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers remained for the defence of Palestine. The kingdom of Godfrey consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, and about twenty adjacent towns and villages; and, besides its exposure to Mahometan enemies from without, it was troubled by internal dissensions. Adhemar, the pope's legate, had died of the plague at Antioch; and Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who had brought a fleet of Italian vessels to the crusade, was chosen patriarch of Jerusalem. He at once excluded the Greek and Syrian clergy from service, on the charge of schism and heresy; and, by his tyranny, gave the Oriental Christians room to regret the caliphs, by whom they had been tolerated. Daimbert, moreover, claimed a fourth part of Jerusalem as church property, with the promise of the whole, in case Godfrey died without children. Godfrey died at the ex-

piration of a year; and his brother Baldwin, who was chosen king in his room, assumed the crown without any scruples, A.D. 1100. Such were the terrible scenes that distinguished the close of the eleventh century; and never, perhaps, from that moment till the time when all nations shall be gathered against Jerusalem to battle (Zech. xiv. 1), was there to be a more frightful exhibition of human passions around and within that devoted city. Long has it been *trodden down* of the Gentiles: according to the word of the Lord, it is yet to be heated as a furnace; but, after it has been thoroughly purged by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning, the name of the city shall be *The Lord is there*.

We have now to contemplate that era of Christian profession which gave birth to the crusades. The last of those centuries to which the name of the dark ages is usually assigned.

CHAP. XXVIII.

CHRISTIAN PROFESSION IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY. — STATE OF THE CLERGY, ACCORDING TO WITNESSES FROM AMONG THEMSELVES. — CISTERCIAN AND CARTHUSIAN MONKS. — FLAGELLANTS. — WITNESSES FOR TRUTH. — VALUE FOR THE SCRIPTURES. — CONTROVERSY CONCERNING TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

IN treating of the days of Hildebrand, we have already glanced at the most remarkable features of the outward profession of Christianity in the eleventh century. It was, doubtless, through mistake or wilful misuse of those prophetic Scriptures which relate to the future glory of Jerusalem and the universal reign of Christ, that Pope Gregory, and men of his class, supported their lofty pretensions, and carried out their schemes of wide-spread dominion. The Scriptures were fearfully wrested for the purpose of exalting that which called itself the Church into earthly grandeur and worldly power; and the popes, on the authority of the Bible as it was thought, demanded that kings and queens should bow down to them and lick up the dust of their feet. Of the popes, during this period, we have already spoken enough; let us enquire

into the state of the clergy in general. The Apostle Paul, when he would describe the Cretians, quoted the words of "one of themselves" as a true witness; we will, therefore, take the testimony given by "some of themselves" concerning the teachers of this period; always remembering that it is to be hoped that persons who clearly pointed out existing evil shrank from participation in it, and would, to some extent, be useful to others. Albert, bishop of Ratisbon, writes thus, in a commentary on John x. : "Those who are at the head of the Church in our days, are, for the most part, thieves and robbers, oppressors and not pastors, rogues and not care-takers, murderers and not sentinels, leading astray and not leading aright. They who ruin the sheep of Christ are the fore-runners of Antichrist." Hugh, abbot of Clugni, who, at the end of this century, had ten thousand monks under his superintendence, confirmed this report. "The clergy of our days do not know the law of Christ, but pass their precious time in all kinds of vanities . . . they do not take the trouble to seek to bring sinners to repentance; but they are always ready for hunting. They are more occupied with their dogs than the poor, and understand the use of arms better than books." In A.D. 1070, William, a monk of Bamberg, put forth a paraphrase of the Canticles in Latin verse and German prose, with the Hebrew text in the middle—a rare work in this dark age—and, in the preface, after lamenting the general depravity, and the neglect of the Scriptures, and of all literary pursuits, he declares that nothing was going on but envy and strife.

Some tried to remedy the wide-spread corruption in their own way; the attempts of the popes we have already mentioned, and we must now refer to the new monastic orders that sprang up at this period. As the order of Clugni degenerated, a few of the more rigid monks retired to a desert place called Citeaux, and associated under a more severe rule. They were called Cistercians; and, about a hundred years after their establishment, one thousand eight hundred abbies belonged to their order; and they governed almost all Europe by filling the most important posts. The Carthusians, a cotemporary order, arising at the beginning of the eleventh century, were dis-

tinguished from all other monks by the extreme rigour of their discipline. Their rule enjoined solitude and silence, and practically reversed the Lord's express desire that His people should be kept from evil *in the world*. The inmates of Camaldula, the Carthusian monastery on the bleakest of the Apennines, were not only shut out from the rest of the world, but from each other, as their respective cells were divided by a garden-plot. They ate together on certain festivals, and met at set times to inflict discipline on each other; otherwise they only assembled in the oratory at the daily services. One daily meal of bread, or vegetables, and water, was often relinquished for the observance of more severe fastings. Money they might not touch; and no article of comfort was allowed in their cells. Their silence was only broken when they joined in the responses, or indulged in a short period of religious conversation at eventide. But, besides the ordinary hermit-monks of Camaldula, there were others within the enclosure, called recluses. These had taken the vow of perpetual seclusion and silence. To this rank none were admitted under thirty-five years of age, nor without much preparation. On the morning that the candidate made up his mind for this extreme step, all joined in the mass; and prayers were appointed to be made that the recluse might be able to sustain his awful vow. All the monks then accompanied him to his place of solitary confinement, chaunting the litany and penitential psalms; and holy water was sprinkled in the cell, whilst a priest prayed for a blessing on it. If the recluse were unable to bear his solitude, he might return to the common profession at the end of a year; if he then persevered the obligation was for life. Every day the recluse was heard to utter aloud the same prayers which the other monks went through in the oratory; and the three last days of Easter week, he attended mass in the church; but he never spoke to any human being, save to the priest, whom he called by the sound of his bell, to hear his confession. It would have been both curious and instructive to us to know the workings of the human mind under such circumstances. One that really felt the burden of sin, and experienced the attacks of the enemy, would, doubtless, be overwhelmed, when left to itself; but, probably, the feelings were often

deadened by foregoing austerities, or by the self-satisfaction produced by being in a place that it was esteemed a high attainment to fill : the recluses were supposed to be almost perfect in holiness, and to be favoured with supernatural gifts.

The hardships of Camaldula were not the only means proposed for effecting that mortification of the flesh, which can alone be truly accomplished by the blessed Spirit of God. Two fanatical hermits of Italy, living in this century, call for notice as the leaders in extravagant plans for the punishing of the body. The first, who is known as Dominic the Mailed, wore an iron shirt under his garment, which he never put off except to scourge himself ; this he did with such severity, that his body, and sometimes his face, was one great wound. One day, whilst lacerating his body, he boasted that he had repeated the whole psalter eight times ; and he would sometimes repeat a psalm eighty times over with his arms raised in the form of a cross. Had he known the manners of the Brahmins and other heathen devotees, he might have learned how independent all this was of Christianity. Some years before his death, Dominic wore about him a whip of leather thongs, and, on occasions of heavier penance, placed iron rings around his legs and arms. "His flesh," says his biographer, "was as black as an Ethiop's ;" but he lived to be an old man, and had many imitators.

Peter Damian, his cotemporary, of the order of Camaldula, not only practised, but insisted on the *duty* of self-flagellation ; and though, in the fiftieth year of his age, he became bishop of Ostia, and afterwards travelled as papal legate, he did not relax either in example or precept on this head ; and he zealously exposed the scandalous lives of the clergy, and the vices of the monks. His arguments are thus stated : "As Christians we are bound to bear the cross ; but scourging was a part of it, therefore, we must be scourged ; and if there be no persecutors, we must scourge ourselves. . . . As it is impossible to be too good, so a good thing cannot be carried too far : if fifty stripes have merit, five hundred have more," etc. The order of the Flagellants was based on these principles. If these deluded men merely sought the praise of their ignorant

fellow-creatures, they had their reward ; but if, as it is to be feared, they were deceived by Satan into a belief that they were gaining an eternal reward, how terrible must it be to awake up in the day of judgment, and hear the Lord condemn them for having deemed his blood insufficient to meet the demands of God's holiness, and to prove the depths of His love.

Let us ever remember what are the legitimate fruits of the Spirit, lest we trace anything to Him which is not of his operation.

The popes, beginning with the acute Hildebrand, could not but fail to perceive the importance of the vast machinery of the monastic system to the advancement of their purposes ; and they spared no pains till it fell under their direction. By freeing the monastic institutions from the jurisdiction of local bishops and kings, and bestowing on them particular privileges, the popes, by degrees, formed them into the strongest props of their throne.

Even in this century, we may faintly trace a people who dissented from some of the ordinary notions and practices of the corrupt church system ; but, as our notices of them come through their enemies, there is a difficulty in ascertaining their precise opinions. One Gundulfus, of Italy, is said to have travelled about to multiply converts to his own views of Scripture ; and a company of persons in Flanders owned that they had derived their opinions from this source, when questioned before a synod held at Arras, A.D. 1030. They rejected baptism, and more especially the baptism of infants, as not being essential to salvation ; and, for the same reason, the Lord's Supper also. They denied that the churches had greater sanctity, or were more fit for the worship of God, than private houses. They affirmed that the altars were but heaps of stones, and, therefore unworthy of any mark of veneration. They disapproved the use of incense, of oil, and of bells, as mere superstitions. They denied that the establishment of ecclesiastical dignities was of divine institution ; and maintained that the appointment of stated ministers was needless. They esteemed it indifferent whether the dead were buried in churches or in the fields ; and thought that funeral rites were invented by avaricious priests. They did not

use instrumental music in religious meetings; and would pay no respect to images or the cross. They looked on penance as absurd, and denied the ways of atonement proposed by man; and specially the recent doctrine of vicarious penance. They were also accused of condemning marriage; but it seems more probable that they only held celibacy in higher esteem.

The persons brought to trial at Arras are said to have signed a recantation drawn up by the bishop; and, certainly, they could not be the best exponents of doctrines and opinions which they were so ready to renounce. They had, it seems, learned much truth, in conjunction with some error; and they summed up their views thus: "This is our doctrine—to renounce the world, to bridle the lusts of the flesh, to maintain ourselves by the labour of our hands, to do violence to no man, to love the brethren. . . If this plan of righteousness be observed, there is no need of baptism; if it be neglected, baptism is of no avail." It is to be remembered that, at this time, baptism was entirely put out of its right place by people in general; and, in seeing the popular view of it to be wrong, the danger was great of overlooking the Scriptural mode of its observance.

It is certain, that persons differing widely in doctrine and practice from the corrupt church through which they were scattered, even now attracted notice; but they became far more conspicuous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. God had, doubtless, a people among them, though their own mistakes and infirmities may have been many and great. Among men, they were distinguished by various names, applied to them in ignorance or derision. Cathari, or the pure ones, was their appellation in Italy and Germany, because their pious looks and manners were deemed affected. In France they were called Albigenses, from Alby in Languedoc, where they were first noticed. They were also called *boni homines* (good men), Bulgarians, and Publicans, a corruption of Paulicians.

Besides the light that probably beamed from many of these despised and persecuted sectaries, we may perceive some glimmerings of truth and grace among the monks and clergy of this century. In our own country lived Wulstan, the bishop of Worcester; and of him it is said that "lying,

standing, walking, sitting, he had always a psalm on his lips, always Christ in his heart." A council held in the reign of Canute sent forth the following advices. "We charge all Christians, for God's love, that they earnestly consider their own benefit, for we should all be in expectation of the time, when we would rather have wrought the will of God while we might, than enjoy all that is on earth. Let every Christian carefully learn to love God inwardly with the heart, and earnestly to maintain true Christianity." And again, "He that inwardly sings the Lord's prayer does his own message to God for every necessary want either in relation to this or the future life; but how can a man pray inwardly to God unless he have faith in him?" These specimens, however imperfect, prove that something beyond mere externals was set forth and coveted. The writings of Anselm, to which we have previously referred, contain valuable expositions of the essential doctrines of Scripture, with ardent expressions of love to Christ and longing after him, but, as it appears this bishop borrowed largely from Augustine, we cannot, bearing in mind his whole course, satisfactorily conclude that he had an experimental knowledge of the precious truths which he set forth. On paper, merely, he certainly appears to have been a saint, and it is possible his apparently overbearing conduct might have arisen more out of his ecclesiastical position than from individual feeling. He directed, or at least joined in, the fearful anathemas that were launched against the whole Greek Church, because they did not hold the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son as well as the Father, whereas the word of God only pronounces anathemas upon such as love not the Lord Jesus Christ, and doubtless there were those who loved Christ among the Greeks, however mistaken on this point of doctrine. Anselm also allowed William Rufus to say in his presence, "I shall lose my soul, if I die before that benefice is filled," without correcting the ignorant and fatal mistake on which such an exclamation was founded.

In A. D. 1049, Ulric, a young nobleman brought up with the emperor Henry III., and a great favourite with the empress Agnes, left their court, distributed his goods to the poor, and, after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, settled at Clugni.

He had a great reputation as a thinking, reading, praying man; and is said to have written "sweet and salubrious letters of advice" to various abbots and monks. He died in 1093, having greatly extended the religious fame and influence of the order of Clugni. His friend William of Hirschau, an abbacy in the Black Forest, bore as high a character. It was said that no one ever saw him idle, and that he preferred "souls redeemed by the blood of Christ to transitory gain." He employed twelve monks in transcribing the Scriptures and the works of the Fathers, and many scribes in copying other works; and he wrote many volumes with his own hand. His biographer says, "many miracles were attributed to him, but of all I consider this to have been the greatest, that in the midst of a perverse nation he shone forth as a most excellent man, and in so dangerous a time of discord between the Church and State, he maintained an unspotted course in the paths of righteousness."

It is a striking fact, that proficiency in the Scriptures is repeatedly mentioned in the biographies of this age, as matter of fame and praise. The bishop of Lucca, who died in 1086, is said to have known the whole of the Bible by heart; a cotemporary bishop of Soissons spent the last three years and a half of his life in reading the Bible, and meditating upon it, but strange to relate did not speak a single word to any creature during this time. An abbot near Cologne, at the end of this century, was particularly versed in the Scriptures, and used to have the whole Bible read through once in the year, and the Testament four times; and another at Ardennes, knew the Scriptures by heart, and could, it is said, quickly resolve the most difficult questions. It has been remarked that the writings of the dark ages are frequently couched in Scripture language, and filled with quotations, but these were often in the worst taste, and brought to support absurdities of the strangest description. And after all, the Scriptures were confined to the few, as the expense of copying put them beyond the reach of the masses. It is reckoned that a fair copy of the Bible would have cost more than £60 of our money for the writing only, and that a skilful scribe could not complete one in less than ten months. The books of the Bible were looked upon as far more independ-

ent of each other than they are now, and this was a great disadvantage in the work of interpretation, as we know how much light the different books throw upon each other.

Bardo, a learned and pious monk, was raised to the archbishopric of Mentz, by the special choice of the emperor Conrad, and a sermon preached before his patron still exists. It does not clearly set forth the Gospel of the Grace of God, but it contains nothing that contradicts it, and it has been well observed, that it is a memorable fact, that a discourse made by one of the highest of the clergy, before the first of the European sovereigns, did not contain one single allusion to any of the false doctrines of the age, and, whilst crowded with quotations from the Scriptures, did not contain one word of man's traditions.

The most famous controversy that arose during this century related to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Berenger of Tours, a man of learning, began to protest against this error A. D. 1045; and five years after, pope Leo IX., influenced two councils to condemn his teaching, and to burn the works of Scotus, from which he had borrowed his arguments. In the same year Henry I., assembled a council at Paris, wherein Berenger was severely threatened, and shortly afterwards he was deprived of his revenues. It was, however, necessary for Hildebrand in person, to over-awe the monk, in the presence of another council, before he consented to withdraw his statements that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper were symbols. But, shortly after, he began again to defend this truth, when Nicholas II., and Alexander III., in turn, obliged him to abjure it: as soon, however, as the immediate terror of man was past he resumed his old ground. Hildebrand, at his accession to the popedom, made still stronger efforts to silence Berenger. and when he found that even solemn oaths did not chain his tongue, he proposed that the Virgin Mary should be entreated to decide the matter. After pretended consultation, the pope returned it as her answer that they should adhere to the express words of Scripture. Thus, the doctrine remained unsettled, as before, among the adherents of Rome; some maintaining the gross ideas put forth by Pascasius Radbert, as to the actual change of the bread and wine, and others, however few, holding to the

spiritual meaning. It was at the council of Placentia that Transubstantiation was established as the dogma of Rome. Berenger spent his last days in penitential acts, intended to atone for his compliance with the court of Rome, against his conscience. He is said to have called the Church of Rome, "a church of malignants, the council of vanity, and the seat of Satan;" but with all his discernment, Berenger, alas! failed to see the way of salvation, and there seems to have been no evidence of his real regeneration. God is able to stem the progress of error, and to spread his truth by whatever instrument He pleases; it is, however, the special province and calling of his people, earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, and to be witnesses for Christ in the midst of this present evil world.

CHAP. XXIX.

Henry Beauclerc and his Times. A. D. 1100—1135.

POSITION AND CHARACTER OF HENRY I.—HIS CONTESTS WITH HIS BROTHER ROBERT.—RESTORATION AND INFLUENCE OF ANSELM.—ACCESSION OF LOUIS VI. TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—HIS WARS WITH HENRY.—PRINCE WILLIAM'S SHIP-WRECK.—THE EMPRESS MATILDA.—LAST DAYS OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

ON the day that William Rufus fell by the arrow of his companion in the chase, Henry, his brother, was hunting in another part of the New Forest with a party of barons. Robert, the second son of the Conqueror, had not then reached Normandy, as he lingered in Italy on his way from Palestine, in order to obtain the hand of Sibilla, a lady of rare beauty and amiability. Knowing that he was so far off, Henry determined to claim the crown, on the ground that he had a better title as being an Englishman by birth; and he engaged the lords who were hunting with him to follow him to Winchester, as soon as they heard of the king's death. The royal hoard was his first object;

and when the treasurer who had the care of it declared that he must reserve it for the absent duke, Henry drew his sword and obliged the faithful officer to resign the key. The treasures thus obtained were used with success; and on the third day after William's decease, being Sunday, the fifth of August, A. D. 1100, Henry I. was crowned king of England. On the following day he issued a proclamation containing large promises, and artfully courting the goodwill of the people, by declaring that he would restore the laws of the good king Edward. A copy of this new charter was lodged in every county; but Henry contrived to govern without paying the least attention to it. The Conqueror had probably perceived his son Henry's remarkable talents for command, as he predicted that he would obtain greater eminence than either of his brothers. This prince was, it appears, conspicuous alike in personal and mental gifts. His countenance was handsome, his manners engaging, and his eloquence remarkable; and, on account of his progress in literature, he was surnamed Beauclerc, or the fine scholar, before he came to the throne. Such were the agitations of his long reign, that out of thirty-five years, he only passed five years of unbroken quiet in England; but even in these circumstances, he retained his love of learning.

About a month after Henry's coronation, Robert returned to Normandy, and war was declared between the brothers. Henry, in the most political manner, sought to secure his throne, first by recalling Anselm and procuring his influence; and then by marrying Maud, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and the good queen Margaret. This princess had been sent into a nunnery, after the death of her parents, and her aunt Christina, the abbess, obliged her to wear the veil; but it was proved before Anselm and the bishops that Maud had never taken the vow, and when out of her aunt's presence had trodden the veil under foot; no obstacle, therefore, was made to her marriage, and the ceremony was performed by Anselm himself, amidst general rejoicings; for the people beheld in Maud the representative of their ancient royal line, and she was crowned queen on her wedding day.

Henry still more increased his popularity by degrading Flambard, that is, the Firebrand, a man who had been made

chancellor, and bishop of Durham, by the late king, and who obtained this name, because of the immense mischief which he had done in the kingdom. At this time, also, the curfew was abolished, weights and measures were corrected by a proper standard, past offences and debts to the crown forgiven, and severe laws passed against oppressors, and such as did violence to women, and likewise against coiners. It is said that fifty persons were hung or mutilated in this reign, for the last offence, on one day.

In A. D. 1101, Robert landed his army at Portsmouth, and Henry advanced to meet him, but happily no battle took place. Anselm rode through the ranks, warning the English troops that they would perjure themselves, if they deserted to the duke, as they had already taken the oath of allegiance to Henry; and, after the two armies had lain in sight of each other for some days, both unwilling to commence the attack, the primate, with some of the barons, engaged the brothers to conclude a treaty. Robert was satisfied by a pension instead of the crown, and both princes agreed to pardon each others' partisans, and, that the survivor should inherit both dominions. The duke stayed two months with his brother, and they parted amicably; but when he returned to England three years after to complain of wrong done to some of his adherents, he gained nothing; and the young queen, even persuaded him to give up his pension: it was said that, as a knight, and more especially as her godfather, he could refuse nothing that she asked. On his return home, he regretted his generosity, and tried to make up his loss by attacking some of Henry's subjects in Normandy. Many contests ensued in that country between the brothers; and Robert, being of too easy a disposition to control the stern spirits around him, gradually lost his power: in military skill he was thought to have no superior; but it is said that he forgot and forgave too much, to be feared as a sovereign. Henry's eloquence and talents continually increased his partisans; and, amongst other arguments against his brother, he alleged that he had sinned in refusing to be king of Jerusalem. In September, 1106, the decisive battle was fought at Tinchebrai, the two armies were nearly equal in number, but the desertion of one of Robert's chief barons proved fatal to his cause, and he was

himself taken prisoner with Edgar Atheling and ten thousand other warriors.

Robert was thrown into confinement, and we may here follow him to the close of his history. After a little space he contrived to escape, but the feet of the horse on which he fled stuck in the clay, and being retaken, he was more rigorously guarded, and removed from one fortress to another, till at last he was shut up in Cardiff Castle. For twenty-eight years he endured this hard treatment; and some assert that his eyes were put out, because of another attempt to escape; this, however, is not ascertained. He died in the eightieth year of his age. It is related that the king having tried some stockings which were too small for him, desired them to be sent to his brother, being in the habit of supplying his wardrobe. Robert exclaimed on receiving them, "I have lived too long if my brother sends me his cast off clothes!" and from that time he sank very quickly. So trifling an act of disrespect, was sufficient to overcome a spirit, worn down by so many years endurance of a brother's jealous hatred. Sibilla, the duke's wife, died before his last battle; but their little son, William, aged five years, was taken after the siege of Falaise. The child sobbed and cried for mercy when he was brought into the presence of his dreaded uncle; and the king, as if violently struggling against some evil purpose, suddenly commanded that the boy should be given into the care of Helie, a Norman lord, of whose attachment to the ducal family there could be no doubt. Edgar Atheling was too weak a person to excite Henry's jealousy, and he was suffered to retire with a small pension. He died in England at an advanced age, neglected and almost forgotten.

The celibacy of the priests and the right of investiture—the points for which the popes so hotly contended—were warmly upheld in England by Anselm; and when that prelate departed to Rome to take counsel with his ecclesiastical chief, such crowds accompanied him to the sea-shore that the king's jealousy of his influence was at once aroused, and he secretly forbade his return. Henry also sent a messenger to the pope, Pascal II., declaring that he would rather lose his crown than the right of investiture; but Pascal replied, that he would rather lose his head than

allow that right to the king. Adela, countess of Blois, Henry's sister, at last prevailed upon the king to meet the exiled primate at her residence; for she feared that a sentence of excommunication might be sent forth against him, which she believed would place his soul in peril. After several conferences, Henry permitted Anselm to reside at his former abbey in Normandy, still refusing to re-establish him in England. The people, however, so greatly desired his return, and vice, it was said, prevailed to such a shocking degree by reason of his absence, that the king was at length persuaded to recall him. Having done so, he permitted him without restraint to use severe measures for imposing celibacy, on the clergy; and as to investiture, he only required that every bishop and abbot, when consecrated, should do homage to him. In 1108, Anselm presided in a council which tried to establish celibacy; such of the clergy as put away their wives were compelled to do forty days' penance; such as refused, were deprived of their benefices: the struggle, however, was not at an end.

At this time Anselm strongly denounced the vain and strange fashions of the day, especially the habit of wearing the hair so as to cover the ears and hang over the eyes. The king cut off his own locks and required his courtiers to do the same. The archbishop was less successful in his attempts to banish the fashion of wearing long-pointed shoes, which prevailed almost throughout Europe. The toe of the shoe was drawn to a sharp point, and turned up in the figure of a bird's bill, or some similar ornament, to which was attached a chain of silver or gold, according to the rank of the wearer, to fasten it to the knee. Anselm insisted that persons who followed this mode were guilty of trying to add a cubit to their stature, but neither this, nor any more reasonable argument could persuade the fashionists, and it was not till the clergy had ceased to preach on the subject that this singular style of dress went out of use.

Phillip I., king of France, died A. D. 1108, and his son and successor, Louis VI., surnamed le Gros, or the Fat, reigned coterminously with Henry Beauclerc, nearly thirty years. Friendship might have been expected to subsist between them, because Louis, when persecuted by his step-mother, had fled into England and received kind-

ness at the king's hands; but many things arose that prevented their unity, and we must associate them in our memories as enemies, and not friends.

Louis, unlike Henry, had neither taste for learning, nor talents for government; and he lived among his soldiers, almost like one of themselves, whilst Henry never stooped from his own rank: both kings, however, were brave and active, and possessed engaging manners; Louis distinguished himself, by his efforts to repress the tyranny of the feudal lords, who, from their castles, perceiving the passing merchant or the defenceless traveller, sent out their horse-men to seize them for the sake of their goods. It is related that the prisoner who refused to pay the ransom demanded, was stretched on the ground, and tortured by weights placed on the body, which were increased in proportion to his resistance: some, in this manner, expired.

Louis, again, took the part of the oppressed, in helping to defend the young prince William, son of the duke of Normandy, when his uncle wished to obtain possession of his person. The king of France, at length, presented the persecuted prince to pope Calixtus II., in a general council held at Rheims, and, describing the sufferings of the imprisoned duke, who, as a crusader was considered under the especial protection of the papal see, entreated the pope to assist in his restoration.

To this council Henry had sent the English bishops, in obedience to the pope's call, but he charged them to bring back none of the new inventions of Rome; he also courted Calixtus by sending ambassadors with liberal presents, and in the same summer sought a personal conference with the pope: the latter observed that the king of England was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive person that he had ever met. In A. D. 1118, the year before his meeting with the pope, Henry had lost his queen Matilda. She had laboured for the improvement of the country, and was much regretted. The first stone bridge, which was thrown across the Lea, and called Bow bridge from its form, was erected by her command, and the first menagerie appeared under her patronage; she also caused many roads to be made or repaired. A certain Norman wrote a poetical work on natural history, expressly

for the queen's use, and this would be a proof that she shared in her husband's taste for study. Maud lived to witness the espousal of her daughter Matilda to the emperor of Germany, A. D. 1110. The little princess was then only five years old, the emperor Henry V., being forty years her senior; he espoused her by proxy, and she went into Germany to be educated: in the twelfth year of her age the marriage was consummated, and Matilda was crowned empress, at Mentz. In A. D. 1119, Henry Beauclerc and Louis, each at the head of nine hundred knights, met in battle at Brenneville: Prince William of Normandy fought against his uncle, the king of England. Henry was wounded in the head by a Norman knight, but whilst his own blood flowed, he slew his opponent, and his followers, encouraged by his boldness, put the French horsemen to flight. Only three men were killed in this encounter, for not only did the heavy armour secure the safety of the knights, but the great object on such occasions was to make prisoners rather than to destroy life, because they looked to the value of the ransom. A peace was effected between the kings of France and England, by the good offices of Calixtus, and this pope was, in other matters, a peace-maker; but the claims of the heir of Normandy seemed quite forgotten. Henry's jealousy of his nephew arose out of his desire to aggrandise his own son William, and he actually took the latter into Normandy and obliged the barons to take the oath of allegiance to him. The English prince was not, however, allowed to enjoy the fruits of his father's injustice, and Henry, who kept his own brother in prison during so many long years, separating him from his son, and depriving both of their rightful possessions, was severed from his son and crossed in his ambitious hopes, in the most sudden and melancholy manner. The king had taken his whole court to France, and the flower of the young nobility went in the train of the prince to do him honour. Having settled the affairs of Normandy, Henry went to Barfleur, with all his followers, to embark for England. A seaman who had conveyed the Conqueror across the channel, had petitioned that the right of conducting the future kings of England might remain in his family; and one of his descendants, on this occasion,

begged that his prepared vessel, called the White Ship, might be used by some of the royal party. The king agreed that his son William, with about a hundred and forty young noblemen of his retinue, and some of the ladies, should sail in this ship, whilst he embarked in another. Prince William was his father's idol, but his disposition towards the English gave no pledge that he could ever have been loved as a king: he used to say that when the Saxons came under his rule he should yoke them to the plough, and turn them into beasts of burden. At the same time he indulged himself in the most vicious pleasures, and, from the similar inclinations of his companions, it is probable that the White Ship was a scene of gross and careless revelry.

Fifty sailors manned the vessel, and it is supposed that too much liquor was given to them, in order to urge them to overtake the king's ship, which had sailed first; they were already near the shores of England when they struck upon a rock quite visible above the waves, and the ship went to pieces. Prince William was put into a boat, and got off in safety, but the cries of his natural sister, and a favourite cousin, induced him to return to the wreck, when so many crowded into the boat that it immediately sunk.

Fitz Stephens, the captain, clung to the mast, and could have saved himself by swimming; but when he found that the prince was lost, he sank back into the sea. Only one person, a butcher of Rouen, escaped to tell the tale. The king fainted away when he heard the evil tidings, and remained a sad monument of cheerless grief to the end of his days. Search was made, in the hope that the prince might have reached some distant port; but even his dead body could not be recovered.

After this misfortune, Henry might have adopted his nephew William, but he still treated him as an enemy, and, only the year after married Adela, a niece of Pope Calixtus, in the hope of having a male heir to the throne; but she had no children.

In A.D. 1124, war was renewed between England and France. Louis had given his wife's sister in marriage to young William of Normandy, and had bestowed upon him the earldom of Flanders, the largest of his fiefs; and now he wished to support his claims upon Normandy. On this

occasion, Louis unfurled the *Oriflamme*, a banner reserved for grand occasions, whereby he could summon to his aid two hundred thousand vassals; and Henry called for the help of his son-in-law, the emperor. But these great armies did not meet, as Henry V. died the following year, A.D. 1125. Matilda, the widowed empress, was a woman of remarkable spirit; her husband had proved her talents at an early age by appointing her to be regent of Italy; and, from the time of his death, the ambition of her royal father made him aim at her exaltation. At Henry's command, the empress came to England; and, after a short time, she reluctantly obeyed her father's wishes in marrying Geoffry Plantagenet, the eldest son of Fulk, count of Anjou. The count was one of the French king's most powerful vassals; and the object of Henry was to strengthen his continental interests. Matilda was very unhappy in her marriage, and once left her husband; but her father persuaded her to return to him. In A.D. 1130, William, the earl of Flanders, died of a neglected wound, received in battle some time previous. His uncle, the king of England, was suspected of having endeavoured to procure his assassination some time before, but it is not clear that this additional guilt belongs to him. In the following year, king Louis lost his eldest son Phillip, whom he had associated with him on the throne. The streets of Paris were at this time filled with dirt and rubbish, through which pigs were allowed to range, and against one of these animals the prince's horse stumbled, and caused him an injury which he only survived a few hours. Louis was so overpowered by his loss, that he could not attend to public affairs for some time; but he had five other sons, and Louis, the elder of them, was crowned at the age of twelve in A.D. 1132. It was in that year that Matilda gave birth to a son, who was called Henry, after his grandfather; and the king of England was so delighted by the event, that he spent his remaining days chiefly on the continent. Matilda became still more endeared to him as the mother of two other sons, who were named Geoffry and William.

In 1134, the king of France was seized with an alarming illness; and his excessive corpulence, to which he owed his surname, seemed to increase. He expressed a desire

for peace with all his enemies; and, though he survived three years, he would never again engage in war, or wear the royal insignia.

Let us follow the king of England also to his end. In his last years he was a prey to remorse as well as sorrow. His nights were disquieted by horrid dreams of persons whom he had injured; and his physician, to whom he complained, judiciously reminded him of the prophet Daniel's advice to king Nebuchadnezzar, viz., to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.

Profound peace reigned in England during the greater part of Henry's reign; but righteousness was so far from his thoughts, that the chronicler says, "It is not easy to describe the sufferings of the land from manifold and never-ceasing wrongs." The king resided by turns on his different estates, as was customary in times when it was so difficult to send the fruits to a distance; but his royal progresses were so dreaded, because of the extortion and cruelty of his officers, that the farmers, on hearing of the approach of the court, were wont to fly with their families into the woods. Although Henry caused some who committed these wrongs to be mutilated, the people were not secured against their repetition. Burnings and slaughter distinguished his reign. The name of Englishman was an insult; for no virtue or merit could advance one of Saxon race; and the Norman clergy are described to have been more like wolves than shepherds. Ecclesiastical and secular tyranny went hand in hand, for nothing at this period occasioned more misery than the laws forbidding the marriage of the clergy, and prohibiting it to others who were within the most distant degrees of relationship. In days when writing was not a common art, and registers loosely kept, it was difficult to ascertain existing relationships, as far as the seventh degree—the limit assigned by Rome—and some, whose cases were doubtful, were allowed to keep their wives, by paying a certain fine. On the other hand, married persons, who were not happy together, so often applied for divorces, on the plea of relationship, that it became necessary to pass a law, whereby husbands, or witnesses procured by them, were not allowed to be

heard on such petitions. Many families were rendered miserable by the commandments of men ; and Henry enriched himself by enforcing the obedience of his subjects to these human laws, whilst he lived in contempt of the divine law, and had as many as thirteen illegitimate children, some of whom he ennobled and married into the highest families of the realm. One of these, the earl of Gloucester, a man of great ability, becomes very prominent as we proceed in our history. The punishments devised by Henry were severe and arbitrary ; and his fondness for hunting made him pass laws which placed the killing of a stag on the same level as the murder of a man. He also deprived many of his subjects of the liberty of hunting on their own lands, or of cutting down their own woods ; and he caused the dogs that were kept around the borders of his forests to be mutilated, that they might not interfere with his sport. It is not surprising that Henry's conscience was troubled when death and judgment stared him in the face : we do not, however, hear of his seeking peace with God ; but he sought reconciliation with the papacy ; and, during his last visit to the continent, had a friendly interview with Innocent. This pope extended his extravagant claims to England ; and William, the primate who succeeded Anselm, being appointed legate, it was alleged that no one had ever held the office of archbishop of Canterbury, except by papal indulgence.

The Welsh were often in arms against Henry ; and once, in pursuing them to their fastnesses, he received an arrow, which, but for his breastplate, would have pierced his heart. In order to bring the country into a more settled state, he removed a colony of Flemings, whom the Conqueror had placed in the North, into South Wales, but their example of obedience availed little, and they remained for centuries a distinct people. It was the news of an incursion of the Welsh that inclined Henry once more to return to England, in the close of the year 1135 ; but, before he set out, he was seized with an illness, occasioned by eating too largely of lampreys, and died on the first of December.

CHAP. XXX.

Times of Henry (1.) Beauclerc.

HENRY V., EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—HIS QUARRELS WITH THE
 POPES.—CALIXTUS MAKES PEACE.—LOTHAIRE, THE SAXON
 EMPEROR.—PAPAL CONTESTS.—STATE OF ITALY AND ROME.—
 THE EASTERN EMPIRE UNDER ALEXIUS COMNENUS AND JOHN
 THE HANDSOME.—KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.—KNIGHTS HOS-
 PITALLERS AND TEMPLARS.

WE must look around at the other ruling powers in the times of Henry Beauclerc; and it is but natural first to glance at the history of his son-in-law, Henry V, Emperor of Germany. This prince had rebelled against his father, and obtained his crown, on the plea of his criminal disobedience to the pope's authority; but, when seated on the throne, he only yielded to the pope in some trifling matters, and refused to resign the right of investiture as sternly as the deposed emperor. War with Hungary and Poland at first engaged his attention; but as soon as he had made peace with these countries, he led his army towards Italy, alleging that Pascal's renewal of the decree against investitures was tantamount to a declaration of war. The pope, in alarm, proposed conditions of peace: these were, that the emperor should forego the use of the ring and crozier in investiture; and that the bishops and abbots should resign their royal privileges of raising tribute, coining money, etc. Henry was willing enough to give up the forms of spiritual power to obtain the forfeiture of the secular powers of the clergy; but the bishops would not consent to such terms of peace; and, whilst the emperor and the pope were conferring together in St. Peter's, so great a tumult arose that Henry commanded his soldiers to sieze and imprison Pascal. The citizens of Rome took up arms, and the waters of the Tiber were stained with the blood of the slain; but the emperor would not give up the pope till he had even promised to concede to him the use of the ring and crozier. Pascal, on his release, crowned the

emperor; and, in token of perfect reconciliation, divided with him the bread of the sacrament, saying, "As this part of the life-giving body* is separated from the other, so let the violators of this treaty be separated from the kingdom of Christ."

After Henry's departure, a violent outcry arose; and in the following year (A.D. 1112), in a council held in the Lateran Church, Pascal confessed with the deepest sorrow that he had sinned under the influence of fear; and suffered his treaty with the Emperor to be annulled. Henry was, subsequently, excommunicated by many synods, both in France and Germany; and being placed on the list of heretics, many barons revolted against him, and he had much difficulty in putting them down. He had to feel, in his own person, the troubles which he had helped to bring on his father.

In A.D. 1115, the countess Matilda died; and Henry, as her nearest relation, put in his claims to her possessions, which had been left to the papal see. He again marched to Rome with an army, and Pascal fled to the Norman princes to procure their aid; but before war began, the pope died, A.D. 1118. He was the last of a succession of monks—men of unbounded ambition and immoveable obstinacy—who had occupied the papal throne for more than half a century. Gelasius II., a Benedictine monk, was chosen by the cardinals as his successor; but he was a man of no spirit, and not feeling himself safe at Rome, retired to Clugni. The cardinals then elected Guy, archbishop of Vienna and count of Burgundy; and the new pope took the name of Calixtus II.

In the meanwhile the imperial party had elevated one whom they called Gregory VIII.; and the first care of Calixtus was to besiege him in the strong town of Sutri to which he had retired. The inhabitants, in alarm, gave him up to his rival; and Gregory was first conducted through the streets of Rome, seated upon a camel with his face to the tail, to be insulted by the populace, and then condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Calixtus was a man every way qualified to end the long struggle that had subsisted between the emperors and the

* It is plain that Transubstantiation was at this time to be numbered among the errors of Rome.

popes. He made overtures to Henry; and, in 1123, a general council was assembled at Rome to end the dispute. Three hundred bishops, seven hundred abbots, and the emperor's ambassadors, were present; and it was agreed, that for the future, bishops and abbots should be elected by their own order, but in the presence of the emperor or his delegates; that in case of dispute, the emperor, after consulting with the bishops, should decide; and that the bishop or abbot elect should take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, and do homage for the possessions to be received at his hand; lastly, it was settled that only the sceptre, and not the ring and crozier, should be used in this ceremony by the emperor, in order to signify that he conveyed nothing but temporal rights. These regulations still remain in force.

Calixtus died in 1124, and the emperor Henry V. in 1125.

Henry left no children; and after some contests about the succession, Lothaire, surnamed the Saxon (duke of Saxe Supplemburg), was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the pope's legate. Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus, performed nothing worthy of notice, and died in A.D. 1130. Some of the cardinals elected one of their own body, under the name of Innocent II.; the others chose the son of a learned and wealthy Jew of Rome, who had been converted in the days of Leo IX., and received at baptism the name of that pope. The son of Leo, probably the only pope of Jewish race, received the name of Anacletus II. He was acknowledged throughout Italy, and by the kings of Sicily and Scotland; but Innocent had the support of the emperor Lothaire, and was treated as pope by the kings of England, France and Spain; moreover, as yet more important to his ultimate success, he had the friendship of Bernard the abbot, whose counsels, at this time, could sway the greater part of Europe. But Anacletus occupied Rome for two years, and Innocent found an asylum in France. In 1132, Lothaire went to the exiled pope at Liege, and conducted him to Rome, at the head of his army. War with the Bohemians, it appears, alone prevented the emperor from taking this step before. Anacletus was now driven from his seat, and Innocent fully established. His first act was to place the imperial crown on the head of Lothaire.

As soon as the emperor had left Italy, Roger, the Norman duke of Apulia, and also king of Sicily, replaced Anacletus by force of arms; and Innocent, having taken refuge at Pisa, again implored the help of Lothaire. The emperor came at his call, and restored him to the papal throne; and Anacletus is said to have died of grief on losing the dignity that he had coveted. The king of Sicily suffered the loss of his Italian provinces on this occasion. Disease terminated the busy career of the emperor Lothaire, soon after his return to Germany, A.D. 1137. Louis VI., of France, died but a few months before, leaving on the throne his son, Louis VII. It was said of Louis VI. that there was no better man in France, and that he would have been a better king, had he been politic enough to dissemble. It is certain that the slavery of the lower classes was destroyed through his charters; and that agriculture and commerce, with arts and science, began to flourish through the establishment of better laws, and the breaking down of the despotic power of the nobles.

The duke of Aquitain and Guienne, the richest vassal of the crown of France, troubled, it is said, in conscience, by reason of the many cruelties he had committed, wished to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of a famous saint at Compostella; and, in order to secure his dominions to Eleanor, his only daughter, he offered her in marriage to the king's eldest son, who already occupied the throne. The duke died at Compostella during the performance of the church service. The marriage of his daughter was celebrated at Bordeaux with great pomp; and, as the youthful pair were on their way to Paris, they were met by the messengers who announced the death of the royal father, Louis VI. We must follow the fortunes of Louis VII. and Eleanor of Guienne in our next period.

We have referred to the frequent changes among the popes, and their contests with the emperors. It is necessary also to glance at the condition of Italy and of Rome itself. A distant emperor could not command the obedience of his Italian subjects; for whatever effect might be produced by the pressure of actual force upon spirits ever aiming at freedom, the re-action was all the stronger when the pres-

sure was withdrawn. Hence all the military visits of successive emperors, and all their strong efforts to become absolute masters, only seemed to infuse a stronger desire for independence into the Italian mind; and one city after another assumed a republican form of government. Their struggles against a foreign yoke, and their violent rivalry with each other, may remind us of the early history of Greece and Rome. Rome itself was rarely quiet; and the republican spirit manifested itself strongly on various occasions: even the popes were often exposed to its effects. At the height of their ecclesiastical power, they maintained an unequal contest with the citizens. It may be remembered that Gregory VII. died in exile; and among thirty-six of his arrogant successors who tried for the mastery, many fell victims to the rage of the populace. One day, as Pascal officiated at the high altar, he was interrupted by the cries of the people in behalf of a favourite magistrate; and, as he continued to perform the ceremony in silence, even oaths and threats were uttered to make him yield. During Easter week, whilst he and his clergy were walking barefoot to visit the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assailed with stones and darts; the pope escaped with difficulty; the houses of his adherents were levelled; and his last days were occupied in preparing for civil war. At the election of his successor, Gelasius, Frangipani, a powerful baron of Rome, attacked the assembly with an armed force: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled on: the newly elected pope was dragged along the ground by his hair, wounded with their spurs, and buffeted, and then bound with an iron chain in the house of a noble. Another faction delivered him; but not many days after, whilst he stood at the altar, a bloody conflict began between the opposing parties. Gelasius escaped to the fields without the city, half dead with fear; and, after he retired to Clugni, he observed, with respect to the power assumed by the independent barons of Rome, "It were better to have one emperor than twenty." The shadow of a senate was retained at Rome; and, from time to time, claimed restoration to its ancient power. Its members, sixty-six in number, took up the right of coinage in the days of pope Pascal—a privilege which had not been assumed by a senate

luring eight hundred years. One of the new republican coins represented Christ holding in his hand a book inscribed "The vow of the Roman people—Rome the capital of the world." On the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator. The figure of a senator at the knees of him whom the popes pretended to represent, proves that the supremacy of the popes was held as rightful, though it was often practically opposed.

The most powerful of the Italian republics, at this time, was Venice. This city had made itself independent of both empires; and, whilst its maritime power had been felt like by the Saracens, the Normans, and the Greeks, its commerce, and manufactures, and riches, gave it almost the place of a second Tyre. It was long governed by twelve tribunes, annually elected, but these were superseded by a permanent magistrate called a Doge, elected by the votes of a popular assembly. Whilst popular and successful, the Doge had the pomp and authority of a prince, but revolutions often occurred, in which the chief magistrate lost his power, or his life; and, in this century an aristocracy arose, which, in the end, deprived both the people and the Doge of all real power.

We must again turn to the history of the Eastern Empire. Whilst the crusaders engaged the attention of the Turks, Alexius Comnenus recovered Rhodes and Chios, and the seven Apocalyptic cities; and, having enlarged his coast as far as Pamphylia, he began to restore the churches and to re-people the desert places. The Latins complained that he served himself instead of assisting them; and Boemond, prince of Antioch, departed secretly to Europe, in order to bring an army against the Greeks, as his father Guiscard had done. The princess Anna Comnena relates in her history that the Latin warrior could only escape observation by crossing the Hellespont in a coffin, into which he was shut with a dead cock. It is certain that he arrived safely in France, obtained the king's daughter in marriage, and returned to the East with five thousand horse and four thousand foot. The prudence of Alexius, and the coming on of winter, disappointed Boemond's desire of conquest, but he was enabled to make an advantageous peace

with the Greeks, and to retain the principality of Antioch till his death. The Moslem kingdom of Roum was much diminished by the conquests of the Greeks and Latins, and its inland situation and separation from other Mahometan provinces made it an undesirable place of residence for the sultans: from the time that Nice was lost, they chose, as the seat of government, Iconium, a town distant from Jerusalem about three hundred miles.

The first crusade not only prevented the fall of the Greek empire, but its princes, instead of fearing the loss of their capital, were now able to carry on an offensive war against the Turks. The kings of Jerusalem, too, though asserting their independence, placed on their coins the name of the reigning emperor before their own.

The varied events of the reign of Alexius were fraught with no happiness to him, and, before his death, he lost the affections of his people, and was heart-broken with domestic troubles. Irene, his wife, wished him to place their daughter Anna on the throne; and that ambitious princess desired to reign; but their sons, John and Isaac, had their supporters, and the friends of the elder prince drew the signet from the finger of his dying father. Irene still pressed him to alter the succession; and, when her royal husband tried to divert her thoughts by reflections on the vanity of the world, she indignantly exclaimed, "You die, as you have lived, a hypocrite." Unfeeling as such an exclamation proved his wife to be, it appears from the history of Alexius that he was hypocritical, for, whilst he made a great profession of zeal for the orthodox faith, his object seemed uniformly the advancement of his own interests. He entered into personal controversy with some who were regarded as heretics, and resorted to violent measures when his arguments failed. A sect called Massalians (i. e. persons who pray) was much persecuted in this reign; and Basilus, the founder of the kindred sect of Bogomites (i. e. in the Mysian language, calling for mercy from above), was burnt alive at Constantinople. These sects, possibly, held some of the errors of the Manicheans, but the wise and the foolish were alike designated by that odious name whenever they opposed the prevailing superstitions. It was said of these sectaries that they placed the essence of

religion in internal prayer alone, and maintained that an evil being dwelt in every breast, which could only be expelled by perpetual cries for divine mercy. These allegations might lead us to suppose that some had set forth the value of inward spiritual prayer, in opposition to the current notions as to the worth of outward forms; and perhaps, in these dark days, even the Scriptural command to "pray always" was perverted, as if nothing more were necessary in order to be a Christian.

Alexius Comnenus died in A. D. 1118, and his son John was proclaimed emperor. Isaac, his younger son, received the title of Sebastocrator, and a share in the imperial dignity, but with little power. The brothers lived in friendship, but Anna, in her insane greediness for empire, formed a design against the life of the young emperor; and when Bryennius, her husband, a man of high rank, opposed her projects, the princess passionately exclaimed that nature had mistaken the two sexes, giving to her the soul of a man, and to Bryennius that of a woman. John treated his unworthy sister with great lenity, but she was obliged to retire from public life. In her retreat, she sought a more innocent fame in writing the history of her father's reign. John was surnamed the Handsome (*Calo Johannes*), in derision, as his features were harsh, and he was of low stature and swarthy complexion; but the title was in the end adopted by such as perceived in his character a beauty that his person did not possess. His clemency towards his sister Anna, rather secured than endangered his life, and his reign, which lasted twenty-five years, was not again disturbed by rebellion; and even the punishment of death was disused throughout his empire: he is said to have had no personal enemy. The example of the emperor produced a visible effect on the manners of the capital, for, whilst he practised self-restraint, the many were ashamed or afraid to indulge in excesses. John undertook many warlike expeditions in defence of his country: he frequently marched in person at the head of his army, even as far as Antioch and Aleppo. He repelled the Turks, confined the sultan of Iconium to his own capital, and astonished the Latins by his bravery in arms. This remarkable emperor lost his life by an accident in hunting, whilst he was contemplating

the restoration of the ancient boundaries of the empire, and meditating the conquest of Jerusalem. He had wounded a wild boar, and was struggling with the dying animal, when a poisoned arrow from his own quiver pierced his hand. There was little surgical skill in those days, and mortification of the limb ensuing, death followed, A.D. 1143.

It remains for us to look again to Jerusalem. King Baldwin I., was succeeded by his nephew Baldwin II., in A.D. 1118. In his efforts to preserve the Latin power against the inroads of the Greeks and Saracens, he was assisted by an order of knights called the Hospitallers. The first of the monks so called confined their attention to the poor and sick among the pilgrims and crusaders; but many knights joined them in attending on their hospital duties, and the institution became so powerful, and its revenues so large, that Raymond de Puy, their chief, was able to offer the king to make war against the Mahometans at his own expense. The knights Hospitallers became distinguished for their valour, but a certain class among them called serving brethren, continued their original vocation. A black robe over the armour, with a white cross on the left breast, distinguished the knights of this religious order, and the fraternity was formally recognized by Pascal II. Another order entirely military was instituted about this time for the defence of Jerusalem; it was that of the knights Templars, so called from a palace adjoining the temple appropriated to them by Baldwin II. These warriors protected the pilgrims, and carried on offensive war against the Saracens; they wore a white mantle with a red cross, their helmet had no crest, and their beards were left uncut: their great banner was of white linen striped with black, and ornamented with a red-cross. The head of the order was called the Grand-master. Honorius II., sanctioned this fraternity of military monks. Chivalry, in its most enthusiastic forms, seems to have been exhibited in and around Jerusalem. One of the templars was seen fighting with such furious valour that the Saracens, when they obtained possession of his dead body, drank, it is said, of

his blood hoping it would inspire them with fresh courage ! Princes thought it an honour to be buried in the habit of these knights, and even kings fought under their banner.

In the reign of Baldwin II., the kingdom of Jerusalem equalled in extent the ancient kingdoms of Judah and Israel. The fleets of Italy, of Flanders, and even of Norway, had assisted in subduing the sea-coast, and from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt, the land was in the possession of the crusaders. Moreover, the Latin princes of Edessa, and Tripoli, paid homage to the king of Jerusalem, and nothing remained to the Moslems in Syria but the cities of Ems, Hamath, Damascus and Aleppo.

The laws and language, and even the manners and titles of the French were introduced into Palestine, but the whole militia of the kingdom did not exceed eleven thousand men, a slender defence against the myriads of enemies around them. The land had changed hands, but it was not the less trodden down of the Gentiles ; Jerusalem was not more holy than before, and the so called Christian rule, was but little preferable to that of the Mahometans. The code of laws, called the assize of Jerusalem, promulgated by Godfrey, and kept in the church of the sepulchre, guided the tribunals of Palestine, in all doubtful points ; but it was of barbarian origin, and even sanctioned trial by judicial combats. Baldwin II., left his throne to his daughter Melisenda and her husband Fulk, Count of Anjou. Fulk was killed by a fall from his horse, and his son Baldwin III., a rash and inexperienced youth became king in A. D. 1141. His reign coincides with the period on which we are about to enter : it was marked by calamities, and leads us through the strange events of the second crusade. The kings of Jerusalem, by the help of the military orders, struggled on for nearly fifty years after the taking of Jerusalem ; but when the Sultan's lieutenant, called by the Latins, Sanguinus (the bloody one), took Edessa, and threatened Antioch, letters were sent from Palestine to the pope, entreating him to authorise a new crusade. We shall see that no pains were spared in order to set it on foot.

CHAP. XXXI.

Life and Times of Louis VII. (the Young). A. D. 1137–1180. Stephen and Henry II. his cotemporaries in England.

CHARACTER OF LOUIS.—HIS REMORSE AFTER THE MASSACRE OF VITRI PREPARES HIM TO JOIN IN THE SECOND CRUSADE.—CONRAD III., EMPEROR.—GUELPH AND Ghibelline PARTIES.—ARNOLD OF BRESCIA ACCOMPLISHES A REVOLUTION AT ROME.—SKETCH OF POPE EUGENIUS III., AND THE ABBOT BERNARD.—LOUIS AND CONRAD UNITE IN THE SECOND CRUSADE.—CHARACTER OF THE GREEK EMPEROR, MANUEL COMNENUS.—FAILURE OF THE CRUSADE.—THE STATE OF FRANCE.—THE KING'S DIVORCE.

LOUIS VII. was called the Young to distinguish him from his father, with whom he had been joint king. At his father's death he was only eighteen years of age, but he displayed the firmness of maturer age. On the occasion of his opposing an archbishop who had been appointed by Innocent II., that pope haughtily observed, "the king of France was a young man, and must be taught not to meddle in church affairs;" but Louis continued his resistance, and involved himself in civil war with the count of Champagne who favoured the archbishop's cause. In A.D. 1143, the king took Vitri, a town of Champagne, and, after putting many to the sword, he ordered his soldiers to set fire to a church, in which one thousand three hundred persons had taken refuge. All perished in the flames; but the king could not forget the sight of their scorched bodies, and the sounds of their dying cries. Being filled with remorse, he was ready to adopt the first method that was proposed to him for the forgiveness of his sins, and we shall find him a ready listener, on the preaching of a new crusade.

Conrad, duke of Franconia, was elected emperor of Germany in the same year that Louis VII. became sole king of France; but for some years his claim was disputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria; and even after the death of this duke, his partisans carried on the contest. Guelph,

the brother of the deceased Henry, and Roger, king of Sicily, headed Conrad's opponents; and the name of *Guelph* was afterwards used to designate the adversaries of the imperialist party in Italy. Frederic, duke of Swabia, commanded Conrad's army; and Weiblingen, the place of his birth, by a corrupt pronunciation, gave the name of *Ghibellines* to the imperialists, in a long succession of quarrels which had nothing to do with the original dispute. The furious enmity that existed between parties bearing these names has led us to mention their origin.

In 1141, Guelph and his chief followers, being besieged by the emperor in the castle of Weinsberg, surrendered at discretion, and received permission to retire unmolested; but the wife of Guelph, suspecting the generosity of an avowed enemy, begged that she and all the other women might first go forth with as much as they could carry, and have safe-conduct to any place which they might name. Conrad and his soldiers, according to the chivalrous ideas that then predominated, promised the ladies the protection that they demanded; but great was their surprise when they perceived them issuing forth tottering under the weight of their own husbands, instead of loaded, as they expected, with jewels or other valuables. The emperor wept with emotion at the sight of this devoted affection, and an accommodation took place between him and the duke.

Innocent II. died in 1143, and was succeeded by Celestine II., who reigned peaceably till his death, which took place only five months after his elevation. His successor, Lucius II., had many severe struggles with the republican party. They restored the capitol to its original strength, and entrenched themselves in it; and as Lucius, about eleven months after his accession, was preparing for an assault, he was struck in the temples by a stone, and died a few days after. The leader of the republicans was Arnold of Brescia, a monk of extensive learning and remarkable austerity, and of a most impetuous spirit. In 1140, on the authority of the Lord's words, "My kingdom is not of this world," he began to assert that temporal and spiritual power were not compatible, and that the clergy ought to be divested of all their worldly possessions and all their temporal rights. He maintained publicly that it would be right

to resign all kinds of ecclesiastical treasures to the rulers of the state; and that the ministers of the gospel should derive their support from tythes and voluntary contributions. He was condemned in a general council held in the Lateran by Innocent II., and retired into Switzerland; but, on the death of that pope, he returned to Rome, and excited fresh commotions. The people of Zurich, who had given him shelter, long retained his opinions; and he won over the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate. He exhorted the people of Rome, whilst restoring republican forms, to respect the name of emperor; but to confine the pope and the clergy entirely to church matters. The revolution was not accomplished without bloodshed, and the demolition of houses; but Arnold reigned ten years, and the popes either trembled in their own palace at Rome, or resided as exiles in adjacent cities. Eugenius III., the successor of Lucius, was for nine years involved in these troubles; and several times he was obliged to leave Rome, and once even retired to France to save himself from the fury of the people. Eugenius was originally a Cistercian monk and a disciple of the famous Bernard, abbot of Clairval. Of these remarkable men we must give a brief account, though it is only agreeable to our present purpose to speak of their public characters.

Bernard was born in 1091. He was of noble birth, and a man of genius; but it seems difficult to reconcile his judgment and penetration on some subjects with his weakness and superstitions about others; and still more, to understand the excessive desire for dominion in a mind which appears to have been filled with deeply spiritual thoughts, and was sound in the essential particulars of Christian doctrine. The office of an historian is, however, simply to describe, and not to account for, these contrarieties.

It is certain that no man in Europe possessed greater influence than Bernard in the height of his fame. He distinguished himself as a reprovcr of evil and a defender of doctrinal truth. Innocent II. was indebted to him for the papal throne, for kings were swayed by the counsels of the abbot; and when his own pupil Eugenius succeeded to the popedom, he had an opportunity of guiding the man who assumed the guidance of the Catholic church. He became, in fact, the

oracle of Europe, princes and popes trembled at the freedom of his censures, and his judgment was consulted in all difficult matters.

It is not surprising that when such a man as this, under the sanction and by the desire of the pope, began to preach a new crusade, and called all his eloquence and zeal into the service, his success was great. At a great assembly at Vezelai, in Burgundy, A. D. 1146. he spoke from a scaffold erected in the market place, and declared with such assurance that divine favour and glorious success would attend a fresh expedition to Palestine, that the king, Louis VII. at once received the cross from his hand. His queen, Eleanor, and an immense number of nobles who were present, followed his example; and Suger, abbot of St. Denis, the king's prime minister, in vain endeavoured to check the general enthusiasm. He argued with Louis that he would be more likely to atone for his guilt by staying at home and governing wisely, than by abandoning his dominions, and foretold the probable evils that would attend his expedition; but Bernard's pretension to divine inspiration prevailed, and the king pacified the more political abbot by leaving him regent during his absence.

Bernard proceeded into Germany to awaken the spirit of a less excitable people, nor was his vehement language unsuccessful, so that he boasted, cities and castles were emptied, and only one man left to seven women. A. D. 1147, Louis VII. and Conrad III, each at the head of a powerful army, set out by different routes for Palestine. Bernard, though strongly pressed, declined to accompany them. The full amount of souls engaged in this expedition was not less than four hundred thousand. The kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the call of Conrad. The dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitain brought their forces. The Archbishop of Milan went, and carried with him the treasures and ornaments of his church and palace. Hugh the Great and Stephen of Chartres, who had retired from the first crusade, returned to finish their vow. Under the banners of Conrad rode a troop of females, in the attitude and armour of men, and the chief, from her gilt spurs and buskins, was designated the Golden footed Dame. The rank and character of Conrad and Louis gave dignity to their cause,

but this great host, uninstructed by the history of the multitude that had gone before them, were quite unprepared for a long march through hostile countries, and in an unhealthy climate.

Manuel Comnenus had succeeded his father, John the Handsome. His stature and martial appearance, and the valour which he displayed in the Turkish war, caused him to be preferred to an elder brother, and it was affirmed that he possessed the wisdom of age with the vigour of youth, and inherited the talents and energy of his father. His treatment of the crusaders, however, places his character in the most unfavourable light ; though we see him the instrument of punishing the madness of others. Probably the Greek emperor suspected them of a design upon his provinces, thinking their numbers too overwhelming for the professed object, the assistance of the king of Jerusalem. He caused the gates of his cities both in Europe and Asia, to be barred against them, and the scanty provisions which they sold to the crusaders, were let down in baskets from the walls. These precautions might have been necessary, but Manuel was also accused of having caused chalk, and other unwholesome ingredients, to be mixed with the bread, and of having coined base money on purpose to trade with the crusaders. Moreover, his governors had private orders to fortify the passes, and break down the bridges ; and ambushes were laid in the woods, through which they had to pass ; at every stage of their journey through the empire, they were stopped and misled, and continual injuries were inflicted on them, so that not more than a tenth part of the Germans reached the coast of Syria. Conrad himself, was so doubtful of the friendship of Manuel, that he refused to converse with him, save on horseback, in the open field. He had cause for suspicion, for the Greek emperor furnished him with treacherous guides, and even warned the Sultan of his approach. After many bold but unsuccessful skirmishes with the Turks, and the loss of great part of his army, Conrad returned toward the Bosphorus, and as his independent vassals resolved to desert him, he determined to embark his own troops in Greek vessels, and go into Palestine by sea.

Louis, in the meantime, had reached Constantinople, and

condescended to seat himself on the low stool which was offered him beside the throne of Manuel ; but when he had gained what he desired—a safe transport across the Bosphorus—he refused to meet the emperor again, save on equal terms. The French army were not dismayed by the returning Germans, and the vanguard which bore the royal flame-coloured banner, called the oriflamme of St. Denis, pressed on with such speed, that it was separated from the king, who in person commanded the rear, and in the darkness of evening, his forces were overwhelmed by the Turks, who attacked them from behind. Louis climbed a tree, and escaped through his own valour, or the ignorance of the enemy, and at dawn, almost alone, he overtook the vanguard. He was then willing to follow the example of Conrad, but, as the Greek vessels could only afford room for a part of his remaining army, he embarked with his knights and nobles, and a crowd of infantry was left to perish in Pamphylia.

Conrad and Louis met at Jerusalem to mourn over their misfortunes, and they helped the Latins in Syria to besiege Damascus. Their designs however were defeated, and they were obliged to fall back on Jerusalem. Conrad then returned to Europe with the poor remains of his vast army, and about a year after he was followed by the king of France, and the greater number of his officers.

The failure of the expedition naturally led many to accuse Bernard as a false prophet, and the cause of so many miseries, but the abbot insisted that his mission had been approved by signs and wonders, and was undertaken in obedience to the pope, and that the failure arose out of the sins and the misfortunes of the crusaders. Finally, he referred the whole matter to the sovereignty of God, and did not appear to feel his own responsibility in having advocated that which he denominated “a holy war.” In 1147, another kind of crusade was undertaken by a great number of Germans against the Moors in Spain; and about the same time, a so called holy war was set on foot against the pagans of the north, who were cut off by thousands without one convert being gained to Rome. After Conrad's return from the east he lost his eldest son, and the event so greatly affected him that he did not long survive it. He died A. D. 1152, and his nephew Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa (i. e.

Red-beard), the duke of Swabia, was elected as his successor by unanimous consent.

Louis and his queen returned to France in A. D. 1150, and found the kingdom in a flourishing condition under the wise government of the abbot Suger. The king did not listen to the ill-disposed persons who tried to prejudice him against his minister, but bestowed on him the name of father of his country. This great man was of obscure origin. From a simple monk of St. Denis, he became abbot through his talents, and was an imitator of the higher clergy in their pomp and worldly manners. Bernard reproached him, and receiving his rebukes with humility, Suger reformed his own habits, and his convent. It was at the school attached to this convent that the highest nobility and even the king's sons were educated. Louis the Gross had learned the merits of Suger when himself his pupil, and at his elevation to the throne made him his prime minister. His son, Louis the Young had continued him in the office and abundantly proved his value. Suger died in 1152, at the age of seventy. He was a great loss to the king and to France. Under his influence Louis had forborne to put away Eleanor, his wife, though she much desired a divorce; the queen had accompanied her husband to Palestine, but her gay manners and dissolute behaviour had excited his displeasure, and she, on her part, judged from the king's habits that 'he was only fit for a monk. Suger foresaw, that in case of their separation the goodly provinces that Eleanor had brought to the crown would be alienated from it; it was policy, therefore, to try to reconcile the royal pair. But after Suger's death Louis determined upon the divorce, and on the usual pretext of relationship, it was accomplished. The provinces of Guienne and Poitou, which the queen held in her own right, were in this way lost to France; for, only six weeks after her divorce, Eleanor married Henry Plantaganet, eldest son of the empress Matilda and grandson of Henry Beauclerc. This prince was the rightful heir of the English crown, but it had been seized by a usurper, on whose history we must enter, before we can see Henry and Eleanor on the throne.

CHAP. XXXII.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND CONTINUED.—USURPATION OF STEPHEN.—
GUILT OF PERJURY.—CIVIL WARS.—MISERIES OF ENGLAND.—
PERSONAL DANGERS OF STEPHEN AND HIS RIVALS.—ESCAPE OF
MATILDA AND HER SON.—PEACE CONCLUDED.—LEATH OF
STEPHEN.

HENRY BEAUCLERC had taken the greatest pains to secure the crown of England to his daughter; but his death, and her residence in a foreign land, were alike unfavourable to the fulfilment of his wishes. The first object of Geoffrey Plantagenet and his wife, the empress Maud, was to take possession of Normandy; and whilst they were attempting this, the English throne was seized by an usurper. The late king Henry I. had, as we well know, unceasingly persecuted one of his nephews, William, the son of duke Robert; but he had heaped favours on two others, Stephen and Henry, the sons of his sister Adela, whom he invited to England. At the death of Eustace, count of Boulogne, on whom the Conqueror had conferred immense property in England, and who had married Mary, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland, his daughter Matilda became heiress to his dignities and estates; and the king, by giving her in marriage to Stephen, made him earl of Boulogne, and placed him in near connection with the Saxon royal family. He also greatly increased his wealth; and Henry, who was made bishop of Winchester, became one of the most powerful prelates. Stephen always professed great attachment for his uncle; and, in his forwardness to take the oath of allegiance to the empress Maud, he quarrelled with the earl of Gloucester for the precedence. But as soon as the king had breathed his last, Stephen seemed alike to forget the bonds of his oath, and his own and his wife's near relationship to the acknowledged heiress; and he hurried to England to obtain the crown for himself. In London, at this time a wealthy and populous city, he had already gained the popular affections; and, though the gates of Canterbury and Dover were shut against him, he was saluted king by

the populace of the capital. In the meantime, by his direction, the bishop of Winchester sought to gain over the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Rochester. The primate, however, refused to crown Stephen, till that deceitful prince engaged the steward of the royal household to swear before him, that the late king in his dying hours had declared that the earl should succeed him instead of his daughter. Stephen had used so much haste, that he was anointed and crowned king at Westminster only twenty-one days after the death of his uncle, Dec. 22, 1135; and he immediately issued a charter full of fair promises, in which he declared himself by the grace of God elected king, with consent of the clergy and people, and consecrated by the legate of the holy see.

But, in order to gain the oath of allegiance, the usurper was obliged to make concessions which greatly straitened him: the barons claimed the privilege of fortifying their castles, or building fresh fortresses; the clergy only swore to obey him as long as he upheld their privileges; and the earl of Gloucester, the late king's natural son, after long holding back, only took the oath on condition of holding his honours and estates untouched, and with full resolution to take up his sister's cause as soon as opportunity offered. Feeling the insecurity of his position, Stephen expended the royal treasures in hiring foreign soldiers—the worst and fiercest spirits of Brittany and Flanders; and, in putting himself at their head, he became in fact a captain of banditti.

In the meantime, the Empress Maud and her husband had failed to establish their rule over the Normans. These turbulent nobles hated the house of Geoffry, and first applied to Theobald, count of Blois; but, hearing that his younger brother Stephen had obtained possession of England, they gave their allegiance to him, desiring, as of old, that Normandy should have the same governor as the island with which it was so closely connected. Stephen went into Normandy to receive their submission, and sent his son Eustace to do homage to Louis the Young for the duchy: at the same time he sought to make compensation to his brother, and to Geoffry, by giving them an annual pension out of his estates.

Stephen was thirty-one years of age at his accession ; and he possessed many qualities whereby he might have promoted the happiness of his subjects, had he succeeded to the throne by a just title ; but his rash ambition threw his country into the deepest distress, and brought him perpetual trouble, so that the nineteen years of his reign form a most miserable era in the history of England. Let us, in this case, trace the evil to its source—namely, broken oaths.

A true disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the rule of his master, ought to be trustworthy. His Yea should be yea ; his Nay, nay. And this being his character and his practice, he is not to swear. But nominal Christians, on this as on other points, had gone back to the old time in practice, and the most solemn oaths were taken ; and, at this time, usually by the four gospels. All, therefore, who put themselves under the law were bound to fulfil the law ; and the law ran thus :—"Thou shalt not forswear thyself" (Matt. v. 33). "If a man swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not break his word ; he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth" (Numbers, xxx. 2). The solemn obligation of an oath may be abundantly gathered from every part of the Bible, but especially in the use made of it by God himself (see Heb. vi. 17). There we learn that an oath is regarded as an immutable, that is an unchangeable thing ; and the apostle says, that to *men*, an oath for confirmation is the end of all strife.

Seeing perjury as the opening feature of Stephen's reign, we can expect nothing but strife among men, and sore visitations from the hand of God. We may gather some instruction from a few details. How little the king's word could be depended on, was proved when the archbishop of Canterbury died without a will ; for, though he had promised another course, he seized all his wealth, and kept the see vacant two years in order to enjoy the revenues.

He was immediately after engaged in besieging a powerful baron in Exeter ; and when he had taken the fortress, and banished him the kingdom, he was called to send troops against the Welsh. These bold and restless people were at first repulsed ; but returned and defeated the royal army with great slaughter near Cardigan. Stephen's soldiers

were so terror-stricken that even some of the Welsh women were able to take them prisoners.

The earl of Gloucester, in the meantime, took steps towards an insurrection in favour of Matilda, and went to the empress to inform her of his plans. From the continent, he wrote to Stephen as a perjured man and an usurper, blaming him for bringing upon him the guilt of perjury, whereby the monks told him that he had perilled his soul's salvation, and declaring war against him.

Some of the English lords owned themselves on Matilda's side; and David, king of Scotland, her uncle, who had but a little before invaded England and come to terms with Stephen, prepared for a second invasion in support of claims which others were now disposed to advocate. Stephen exclaimed, in his vexation, "Since they have chosen me king, why do they now forsake me?" and angrily swore that he would never be called an abdicated king. He seemed to forget that the wrong was on his side. Whilst the king set himself to seize the earl of Gloucester's castles and to defend the south, he directed the archbishop of York to make head against the king of Scotland. David himself is said to have been of a gentle spirit; but he was unable to restrain the wild barbarity of the uncivilised tribes who were on this occasion called together. The devastation and massacre which marked their course, prevented the northern barons from joining the Scottish army. They spared no one from the infant to the aged. At Northallerton they found the lords of those parts, and the troops sent by Stephen, encamped to receive them. The archbishop being ill, resigned the command to the bishop of Orkney; but to give sanction to their arms, they raised on a waggon a high crucifix—some say the consecrated host was also elevated—and absolved from their sins all who might be slain on their side. Hence the battle was called the Battle of the Standard. The barons were not behind the priests in giving encouragement in their style; they reminded their Norman followers that before their race France had trembled and England bowed; and that its valour and dignity had been proved in Apulia, at Antioch, and Jerusalem.

The troops were excited to such a degree, that the Scots found it impossible to stand before them; twelve thousand

were slain, and the king and his son narrowly escaped. Stephen, coming in person, pursued David into his own country; and, in order to avoid another battle, he agreed to terms of peace. He swore never again to meddle in the quarrel with the Empress Matilda: and Stephen, on his side, agreed to put Prince Henry of Scotland in possession of Northumberland. The king admired in others the qualities on which he prided himself; and this young prince, it is said, he loved as if he had been his own son. In a subsequent siege, when he was serving under his banners, the king saved him from destruction at the risk of his own life.

Stephen had triumphed over a foreign foe, and ended a fierce conflict in an amicable manner; but when, after the settlement of his affairs in Normandy and Scotland, he surveyed the state of England, he saw it bristling with castles, raised not only by nobles, but by the clergy; castles which he had allowed to be built with the thought that they might hold out against his cousin Matilda, but which he now perceived would prove dangerous to himself.

The owners of these castles outdid even the French barons, of whom we have spoken in a preceding reign. They seized those whom they supposed to have any goods, even among the poor, and put them to barbarous tortures. Thus say the chroniclers of the times:—"Some they hanged up by the feet and smoked with foul smoke; some by the thumbs or beard, and hung coats of mail to their feet. They put them into dungeons with adders and snakes and toads. Many thousands they wore out with hunger. This lasted the nineteen years while Stephen was king; and it grew continually worse and worse. They burned all the towns: thou mightest go a day's journey, and not find a man sitting in a town, nor an acre of land tilled. Wretched men starved of hunger: to till the ground was to plough the sea." Allowing for some poetical exaggeration, to which these chroniclers may be liable, this description sets forth the terrible results of anarchy and petty despotism. Happy is it to have a gracious sovereign and just laws.

In 1139, a grievous famine followed the neglect of agriculture; and we may be assured of the difficulties and dangers that attended the tillage of the soil, when we find that Stephen, by way of remedy, enacted a law which made

a plough a place of refuge, as sacred as churches and churchyards had been formerly deemed.

In that year the king violently took away the castles of two of the bishops, on account of the disorderly conduct of some of their retainers. He wished, it seems, to make an example of the clergy who held such fortresses; and as they resisted him, he threw one of them into prison, and took away the treasures that he found in their stronghold.

At this point, the bishop of Winchester, who had previously sacrificed his word before God, to exalt his brother, because in doing so he could also exalt himself, called a synod, in his capacity of papal legate, and complained of the measures whereby he foresaw that Stephen aimed to exalt himself at the expense of the clerical order; and from that time he favoured the long-forgotten claims of Matilda.

In the summer of 1139, the earl of Gloucester conducted his sister to England with only 140 men, and Adelais, the queen dowager, who had married the earl of Arundel, received the empress into her castle. She did not do this without informing the king it was out of affection to her late husband, and from friendship for Matilda, and not as making war with him; and at the same time she begged Stephen to give the empress safe conduct to one of the earl of Gloucester's castles, saying, however, that if he refused to do so, she should still protect her guest to the utmost of her power. Stephen, as a knight, felt himself bound to comply with her request; and the empress reaching Bristol, and then Gloucester, in safety, found her party daily increase, and received the allegiance of all the barons and clergy who were offended with the king. Stephen found that he had to depend chiefly on his foreign soldiers; and with these he vigorously prosecuted the war. Many battles took place, and at length, whilst the king was besieging some of Matilda's partisans in Lincoln, the earl of Gloucester came with an army, and a severe conflict took place under the walls. After his men were beaten and dispersed, Stephen fought desperately till his battle-axe broke, and then defended himself with his sword till that also failed him; but though one of his enemies threatened his life, he would surrender to no one but the earl of Gloucester, whom he considered as bold as himself.

The royal prisoner was, at first, treated with kindness, but when one day he exceeded the bounds allowed him for exercise, he was imprisoned at Bristol and put in irons. February, 1141. About a month after Stephen was taken captive, Matilda held a conference with his brother, in an open plain near Winchester, and promised on oath to make him entire master of ecclesiastical affairs, if he would renew his allegiance to her. An agreement being made, he conducted her to the cathedral, and in the presence of many bishops and abbots, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and pronounced an anathema on the rebellious. The legate afterwards assembled all the clergy, commented on his brother's conduct, and said that the fraternal affection which he felt for him, must be subordinate to the will of their heavenly Father; that God's judgment had fallen upon Stephen, and for himself he wished to atone for his past faults, by pronouncing Matilda queen of England. The whole council assented, and the king's adherents were excommunicated.

The archbishop of Canterbury had privately applied to Stephen for leave to swear allegiance to his rival, and his request was granted; but the king's known disregard to the binding nature of an oath, makes his yielding on this point of little value. He had by no means submitted to his own degradation. His friends, the Londoners, demanded his liberation, but were refused by the council; and when Matilda had made a magnificent entry into the capital, Stephen's own Maud, who was a most loving wife, came to supplicate for her husband's liberty. In the warmth of her feelings, she made promises for the captive king which neither he nor she would be likely to fulfil. She said that if he were set free, he would either live in privacy, leave the kingdom, or become a monk, if the queen so pleased; and offered hostages for the performances of such conditions.

Matilda's own married life was unhappy. It was thought she had once loved Stephen herself; and it seemed as if his wife's affection for him excited her jealousy. She replied, there could be no trust in words after so much perjury; and desired Stephen's queen never to come into her presence again. At the same time, the citizens of London petitioned for the restoration of their good King Edward's laws, but the

royal descendant of the Normans refused with such sternness, that though the earl of Gloucester sought to soften her words, the offence was deep enough to excite a revolt. The faithless bishop of Winchester, who had also been irritated by the rejection of a petition, joined in the movement, and she who had lately styled herself "Queen of the Romans, and Lady of the Britons," was obliged to flee and leave her palace to be pillaged by the mob. The earl of Gloucester defended his sister in Winchester castle; and she summoned the bishop to appear, but instead of obeying, he assembled an army to besiege her, and being angry with the people for favouring her cause, set fire to the town. Twenty churches and a nunnery were destroyed by the flames. The earl and his followers issued forth from the castle, taking every care to defend the person of Matilda; and her attached brother, who commanded the rear-guard, staying behind in a defile to allow her time to escape, was taken prisoner, and was sent to a castle in Kent. Matilda established her headquarters at Oxford; but the Londoners and the bishop's party defeated her army there, and she only avoided capture by putting herself in a hearse or coffin, in which she was conveyed to Gloucester. At the end of six months, finding that she could not do without the help of the earl, she offered to give up Stephen in exchange for him, and both the leaders were released from confinement. The misery of this civil war may be imagined better than it can be described. In almost every town and village, the two factions had daily conflicts. Families were on opposite sides; brother met brother in deadly warfare; fathers were stained with the blood of their sons; and Stephen's hired soldiers assaulted and destroyed the magnificent monasteries which were places of security from less violent hands.

The bishop of Winchester, in order to cover his third change of course, procured a letter from the pope, desiring him to settle Stephen on the throne; and in a council held at Westminster, he made no scruple of excommunicating all Matilda's partisans. The people were greatly perplexed by these changes; and some of the lords on Matilda's side, charged the bishop to his face with having called them into England to support her. During the whole war, Matilda's husband had remained abroad; but in this time of

distress, the earl of Gloucester went to seek help from Anjou. He obtained but little ; but he brought back with him, Henry, the eldest of the three young princes, a promising youth, hoping to inspire his mother's partisans with fresh spirit. For three years, his education was carried on in the castle of Bristol ; and he then went into Scotland to receive knighthood from his uncle David. The war continued with little mitigation till A. D. 1147.

Stephen, in person, besieged Matilda at Oxford in 1142 ; and when it seemed impossible for her to hold out any longer, she showed her undaunted spirit by the manner of her escape. The Thames was frozen, and the snow had fallen, and was still falling, when the queen and her attendants, dressed in white to avoid observation, hastened on foot, with the snow driving in their faces, six weary miles to Abingdon. There she got a horse and rode to Wallingford castle, where she again embraced the earl of Gloucester and her son. The earl was, at last, carried off by fever, the consequence of alternate excesses and privations ; and after his death, the queen sent her son into Normandy, and in a short time followed him herself. Henry held that duchy in the name of his mother, and Anjou fell to him by the death of his father. In A. D. 1150, he farther increased his continental power by marrying Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis the Young. The nuptials, as we have observed, were celebrated only six weeks after she had been put away by her former husband ; and this hasty alliance with one who bore an evil reputation, brought a curse and not a blessing. Henry was successful in arms ; he expelled his own brother Geoffry, who contended with him for Anjou, recovered Normandy out of the hands of Eustace, son of Stephen, and made peace with Louis of France : he then again renewed the war in England. Many of the more warlike nobles of England had gone to the crusade preached by Bernard. Those who remained were weary of the war ; and when the two enemies met near Wallingford, the earl of Arundel boldly said, it was unreasonable to prolong the calamities of the nation, because of the ambition of two princes. Stephen and Henry then agreed to converse with each other ; and in a short dialogue, held across a narrow part of the Thames which lay between

them, they agreed to a truce. Eustace, aged only seventeen, coarsely reproved his father for such an agreement; and as he had not been worn out and sickened by war, he established himself at the abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, and ravaged the country, including the lands of the abbot. Whilst he was sitting down to feast on the fruits of robbery, he was seized with a frenzy of which he speedily died. It is supposed to have been an inflammation of the brain, arising from indulgence in intemperance and frantic passions. At the death of his son, Stephen immediately resolved to conclude a peace; and in a council of the kingdom held at Winchester, in November 1158, it was agreed that Stephen should retain the crown for life; that he should adopt Henry as his son and successor; and that his own remaining son, William, should have a large fief in England, and the earldom of Boulogne. In about eleven months after, in October 1154, a short illness brought the life of Stephen to a close. In reviewing the many adventures of his dangerous career, we can only wonder that he died in his bed. It was kingly ambition, and not a thirst for blood, or the exercise of despotic power, that led Stephen on in a course attended with such desolation; for it is observed that during his reign, though such numbers fell by the sword in battle, he never ordered the judicial execution of a single person, poor or rich.

CHAP. XXXIII.

HENRY II.—HIS CHARACTER AND TALENTS.—POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE.—STORY OF THOMAS À BECKET.—HISTORY OF IRELAND.—AND THE SUCCESS OF HENRY'S EXPEDITION.—THE KING OF ENGLAND ACKNOWLEDGED LORD OF IRELAND.—HENRY'S DOMESTIC TROUBLES, AND THE REBELLION OF HIS SONS.—ACCESSION OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—PERSECUTION OF THE CATHARI IN ENGLAND.

HENRY PLANTAGENET had all the qualifications necessary to make him a great king; and he became the most distinguished sovereign of his times. His appearance and

manners were pleasing, his speech was eloquent, his mental gifts were improved by education, his habits were active, his dispositions kindly, and his character full of energy. His varied talents, exhibited both in prosperous and adverse circumstances, will be shown, as we contemplate him in the management of his continental dominions, and in his home government; in his seizure of Ireland, and in his contests with the primate, and with his own family; but we must premise, in viewing Henry as the most conspicuous person of his age and the greatest sovereign, that we have nothing to say of him as a Christian; and as he took a step morally wrong in marrying Eleanor, after she had been put away from her husband, King Louis of France, it is not surprising that his domestic life was greatly embittered. There can be no doubt that he married Eleanor, in order to obtain her rich possessions; for he had from his youth loved the daughter of the earl of Clifford, popularly called Fair Rosamond, and previous to his marriage had two sons by her; nor is it certain that his acquaintance with her ceased after he married, though she went into a nunnery, or was otherwise concealed from the queen. Henry was so certain of the throne that, on hearing of Stephen's death, he still remained in Normandy before a fortress which he was besieging, and only when he had taken it proceeded to England with his wife. They were crowned together with great splendour on their arrival. The king's first care was to put an end to the disorders occasioned by Stephen's usurpation; and this he did by taking possession of the royal castles, levelling others which were only dens of thieves, and sending all the mercenary soldiers out of the kingdom, cancelling whatever title or possession had been conferred upon them by the late king, when helping him to oppress the people. He then issued a charter confirming that of his grandfather, and passing over Stephen's acts as those of an usurper.

In two years tranquillity was restored to England, and Henry went to France to do homage for possessions far larger than those held by the king himself. Louis saw that Henry was his superior in talents as well as in power; and the rivalry which from that moment began, kept them at war with each other during the next twenty years, with

but short intervals. Less than a tenth of modern France was under the immediate authority of Louis; more than a fifth, including the whole Atlantic coast, so important for its position with respect to England, was under the power of Henry. The latter was quite ready to go through the empty ceremonies of doing homage, and willing also to perform such feudal service as was convenient to him; because he was well aware if this small link were incautiously broken between him and the sovereign whom he called his lord, his own vassals might break away from him in like manner. In this first visit, Henry arranged with his brother Geoffry, to accept a pension instead of the principality of Anjou; and at his death, shortly after, the king went over again to claim Nantz, a valuable district of Bretagne, whose inhabitants had recently chosen Geoffry as their lord. In order to engage Louis on his side, Henry paid him another flattering visit; and it was agreed that his eldest son Henry, then five years old, should be betrothed to Margaret, daughter of the king of France, then in her cradle. Conan, duke of Bretagne, was obliged to yield his claims; and as he agreed to betroth his only child, yet an infant, to Geoffry, the king's third son, who was of the same age, Henry, on the occasion of his death seven years after, claimed that whole province, as the guardian of the young pair. But though so successful in his political arrangements abroad, Henry and his army, in the interval between these two visits to France, were nearly cut to pieces among the mountains in Wales, the standard-bearer having in sudden fright thrown down his ensign, saying the king was slain. Henry's daring exposure of his person saved the English from entire ruin. The nobleman who had so failed, was challenged to single combat by another, and being overcome, was confined to a convent for his want of courage; and Wales, in the end, was so far subdued, that the king was enabled to make wide roads throughout the country, which gave him better means of command over it, and to take the castles into his own hands. The cession of the lands held by the king of Scotland in the north of England, further increased Henry's power. Throughout this king's reign we have a striking illustration of the unsatisfying nature of worldly acquisitions. One great portion

after another fell into his hands ; but instead of preventing his thirsting after more, every addition made him crave something beyond. In 1159, he put in his claim to Toulouse, as his wife's mother was the only child of the count ; but he had preferred leaving his dominions to his brother, and thus left a subject of dispute between the male and female heirs. Louis himself, when Eleanor was his wife, had on this very ground made pretensions to Toulouse ; but now, when his too powerful vassal claimed it, he took the part of the reigning count, and after Henry had taken some of the inferior towns, threw himself into the capital to defend it. Henry retired from the siege of a place which contained his superior lord, according to feudal courtesy ; but he left the command of the troops raised to gain Toulouse to Thomas-à-Becket, archdeacon of Canterbury, his chancellor, who had carried over, at his own charge, 700 knights. This remarkable man was the son of a citizen of London and a Syrian woman ; and his talents, wealth, and learning, already rendered him more distinguished than any other subject. Neither war, hunting, hawking, gaming, nor horsemanship, was thought incompatible with holding only deacon's orders ; and Becket was at this time the gayest and the most chivalrous of Henry's warriors, and the first civil officer of his kingdom. Prince Henry was entrusted to his care ; and the year previous to this campaign in Toulouse, he had brought the infant princess, his betrothed, into England to be educated.

The nuptial ceremony took place only three years after, as the king was in haste to possess himself of a fortress which was a part of the youthful bride's dowry ; but Louis took such offence on this account, that he would have made war with Henry but for the mediation of Pope Alexander III., who was then residing in France. The two kings went to visit the pope at his castle on the Loire, in 1161, and when he came out on horseback to meet them, they dismounted, and each of them taking one of the reins of his bridle, walked on either side of him to the castle gate. The following year it was proposed that Thomas-à-Becket should be made archbishop of Canterbury ; and Henry gladly acceded to his exaltation, as he believed it would be greatly for his help to have an intimate friend in that high office.

Becket had shared in his wars, his intimate counsels, his familiar sports; and the freedom that subsisted between them may be gathered from the following anecdote. As they were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar shivering with cold, and the king asked his chancellor if it would not be well to give him a warm garment. Becket replied, "Surely, sir; and you do well to think of such good actions." "Then he shall have one presently," returned the king, and seizing the chancellor's cloak, which was scarlet lined with ermine, he began to pull it violently. After a struggle, in which both of them were nearly tumbled off their horses, Becket let go his mantle, and the king gave it to the astonished beggar. It would have been well indeed had their subsequent contests been as harmless and as amicable. Becket, as chancellor, vied with the king in magnificence; his retinue, his furniture, and his table, went far beyond anything before displayed by any subject; and his biographer, in order to give a fair idea of his luxuries, and the throng that attended him, says, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw and hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs, lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, who were so numerous that they could not find room at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on a dirty floor. The king himself frequently came to his sumptuous entertainments.

Becket's manners and pursuits were so entirely worldly, that it appears to have struck his own mind, when the king told him he was to be primate, that the office was given him because Henry wished to make him his instrument in subjecting the ecclesiastical to the secular power; and it is related that he replied, "Do not appoint me, sir, I entreat you. You place me in the only office in which I may be obliged to be no longer your friend." Henry, however, was not alarmed by this hint, and the appointment was confirmed. Becket was a man of as decided a character as Henry. As long as they had one end in view, they went on peaceably; but when once found in pursuit of different objects, each pursued his own with equal vehemence, and with equal disregard to the feelings of the other. As Becket could no longer obtain distinction in the path of secular ambition, he was resolved to obtain it in his ecclesi-

astical profession; and yet all his subsequent efforts to aggrandise himself in his official character, leave on our mind the impression that he fanatically thought he was doing God service. We know that in those days a great outward show of sanctity and humiliation was the high-road to popular regard; and Becket at once chose it. He gave up his chancellorship and all his secular business; and though he retained a pompous retinue, he entirely altered his personal habits. He wore sackcloth instead of linen, and changed it so seldom that it was filled with vermin. He exchanged his sumptuous fare for bread and water made distasteful by bitter herbs. He frequently scourged himself, and daily on his knees he washed the feet of thirteen beggars and sent them away with alms. He was bountiful to convents and hospitals. Every one reputed holy was admitted to his society, and spread abroad the report of his pious and humble conversation, his devotion, religious reading, and constant appearance of spirituality. He was not long in gaining the admiration of one part of mankind, and in attracting the suspicions of the other. All saw that his would be no common course.

We have considered the struggles between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in the other parts of Europe; we have now to see it in our own.

Subjects of contention followed fast upon each other; and, passing by minor matters, we refer to that on which Henry had common sense and justice on his side. It was pretended in this miserable age that the clergy were exempt from trial before common courts of justice, and subject to spiritual penalties alone for their offences: hence crimes of the most horrid kind were daily committed with impunity; and no less than a hundred murders had been traced to ecclesiastics since Henry's accession, for which they had never been called to account. In 1163, the evil came to a crisis. A clergyman in Worcestershire had ruined a gentleman's daughter, and then proceeded to murder the father; and the people were so indignant, that the king required the criminal to be delivered up to the magistrates. Becket, however, kept him in the bishop's prison, and maintained that he should only be degraded. The king demanded that after degradation from the ecclesiastical office he should be tried by the civil power. The primate insisted that it was

iniquitous to try a man twice for the same offence. Henry argued, that he was appointed of God to administer justice without distinction; and that those who were called God's servants ought to act the best, or, in case of evil, to be the most severely punished. Becket pleaded the rights and privileges of the Church; and asserted that an ecclesiastic ought not to be put to death for any crime. The king now began an open war with the archbishop; and, during the remaining seven years of Becket's life, the contest between them was carried on with little intermission. With great resolution Henry required of the clergy to obey the laws of the land; and to give them no room to escape, sixteen articles were drawn up, commonly called the Constitutions of Clarendon, from the place where the council met. All the bishops, including Becket himself, were compelled to promise to observe them, "legally, with good faith, without fraud or reserve." The most important of these articles was, that the clergy should be tried for crime in civil courts; that causes might be carried from the primate to the king, but no farther (that is, not to the pope) without his consent; that no tenant of the crown should be excommunicated without the king's leave; and that no person, especially no dignified clergyman, should leave the kingdom without the royal permission.

But when the Constitutions of Clarendon were sent into France to receive ratification from the pope, who still resided there, Alexander absolutely refused to sanction them; and Becket, having so fair a plea for drawing back, professed the utmost sorrow that he had through fear betrayed the interests of the Church; and, by way of penance, he refused to exercise his office, till he had received absolution from the pope for this offence. From that time, Henry began a series of personal attacks upon Becket; called him to account about money-matters that had passed between them years before; and would not accept the large sum which the primate offered as satisfaction for all demands. The king's object was to show his power over Becket by bringing him to plead in a civil court; and to this the archbishop would not condescend. Twice he tried secretly to escape the country, but was detained by contrary winds; and once he excused himself from appearing on account of sickness. At

last he determined to go before the king, not as a criminal, but as a judge. After celebrating a mass, in which he caused to be sung, "Princes sat and spake against me," he proceeded, bearing a cross, into the king's palace. The king, from an inner chamber perceiving his lordly bearing, sent some prelates to remonstrate with him. Becket vindicated himself, complained of the king's injustice, forbade them to sanction any sentence against him, and finally said that he had appealed to the pope, and put himself and his see under papal protection; and that, whereas Henry's sword could only kill the body, that of the Church, which he had power to wield, could kill the soul.

After wandering about in disguise for some time, Becket took shipping and escaped to France. Louis, glad of an occasion for annoying Henry, gave him the means of living with magnificence in a convent near Soissons for some years, and even honoured him with a visit. The king of England proceeded to the most severe measures; and when a grand embassy which he sent to the pope was coldly received, and Becket, on the contrary, especially honoured, he broke off for the time all communication with Rome, and threatened with the utmost severity every person who should appeal to the pope or archbishop, or receive their commands. He also made advances towards the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who was at war with the pope. But all would not countervail the powerful influence exercised by Becket. He took it for granted that his cause was the cause of God. He compared himself to Christ, as condemned by a worldly tribunal; and asserted that the Lord was crucified afresh through Henry's acts of oppression; in a crowded church at Vezelai he cursed with bell, book, and candle, all the king's ministers who attended to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and only spared the king, as he said, to give him time for repentance.

In the height of this controversy, Henry was involved in a war with Louis about his continental dominions, which ended to his disadvantage; and it is easy to perceive how difficult it was for the same sovereign to rule such distant provinces, containing various nations, speaking different languages, especially in those unsettled times. In 1169, peace being made between the two kings, various

negotiations were carried on between Henry and Becket, in which the pope's emissaries were employed; for both Alexander and Louis were in circumstances to render the opposition of so powerful a monarch as Henry formidable. Four conferences terminated unsuccessfully, through the pride shown on one side or the other; and the last of them was broken off simply through the king's refusing to give the kiss of peace, which princes usually granted as a pledge of forgiveness. He had made a vow that he never would bestow a kiss upon Becket. Once, in the presence of the French king, Henry said, there had been many archbishops of Canterbury, good and holy men, and many kings of England, some greater some less than himself; and that if Becket would act with the same submission as his predecessors had done, he should be content. Louis urged upon the primate the reasonableness of the demand. Several letters passed between Henry and Becket and the pope; and as a proof of the manner in which Becket used the scriptures in his own behalf, it may be sufficient to observe, that he told the king, "All they that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution:" he did not allow that the shelter given to ungodliness was the first grand complaint against him. Henry once shrewdly observed to the king of France — "Whatever displeaseth that man is taken by him to be contrary to God's honour:" and even Louis said to Becket, blaming his arrogance, "Wilt thou be greater than the saints, and better than St. Peter?"

At length a treaty was made, the king agreeing to require no express submission to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and saying to Becket, "I heartily forgive you all that has passed." Becket arrived at Canterbury in December, 1170; and it immediately appeared that he was unaltered by his exile, and that no peace was to be expected. He refused to take off the censure he had passed on the king's ministers, and proceeded to excommunicate others, either for acts done before the reconciliation, or for trifling offences after. Cutting off a horse's tail that was carrying provisions to his palace is mentioned as one instance of offence; and yet this was the man who would not suffer the gravest offences of ecclesiastics to be punished by the temporal power. Provoked by Becket's acts, Henry cried out, in the hearing

of his lords and gentlemen, "How unhappy I am that I cannot rest in my own realm, by reason of only one priest! there is no one to deliver me out of my troubles." Four knights of high rank listened to his complaint as if it had been a command, and with all speed went to Becket at Canterbury, and desired him to withdraw the censures, and to submit to their sovereign, the king. His secretary counselled him to seek peace, but he answered them roughly; and though their appearance seemed to breathe slaughter as well as threatening, the monks could not prevail on him to escape, or even to absent himself from the approaching vespers. The knights with a band of soldiers followed him to the altar. Tracy, the foremost, cried out, "Where is the traitor, where is the archbishop?" Becket gravely replied, "Here am I: no traitor, but the archbishop." After some parleying, another threatened his life: he answered boldly, "I am ready to die for my God in defence of the liberties of the church;" but the next moment, he took hold of Tracy and nearly flung him to the ground. He then bowed his head, as if praying. He charged them to hurt no other person, and was heard to say, "To God and St. Mary I commend my soul and the cause of the church." He was overpowered by the murderers, who did not cease their strokes till his brains were scattered over the pavement, December 28. Having done their horrid work, the four knights took refuge in the castle of Knaresborough, and from thence, by way of penance, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem: they were buried before the gate of the church of the Sepulchre.

It was evident that Henry had not been an accomplice in the murder of Becket; for as soon as he found the knights were gone in such haste, he sent a message after them, and he was himself instituting legal proceedings against the primate at the time of his death. But as his words had led to the deed, and as he was greatly endangered by the horror it excited, and by the offence given to the pope, who might in revenge throw an interdict over the kingdom and deprive him of the fealty of all his subjects, he took the utmost pains to prove both his innocence, and his sorrow for the effects of his impatient expressions. In September, 1172, he took oath before the

papal legates at Avranches, on the Holy Gospels and sacred relics, in presence of the clergy and people, that he neither commanded nor desired the murder; and at the same time he made such concessions to the pope as to procure his absolution and friendship. In the following year, Becket was canonised; and the king, according to a secret article in his treaty with the pope, made a pilgrimage to his tomb. From the city to the monastery he walked bare-foot, and spent the night in prayer on the pavement of the Cathedral; and in the morning, the monks being assembled, he disrobed himself, and received from the hands of each from three to five stripes on his bare shoulders: the celebration of mass terminated the ceremony.

We have carried on the history of the contest between the king and the archbishop, without reference to some other important events. We must now particularly mention the manner in which Henry became lord paramount of Ireland. We have alluded but little to our sister island, because there has been nothing in its history of sufficient interest to detain our attention. The perpetual feuds among their petty kings, unabated notwithstanding the constant attacks of the Northmen, present such an uninstrusive succession of horrors that we instinctively turn aside. The mixture of romance with the genuine history is an additional difficulty. In the memorable year, 1001, Brian, a usurper, obtained the supreme throne of Tara, and reigned far better, it appears, than the legitimate kings, giving to Ireland a rare interval of peace. The blank annals of this period have been filled up by imaginations of a state of high civilization and morality; and a romantic story is told of a beautiful maiden, adorned with gold and jewels, travelling alone over the whole island, without injury and without loss. It is certain that Brian's influence must have produced some uncommon effects, as such a fable is not attached to any other portion of the history of Ireland. He fell, it is supposed, at an advanced age, by the hand of a Dane, just after his army had obtained a most destructive victory over the invaders. His end was the more remarkable, as in fifty great battles he had been victorious over the Northmen. The piety of Brian is extolled; but we have no admiration of a piety, the most striking features of which were his

golden gifts to the clergy, and his exhibition of a bloody crucifix in one hand, whilst with the other he waved a sword, urging on his men to combat. He said, that the blessed Trinity had endowed them with power to extirpate the sacrilegious Danes; and, as it was Friday, he exclaimed, "Was not this the day that Christ suffered death for you?" Brian, like Alfred, was enrolled among the saints of the Roman Church. The course of Irish history rolled on. In the midst of its kings, we have a flattering picture given us of Harlow, through a letter addressed to him by Lanfranc, who, on the report of an Irish bishop, writes, "Though it is never been my good fortune to see you, I yet love you as though I had:" and the points of admiration were "his modest humility towards the good, his severe justice to the wicked, and the equity of his dealings with all." It was to him that Gregory VII. wrote as "the illustrious king of Ireland," when he claimed dominion over his kingdom. Among the Irish "saints" we must notice Malachy, who was so much revered by Innocent II., that when he applied for the episcopal pall, that pope took off his mitre, and placed it on his head. Bernard corresponded with him and greatly admired him, and has given a touching description of his happy death, which took place during a visit to Clairvaux. He is said to have been "the greatest, the holiest, and the most distinguished bishop of his times."

Roderic, the last of the Irish monarchs, was of a ferocious spirit, and Dermot, the sub-king of Leinster, exceeded him in wickedness. The latter rendered himself so odious that he was obliged to fly the country; and he arrived in England, in 1168, seeking protection and the means of re-establishment. Henry was at that moment in Normandy; and his struggle with Becket would otherwise have engrossed his attention; but in the first year of his reign he had conceived the idea of possessing himself of Ireland, and actually despatched an envoy to the English pope, Adrian IV., to ask his leave. In reply, he received a bull authorising him to subdue the island, and a gold ring set with an emerald as a token of investiture. No opportunity, however, had occurred for the carrying out of the king's design; and now, after a lapse of thirteen years, a way seemed opened, of which he could not take immediate

advantage; he, however, sent letters to Dermot, who had offered him his allegiance, empowering him to use them in England to obtain aid for his restoration. Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, being offered Dermot's daughter in marriage with the succession to the throne of Leinster, engaged in the enterprise, and some other adventurers assisted.

The savage nature of the traitorous king who introduced the invaders into his native country may be imagined, by his leaping with delight, and shouting thanks to God, when three hundred heads whose features were familiar to him were laid at his feet after one successful battle; and it is added, that perceiving among them the face of a man whom he had mortally hated, he took up the head by the ears, and bit off the nose and lips! Roderic tried treaty as well as force with the "Foreigner's Friend," as the treacherous Dermot was called; but it is not surprising that the oath of such a man was found to be unworthy of trust. The English too much resembled their friend; for some of Strongbow's men, with the idea of striking terror into the Irish, would not accept a ransom for seventy of the chief men of Waterford, whom they had taken prisoners; but, carrying them to the rocky coast, they broke their limbs and threw them headlong into the sea.

Shortly after Strongbow's marriage with Eva, Dermot's daughter, they took Dublin; and only the interference of the archbishop, who has the title of Saint prefixed to his name of Lawrence, alleviated the horrors of the scene. Roderic, incapable of resisting, wreaked his vengeance on Dermot, by beheading his son, and destroying other hostages that were left in his hands; but by these acts, he only rendered himself more hateful. In this melancholy year, a synod was convened at Armagh, to consider the perilous state of the country; and it resulted in a declaration that these calamities came upon the Irish on account of their sins, and especially for their having made bond-slaves of the English. It was therefore decreed that all the English who were in slavery in the island should be set free.

Henry had wished to reserve to himself the conquest of Ireland, and evinced great displeasure at the independent course pursued by Strongbow. The earl sent him a sub-

missive letter whilst he was in Normandy, saying, that whatever he obtained should be placed at his master's absolute disposal; but the king did not condescend to answer; and his position after Becket's murder, obliged him to delay personal interference. In the meantime, Dermot died in the most frightful torments of mind and body; and Strongbow, against the laws of the land, succeeded to the throne of Leinster. He was, however, in the midst of enemies, and unsupported by men or provisions from England, because of the king's displeasure; and the famous St. Lawrence hastened to unite his countrymen in order to crush the stranger. He drew the rival chieftains together, and appeared in arms among them with a large army before Dublin. After enduring a siege of two months, Strongbow and his garrison made a sally in the fury of despair, and dispersed the astonished besiegers. His object was to deliver Fitz-Stephen, a companion in arms, who had been the first of the invaders, and who was shut up with his wife and family in a fort without means of escape. He could not, however, reach Fitz-Stephen before he was induced to surrender by fraud. Two bishops came under the walls in their episcopal robes, and solemnly swore on some relics which they had brought for the purpose, that the Irish had taken Dublin, and that the earl with the whole garrison had perished. They promised moreover, as Fitz-Stephen's friends, they would see him and his party safely conveyed to Wales. Thus did the Irish oppose treachery to the treachery with which they had been treated; and when the victorious Strongbow came up, the captors of Fitz-Stephen threatened at once to cut off his head unless the earl turned away. At this time the earl was advised by his friends to go in person to seek reconciliation with his royal master; and, accordingly, he embarked for England, and waited on Henry at Newnham. The king at first refused to see him; but on the promise of unconditional submission to his will, he made peace with him, and consented that he and his heirs should retain his possessions in Ireland, on condition of doing homage to the English crown.

Henry had made large preparations for an expedition to Ireland; and after repeating his prayers in the church of St. David's, he embarked from Milford Haven with 400

ships, containing 500 knights and 4000 soldiers. They landed near Waterford, 18th October, A.D. 1171.

Fierce civil war continued to rage in Ireland during these movements. No combined effort was made to resist Henry's descent. A deputation from Wexford brought him Fitz-Stephen in chains, at his landing; some of the petty kings gave him their allegiance, and in Dublin he was received with rejoicing. Roderic made a show of opposition, but soon consented to do homage and pay tribute; and on Christmas-day, Henry plenteously feasted his attendants, and the Irish princes and nobles, in a pavilion constructed of twigs, raised for the purpose outside the walls of his new metropolis. Early in 1172, a synod was held for the express purpose of reforming the Irish Church—the avowed purpose for which Adrian had granted a bull for the conquest of the island. The alterations in its customs were so trifling as to make the vanity of the pretext self-evident. The king had only been six weeks in Ireland, when couriers reached him from the continent, informing him of the danger of his kingdom being laid under an interdict, unless he appeared before certain cardinals sent into Normandy to make inquiry concerning Becket's death. His sudden departure was a misfortune to Ireland; for it had never enjoyed such profound peace as during his stay; and his presence, and the laws issuing from his powerful and prudent mind, might have improved its state. Great troubles followed; but in 1175, a peaceful treaty was concluded, whereby Roderic was permitted to reign, on condition of paying tribute to Henry as supreme, and exacting the same for him from the lesser kings. Certain annual services were also required from him, and presents of Irish dogs and hawks for the king's sport.

In that year St. Lawrence was with the king at Canterbury; and, having been requested to perform mass, was about to do so, when an insane person who had heard of his fame for holiness, rushed upon him with a large club, thinking thus to give him a martyr's reward. The archbishop recovered from the blow, and finding the king had condemned the madman to death, he begged for his pardon and with some difficulty obtained it. In the following year, Strongbow died of cancer in his leg. His sister, fearful that

the intelligence should spread, before another English commander could take his place, concealed his death ; and sent a messenger to Raymond, the first among his warriors, with a letter in which she said that her great tooth which had so long ached was at last fallen out, and she entreated him to come to Dublin with all speed. On the arrival of Raymond, Strongbow's remains were interred with great pomp, St. Lawrence presiding at the ceremony. The conquering earl's reputation for bravery and cruelty was great; and it was even reported of him that he killed his own son for being so alarmed by the war-cry of the Irish, as to give a false report that his father and his army had been destroyed.

King Henry, though he had risen to so high a pitch of grandeur and power, and had passed safely through the dangers that threatened him after Becket's death, was yet to suffer sore troubles. Though lord of so many kingdoms, he was not lord over his own house. His unnatural sons, stirred up by their jealous mother, could not wait till his death for the enjoyment of his dominions. Henry, the eldest, was crowned by his father's desire, in 1170, and at the feast which followed, in order to do him honour, the king carried up the first dish himself, saying, "Never was monarch so honourably served." The youth, however, turning to the archbishop of York, insolently remarked, "It is no great thing for the son of an earl to serve the son of a king." Two years after, he was placed at the head of a confederacy against his father. He was then only eighteen; Richard, sixteen; Geoffry, fifteen; John, the youngest and favourite son, only five years old. To serve his own purposes, Henry had invested his three elder sons with provinces in their boyhood; and now their ambition shook his own throne. Geoffry had been proclaimed duke of Bretagne, when only eleven; and Richard was made duke of Aquitaine at the age of twelve. The king of France favoured the rebellion of the young Henry, his son-in-law, to advance his own interests. William, called the Lion, king of Scotland, was tempted to join in the confederacy, by the promise of Northumberland; and many earls and barons, by different bribes. Henry was powerful enough to triumph over all. He imprisoned the queen, defeated the French in person in

Normandy, and subdued Bretagne and other rebellious provinces. His generals took William of Scotland prisoner, and sent him into Normandy; and in the autumn of 1174, peace was made at Falaise, and the princes were restored to favour and enriched with fresh gifts. The following year, Henry wished the pope to allow him to make his youngest son king of Ireland; and he accordingly sent him a crown of gold, and peacock's feathers, for his coronation, on condition that he would reserve for the papal see one penny for each house. John was sent over to Ireland, but he was not crowned; and as he gave great dissatisfaction, he was recalled, 1178. A horrible war between Henry's sons followed their war with their father, partly occasioned by the king's desire that Richard and Geoffry should swear fealty to their elder brother. Geoffry indeed submitted; but the fiery Richard never would bow. The young king, Henry, died abroad in 1183. His disease was a slow fever; and during the progress of it he was filled with remorse for his conduct to his father, and earnestly desired to see him. The king did not go to him, but sent a ring in token of forgiveness. The young man wept and kissed the emblem of his father's love. As he drew near his end, he ordered himself to be lifted on to a bed strewed with ashes; and he died clothed in sackcloth with a rope about his neck.

The Christ-dishonouring thought, that peace with God might be purchased by such acts as these, probably rather hardened men in a career of wickedness.

Richard and Geoffry did not entirely cease from hostilities against their father and each other; and when death closed the career of the latter in 1186, the kings of England and France were involved in quarrels respecting the guardianship of his infant daughter, and the province of Bretagne. But Constance, widow of Geoffry, gave birth to a posthumous child who was named Arthur; and the states chose her as regent under Henry's protection. It is proper to observe that the king of France at this period was Philip Augustus, son of Louis VII. He had been crowned in 1179, the year before his father's death. It happened that during the preparations for his coronation he was lost in a forest whither he had gone to hunt; and a night's exposure to the cold occasioned him so severe an illness, that his father made a

journey to Becket's tomb to pray for his recovery. The king of England knelt by his side imploring the saint's intercession. The king's speedy expedition—for he was only absent five days—occasioned a paralytic attack from which he never recovered. On his death-bed, he distributed his money, clothes, and jewels, to the poor. Philip was only sixteen when his father died; but he soon displayed the most remarkable talents for war and politics, and dared to compete with the experienced monarch of England. Many conferences were held between the two kings under an elm tree near Gisors, which grew so exactly on the confines of their respective territories, that under its branches Henry could stand in Normandy, and Philip in France. At last the young king cut down the tree in a passion, saying that as Henry would not bend to his wishes, they should never meet again under its shade. Henry and Geoffry had been cut off before their father; but Richard, the king's second son, had not learned obedience. In too great haste to make the possessions to which he was heir his own, he entered into close friendship with the king of France, whilst he displayed open enmity to his father. Philip, purposely to annoy Henry, made a great parade of his attachment to his rebellious son. They lived in the same tent, slept in the same bed, drank out of the same cup, and together met the king of England in the field of battle.

Henry was this once defeated, and was obliged to consent that his subjects should swear allegiance to Prince Richard, and to pay the expenses that the king of France had incurred in the war. The overwhelming stroke was the intelligence that his favourite son, John, was in friendly correspondence with his enemies. He cursed the day of his birth, and cursed his sons, and would not be persuaded to call back his words. Overcome by grief, he died at the castle of Chinon, in the 57th year of his age, and the 37th of his reign, A. D. 1189. Henry had once proposed going on a crusade; and for that purpose levied £70,000 from his subjects in general, and only £10,000 less from his Jewish subjects; a circumstance which proves that the Jews were wealthy and numerous in his days. In this reign, they were allowed a burying-ground in every place where they resided; but previously in London only. Henry, in his general

conduct, showed a humane disposition, and evinced especial kindness to widows, orphans, and shipwrecked persons. During a famine in Maine and Anjou, he fed 10,000 persons from April till harvest-time.

One great public work that occupied thirty-three years of Henry's reign, was the building of the first stone bridge over the Thames. To accomplish it, the waters were turned out of their channel at Battersea and introduced again at Rotherhithe.

An affecting episode belongs to the reign of Henry II. —the first persecution to death on the ground of heresy in this kingdom. About thirty persons, more than half of them women, probably Cathari, sought refuge in England from the enemies who pursued them in Germany, and lived a quiet and irreproachable life for four or five years, making but one convert to their views—a female. Except Gerard, their teacher, they were all uneducated persons of the lower class. Henry had joined the king of France in persecuting the so-called heretics of Toulouse, and when he returned from the Continent, summoned a council of bishops to meet at Oxford, to examine these strangers. When questioned what they were, they said that they were Christians, and venerated the doctrine of the apostles. On being further urged, they said, they believed as they were taught, but could not argue about their faith. Their accusations and their examination alike proceed from their enemies; therefore it is difficult to discern truth from falsehood; but even the few and confused particulars we possess, lead to the bright hope that Gerard and his humble companions will be found among those who, for Christ's sake, "loved not their lives unto the death." One describes them as always talking of Christ "in us," seeking his lost sheep, and leading them back into the way of heavenly life. No fault was found with their creed; but, though sound in word, it was said to be heretical in idea. The great objection to them, probably, was their opposition to the ceremonies and superstitions of the Romish church, and their disallowance of the pope's authority. "We have a high priest," said Gerard, "not the Roman, but another;" and it is not unlikely that the rejection of priestly intervention in the observance of the Lord's ordinances led

to the accusation of their disusing and denying them altogether. These persons were accused of calling baptism a filthy bath; and marriage the devil's work. The bishops, on judging them guilty, delivered them up to the temporal power, for punishment; but, happily, no laws against heretics had yet been made in England, and a difficulty arose how to deal with them. At a council held at Tours, all Catholic princes were required to imprison heretics, and to confiscate their estates; and all people were forbidden to buy or sell with them, or to relieve them, or to receive them into their houses, in order, as it was said, that, being deprived of all human comforts, they might be compelled to forsake their errors. But even these decrees were not severe enough in the eyes of Henry. He had them branded in the face, severely whipped through the streets of Oxford, and then, their clothes being cut short by the girdles, they were turned out into the fields in the depth of winter. Gerard cheerfully preceded the little band, singing, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." They suffered without complaining, patient, serene, composed. The new convert alone recanted to save her life: the rest perished of hunger and cold, as none afforded them either food or shelter. This occurred about A. D. 1166.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Times of Louis the Young and Henry II., continued.

CHARACTER OF POPE EUGENIUS III.—ADRIAN IV. THE ONLY ENGLISHMAN EVER POPE.—STATE OF DENMARK AND SWEDEN.—CORONATION OF FREDERIC I. BARBAROSSA.—DESTRUCTION OF ARNOLD.—THE POPE WITHDRAWS HIS ASSUMPTIONS OVER THE EMPEROR.—STATE OF ITALY AND THE POPES, AND FREDERIC'S WAR WITH ALEXANDER III.—ANCESTOR OF THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.—CLOSE OF THE HISTORY OF MANUEL COMNENUS.

DURING the second crusade, its promoter, Pope Eugenius III., was unable to contend with the turbulent Romans; but

he took a spirited part in ecclesiastical affairs, and, in 1148, held councils both at Rheims and Treves. He did not forget his former instructor; and at his request, Bernard addressed to him several books filled with admonitions, which he deemed suitable to his circumstances. The advice was of a practical character. The abbot set before him the curse of hardness of heart, and truly said, that no man was ever saved from it, but by divine compassion. He reminded him, that the popes were usually too much taken up with hearing and deciding causes, to have time for prayer, teaching, and meditating on the scriptures; and advised him not to throw his own soul out of the list of the objects of his charity. The pope, who received and valued such counsel, is said to have been irreproachable in his manners; and he appears to have had a zeal for God according to his knowledge. Probably, his misfortunes were a blessing to him. He never regained his authority at Rome; but died at Tivoli in 1153. He was enrolled among the Romish saints; and many miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb. The same distinctions were attached to the name and grave of Bernard. The next pope was Anastasius IV. He is described as a humane and liberal-minded man; but he died at the end of a year (A. D. 1154). His successor was Adrian IV., the only Englishman who ever filled the papal chair. His original name was Nicholas Brekespere, and his first office was that of a menial in the monastery of St. Alban's. He was refused the habit of the house, and went to France, where he became a monk, and afterwards the abbot of a monastery in Provence. The monks complained of his harsh discipline to Eugenius; but that pope made him a cardinal bishop in 1146, and, two years after, sent him as his legate to the courts of Denmark and Norway.

Of all the northern princes, none was so celebrated in this century as Waldemar I., king of Denmark. His fame arose out of his many victories over the Sclavonians, Venedi, and other pagan nations, and his zeal for the propagation of Christianity amongst them. He pulled down their temples and idols, burned their groves, and substituted for their savage rites his own forms of worship. Devout and learned ecclesiastics always followed in the rear of his army. In like manner, Eric IX., king of Sweden, when he had

subdued Finland and the Isle of Rugen, forced the fierce inhabitants to receive the religion of their conquerors ; and Henry, archbishop of Upsal, accompanied him in his bloody campaign. The zeal of this prelate led him into great severities towards his new converts. He was at last assassinated for imposing a heavy penance on a person in authority who had been guilty of manslaughter. Adrian IV., who had aided in the work of spreading the Christian profession in the North, heard of this event after he came to the popedom, and solemnly conferred upon the archbishop the honours of a saint and martyr.

After his elevation, Adrian IV. was visited by three bishops, sent by the king of England to congratulate him ; and the abbot of St. Alban's accompanied them. The pope, on this occasion, issued his bull, empowering Henry to conquer Ireland ; and forgetting his former ill-treatment, conferred on that monastery considerable privileges.

Adrian was a person of vigorous mind, and resolutely bent upon raising the papal power to the greatest possible height. One of his cardinals being wounded in the street in a popular tumult, he cast an interdict over the city, which deprived it of all religious rites from Christmas to Easter ; nor would he grant the Romans absolution till they submitted to the banishment of their leader, Arnold of Brescia.

In 1155, Adrian excommunicated William, king of Sicily, for ravaging the estates of the Church ; and shortly after, an opportunity occurred for another display of his power over kings, as Frederic Barbarossa signified his intention of going to Rome to be crowned.

It was usual on such occasions for a long procession of clergy to go out to meet the German king ; and a number of the people followed, bearing palms and crosses ; and though the Roman legions were no more, military banners, decorated with wolves and lions, dragons and eagles, floated among them. The sovereign's oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was to be repeated three times—at the bridge—at the gate—and on the stairs of the Vatican—and some donations were distributed to the people. The ceremony of coronation took place in the church of St. Peter, without the walls ; and when it was over, the popular acclamations were, " Long life and victory to our lord the pope, to our

lord the emperor, to the Roman and Teutonic armies!" The title and image of the emperors were engraven on the papal coins; and it was their office to deliver to the prefect of the city the sword of justice, in token of their supreme jurisdiction. But the order of the royal entry on such occasions was often disturbed by the seditious Romans; and the emperors were commonly glad to retire from the city, and not to return to it except in cases of necessity.

Frederic I., however, was desirous of procuring something beyond the *name* of emperor, and wished in particular to diminish the power of the pope and clergy. Adrian, on his side, was determined to maintain or to increase their dignity. In an interview with Frederic at Viterbo, he represented to him the ungovernable spirit of the Romans, and the inflammatory tendency of the principles disseminated by Arnold, and required him to sacrifice this rash reformer as their common enemy. Frederic, tempted by his desire for the crown, ordered the viscounts of Campania who protected Arnold, to give him up to the prefect of Rome; and the latter having pronounced sentence, the wretched man was burned alive in the presence of the people, and his ashes cast into the Tyber. Adrian was willing to crown the king as a vassal, but not to own him as a master; and therefore insisted that he should go through a certain prescribed ceremony previous to his coronation. To the ceremony of kissing the pope's feet, as a matter of common form, Frederic only demurred; but the requisition that he should hold the stirrup, whilst Adrian mounted a white palfrey, and lead it by the bridle nine paces, he rejected with disdain. He was assured that his predecessors had complied, though it appears only Lothaire had gone through this part of the ceremony; and after much persuasion, Frederic consented to it as a mark of Christian humility, whilst the pope intended it as a mark of real subjection. This was not the only difficulty that preceded his coronation. A deputation from the citizens required him to restore their ancient form of government, as the price of the imperial dignity. Frederic dismissed them, saying they had no right to dictate to him, as he was their master by right of succession, as Charlemagne and Otho had been by right of conquest. The pope placed the crown on his head, and

e in his hand ; but the citizens rose, and much
shed because it had been done without their

fter Frederic left, a picture was exhibited at Rome
ng Lothaire on his knees before Innocent II., hold-
his hands joined within those of the pope, and
is inscription in Latin verse.

Before the gates the king appears,
Rome's honours to maintain he swears;
Then to the Pope sinks lowly down,
Who grants him the imperial crown.

ic was offended on hearing of this picture ; and still
knowing that Adrian in his letters said, that he had
the *beneficium* of the Roman empire upon him. A
who marked his displeasure, inquired, " Then whom
king hold it of, if not of the pope?" Otho, count
of the empire, was about to answer the insulting
with his drawn sword ; but Frederic stayed his
l gave the cardinal time to escape. The pope was
at the offence he had given, and assured the em-
t he would put the picture out of sight ; and that
neant by the word *beneficium*, a favour, and not a
h it was understood to signify.

ear after Frederic's coronation, Adrian absolved the
Sicily ; but that monarch — the only royal vassal of
dom, when besieging the pope in Benevento, had
him to purchase his own safety, by promising that
ould never be troubled with a legate, nor be subject
ppeal to Rome without the sovereign's permission.
kings of Sicily have to this day possessed a kind
authority in their own kingdom.

ic had obtained some power over the pope, and in
of Italy ; and at the death of Adrian, in 1159, he
Rome to give his voice in favour of Victor IV., and
ition to Alexander III., as these two popes were
y contending factions. Germany, Bohemia, and
taly, preferred Victor ; the rest of the kingdoms
edged Alexander. The Milanese, who preserved their
lence in spite of Frederic's efforts to subdue them,
were his avowed enemies, warmly supported Alex-
and in his honour called a town which they had newly

built, Alexandria. The imperial party wished it to be called Cæsaria in honour of the emperor; and when they could not prevail, contemptuously gave it the name of Alessandria della Paglia (i.e. Alexandria made of straw), probably on account of the meanness of its buildings. Milan was at last taken by Frederic's army; and by his orders it was razed, and salt strewed on the ruins. Other independent cities were dismantled, and deprived of their privileges.

Alexander escaped to France. Victor died in 1164; but his place was immediately filled by Pascal III. Alexander, however, returned to Italy; and being supported by the Greek emperor, the king of Sicily, and the chief cities of Italy, he held a council at the Lateran, in 1167, and solemnly deposed the emperor, absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance. But Frederic soon after made himself master of Rome; and Alexander fled to Benevento. A pestilential disorder, which destroyed a number of his troops, obliged him to leave Italy; and Pascal, his pope, died in 1168. But he would not give up the contest; and though he was engaged in other wars with the Bohemians and Poles, he gave all the support he could to another pope of his own party—Calixtus III. In 1174, he marched in person into Italy to chastise the cities that had thrown off his yoke; but, in 1176, he was defeated by the confederates, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. About the same time his eldest son was defeated at sea by the Venetians, and fell into their hands. In honour of the victory, the pope sailed into the gulf of Venice, accompanied by the senate of Rome, and, after bestowing many blessings on the sea, threw into it a ring as a token of his gratitude. From this childish folly arose the annual pompous ceremony observed at Venice, called, from the use of the ring, the espousing of the Adriatic. Frederic was too proud to seek peace till after he had got the advantage in another battle; and then he and the pope were equally glad to terminate this tedious and unprofitable war. Venice was chosen as the place of reconciliation. A.D. 1177.

The towns of Italy received a general pardon on consenting to pay allegiance to the emperor, whilst he allowed them to retain their own laws and government. Calixtus submitted to Alexander two years after, and

received from him the gift of a bishopric and entertainment at his table.

The contest between Alexander III. and Henry II. has been referred to in our history of England. We have to remark further concerning this famous pope, that, in 1179, he conferred the title of King with the ensigns of royalty on Alphonso I. duke of Portugal, who, in the pontificate of Lucius II., had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see. Alexander also arrogated to himself the right of canonization, or of receiving any deceased person into the saintly order. In order to avoid the confusion attendant on papal elections, he passed a law that two-thirds of the college of cardinals must vote in favour of a candidate before he could be duly elected.

Alexander was farther distinguished for declaring war against the heretics, who at this time greatly increased in numbers, particularly in France. We reserve an account of these persons for the history of the Church in this century.

Having restored peace in Italy, Frederic returned into Germany in order to control the most powerful of his vassals.

This was Henry, surnamed the Lion, duke of Saxony, who not only oppressed his subjects, but did violence to his neighbours; and his natural haughtiness had been increased by his marriage with the daughter of Henry II., king of England. It is related, that, when the emperor knelt to him to implore his help in the Italian war, he refused it; nor would he attend the national diet when cited. In a diet held in 1180, he was put to the ban of the empire; and, after many struggles, the emperor took away his possessions and bestowed them on more submissive vassals. The duke threw himself at his feet to solicit pardon and restoration; but, as the fiefs could not be taken from their new possessors, Frederic advised him to reside in England till they were disposed to relinquish them; and promised to protect the territory of Brunswick in behalf of his children. The duke accordingly withdrew to the court of his father-in-law, where he received hospitable entertainment; and in England his wife gave birth to a fourth son, the ancestor of the present house of Brunswick.

Alexander III. died in 1181, and his successor, Lucius III., was raised to the pontificate by the cardinals alone.

But violent seditions arose, and he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear that a pope should be elected without the consent of the clergy and people in general. He died in the midst of these troubles, in 1185, and was succeeded by Urban III.

We have carried on the history of the Western States of Europe up to the period when a fresh crusade was proposed; we have to consider the parallel history of the Greek empire up to the same period.

Many are the wonderful feats attributed to Manuel Comnenus; and if some of them surpass belief, it is to be observed, that there must have been something very remarkable in his strength and courage, as in a long succession of princes no other is made the hero of such tales. Although born in a palace, Manuel possessed the hardiness of a common soldier; and when in the field, slept on the snow or exposed to the sun, and shared the diet of the camp. He tired alike men and horses before he wearied himself; and it was said that Raymond, called the Hercules of Antioch, could not wield his lance or wear his buckler. At a tournament, seated on a spirited horse, he overturned at his first career two of the stoutest knights of Italy. We may doubt, however, that he cut his way through five hundred Turks without receiving a wound, except indeed, astonished at his boldness, they divided to let him pass.

When engaged in war with Hungary, he transported his army across the Save, and sent back the boats with an order to the commander to leave him to conquer or die. By thus cutting off the means of return, he forced his troops to put forth all their courage, and was victorious. In the siege of Corfu, which had been taken by the Sicilians, Manuel is described as towing after him a captive galley, standing aloft on the poop of his own vessel, protected from the darts and stones of the enemy only by his own buckler and a sail; nor could he have escaped death had not the Sicilian admiral, in respect for his daring courage, desired his archers not to aim at him. The story of his killing fifty barbarians with his own hand in one day, and returning to his camp, dragging with him four Turkish

prisoners tied to the rings of his saddle, would, even if it were true, excite no admiration in our minds; but we must suppose it to be a gross exaggeration. Manuel's wars had no useful result; and in his last Turkish campaign, being entangled in the mountains of Pisidia and losing his army, he owed his deliverance to the generosity of the sultan. In time of peace, this hardy warrior gave himself up to the grossest indulgences; and his dress, table, and palace, were sources of great expense. His wars and his pleasures caused a multiplication of taxes, which oppressed his people; and when, during his last campaign, he complained that the water given him to drink was mingled with Christian blood, a soldier bitterly exclaimed, "It is not the first time, O king, that thou hast drunk the blood of thy subjects!"

- Manuel's character seems to have been the strangest compound. His passion for war and for sensual gratification, and his deceitful policy, do not complete his picture. He was a man of extensive learning for these days; and he engaged in several theological controversies. He differed from the opinions generally received about the sacrament; but, after much debate, yielded to the popular notion, and then deprived of their honours and employments such as adhered to the ideas that he had abandoned. These disputes farther increased the misery of the country.

Manuel Comnenus was twice married. His first wife was Bertha, or Irene, of Germany, said by some to be a sister-in-law of the Emperor Conrad; his second wife was Maria, daughter of the prince of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was betrothed to Béla, a Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople, under the name of Alexius, and intended as the heir of the empire; but when the Empress Maria gave birth to a son, who was called Alexius, the adopted foreigner was refused his bride and sent back to his own country. On the throne of his fathers, he displayed qualities which might have led the Greeks to lament his loss.

Manuel in the end married his daughter to the marquis of Montferrat, whom he also brought up in his palace; and he obtained as the betrothed of his son, a daughter of Philip Augustus. That prince came to the throne of France in the same year that the emperor died—1180.

Alexius II. was proclaimed emperor, being then ten years of age, and almost immediately fell under the guardianship of his relative Andronicus, one of the most remarkable characters of his age. The history of his singular adventures and tyrannical reign must be deferred till we have considered the state of the Saracens and Turks in the period under review.

CHAP. XXXV.

STATE OF THE SARACENS AND TURKS AFTER THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY THE LATINS, UP TO THE TIME OF THE RETAKING OF JERUSALEM BY THE TURKS UNDER SALADIN.—HISTORY OF ANDRONICUS.—HIS EARLY ADVENTURES.—HIS TYRANNICAL REIGN.—HIS CRUEL DEATH.—ISAAC ANGELUS, EMPEROR.

THE cadi, or chief magistrate, of Damascus announced to the caliph of Bagdad the loss of Jerusalem; and as he described the triumph of the crusaders, he tore his beard, and the whole divan wept. But the caliph, as we have before observed, had at this time no temporal power beyond his own city and the adjacent provinces; and these lamentations had no result. The Seljukian sultans, who reigned in Persia, forbore to take up arms in defence of their religion; and though Sangias, the last of them, reigned fifty-five years, his name was unknown to the crusaders. He was a liberal patron of Persian poetry; and probably for that reason there were not wanting poems in which he was extolled as a second Alexander. But if he failed to turn his arms against the invaders, there were other Turks prepared to do so. Zenghi, the son of one of Malek Shah's favourites, defeated the Franks at Antioch; and served against the Latin princes in thirty campaigns. He wrested from them all the conquests beyond the Euphrates, and took Edessa by storm. Raised to the sovereignty of Mosul and Aleppo, he subdued the martial tribes of Kurdistan. At the head of his veteran soldiers, who had been taught to consider the camp their home, Nouredin;

his son, united the other Mahometan powers, and reigned from 1145 to 1174. He waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria; and even the Latins admired his wisdom, courage, and justice, though he was their most formidable enemy. The caliph gave him the title and privileges of royalty; and he extended his dominions from the Tigris to the Nile. In frugality he imitated the first caliphs; and when his favourite wife wanted some expensive attire, he said he could give her nothing out of the treasures of the Moslems, but would grant her three shops in Ems, his private property. His care for the oppressed was proverbial; and many years after his death, a reigning tyrant was put to shame by hearing a loud cry in the streets of Damascus, "Noureddin! where art thou? Arise and protect us."

The Fatimite caliphs, who resided at Cairo, not only lost Syria by the arms of the Turks and the Latins; but their vizirs usurped the government of Egypt, and they had little more power than the Abbasside caliphs of Bagdad. They emulated their rivals in Asia in mysterious pomp. The Latin ambassadors to Cairo had to pass through long gloomy passages and many folding-doors guarded by black soldiers before they reached the presence-chamber; and the vizir who conducted them prostrated himself three times before the veil that concealed the caliph, ere he removed it and introduced them to him. The palace, they said, was filled with rich furniture, and singing birds and rare animals, and many fountains were to be seen within its precincts.

In their weakness, these caliphs by turns sought help from the sultan of Damascus and the king of Jerusalem, and the Latins were glad of an excuse for extending their conquests into Egypt. Baldwin III. dying without a son, the kingdom of Jerusalem came to his brother Amaury or Almeric. Shiracush, an emir who supported the cause of the Abbasside caliphs, met the Latins in Egypt at the head of his Turkish troops, and boasted before the battle, that not one of his soldiers would go to Paradise without first sending an infidel to Hell! A defeat only served to inflame the spirit of the Turks; and when they returned in fresh force, they declared that if they could not wrest Egypt from these Christian dogs, they would go back and labour with

the peasants, or spin with the women. But the superior skill and courage of the Latin knights again obliged them to retreat.

Adhed, the Fatimite caliph, offended the pride of the Moslems by shaking hands with a Latin ambassador, and still more by sending the hair of his women as a token of terror to implore the protection of the sultan of Damascus. In 1171, Shiracush met Amaury in Egypt; and after a furious battle that king was driven back into Palestine. Adhed only survived the revolution ten days; and the Caliph Mosthadi of Bagdad was immediately acknowledged in the public prayers at Cairo. In all subsequent changes, Egypt firmly adhered to the Abbassides.

Saladin, the son of Ayub (Job), a simple Kurd belonging to the pastoral tribes beyond the Tigris, followed his uncle Shiracush into Egypt, and distinguished himself in this war; and at that emir's death, he was appointed grand vizir. When Nouredin also died, leaving a son only eleven years of age, the will of the caliph and people raised Saladin to the rank of sultan. He treated Nouredin's family with respect; and his subjects and even his enemies were loud in their praise of his military talents and general character. He sustained a remarkable part in the history of this period, and may be likened in his habits and his fanaticism to some of the earliest followers of Mahomet. He was a rigid Mussulman, observed the stated fasts, and the hours of prayer five times a day; water was his only drink; his garments were of coarse woollen; and even on horseback between approaching armies he was seen reading the Koran. He used self-denial in all other things, with one great object before him, the extension of his dominions. In the love of war, he disdained poetry, science, and philosophy; and even caused the inventor of some speculative novelty to be strangled. But he was said to be affable and patient to the meanest of his servants; and the lowest of the people, even if they brought complaints against himself or his ministers, met with justice in his divan. He fortified Cairo, and adorned his dominions with hospitals, colleges and moschs, but he would not allow himself a palace or a garden. Whilst discord reigned among the Turks and Saracens, the kings of Jerusalem, though with some difficulty, preserved

their dominions; but when the undivided power of the Moslems came under the direction of such a prince as Saladin, their situation became most perilous. But for the limits set by God, such a man might have swept everything before him. The valour of the military orders long sustained the feeble kings of Jerusalem; but the pride, avarice, and corruption that came in amongst them gradually undermined their reputation, and it was well said they neglected to live, whilst they fearlessly professed themselves ready to die, in the service of Christ. The Templars included the flower of the nobility of Europe within their ranks, and the donation of 28,000 farms, or manors, to their order, enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry. After a reign of eleven years, Almeric was succeeded by his young son Baldwin IV. Raymond, count of Tripoli, a wise counsellor, endeavoured to sustain him against formidable enemies; but the king became a victim to leprosy which deprived him of his faculties, and he died in 1184. His sister Sybilla had by her first husband a son aged eight, to whom the crown devolved; and this prince, who was called Baldwin V., remained till his death under her tutelage and that of her second husband, Guy of Lusignan. Guy was a prince of handsome appearance but of the basest character, and when he was elected sovereign at the death of his step-son, his own brother exclaimed, "Since they have made him a king, surely they would have made me a god!" Raymond of Tripoli so thoroughly hated him, that he was ready to side with the sultan against him. In this miserable state of things, the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem was still delayed by supplies from Europe, and the courage of the military orders of monks.

The truce which subsisted between the Turks and Latins was broken by Reginald, a French knight, who seized a fortress on the edge of the desert and pillaged the caravans, and even threatened Mecca. Saladin complained; and, justice being denied him, he gladly embraced the opportunity, and invaded Palestine at the head of eighty thousand men. Tiberias belonged to the count of Tripoli, and with a treacherous intention he invited Lusignan to bring out his garrison from Jerusalem for the defence of that place. Saladin was encamped near the lake of Tiberias, when the king hastily

attacked him, and the conflict remained doubtful till night-fall. Raymond then led him to encamp in a place where there was no water ; and he and his wearied soldiers obtained no refreshment. At dawn they uttered their war-ory ; the Turks replied with trumpets and atabals. The bishops and clergy ran through the ranks to cheer the drooping soldiers ; a fragment of the " true cross " was committed to the charge of a knight of the Sepulchre, and the hillock on which he stood was made a rallying point. Again and again the broken squadron gathered round him ; but Lusignan was overthrown with the loss of thirty thousand men, and the esteemed relic fell into the hands of the enemy. The king himself, fainting with thirst, was taken to Saladin's tent, and received from him a glass of sherbet cooled with snow, the pledge of hospitality and pardon ; but Reginald, his companion, was required immediately to acknowledge Mahomet under pain of death, and on his refusing to do so, the sultan struck him with his scymetar, and he was quickly despatched by the Moslem guards. More than two hundred hospitalers were also executed ; and of the grand-masters one was slain, the other detained a prisoner. The king of Jerusalem was kept prisoner at Damascus in expectation of a ransom. In Saladin's victorious march, only Tyre and Tripoli escaped ; and three months after the battle of Tiberias he appeared before Jerusalem. Fugitives from every quarter had fled thither ; and it was reported that one hundred thousand persons were crowded within the walls.

In case of quick surrender, Saladin promised them a supply of money, and lands in the most fertile part of Syria ; but the Latins would not give up the city without a struggle. Queen Sybilla, however, trembled for herself and her captive husband ; the Greek and Oriental Christians preferred the Mahometan to the Latin yoke ; and the pilgrims had, for the most part, neither arms nor courage ; the defence, therefore, was but feeble. In fourteen days a large breach was made in the wall ; and twelve banners were erected on it by the besiegers. A religious procession was proposed in order to procure heavenly interposition ; and Sybilla and her women walked barefoot with the monks. A deputation was also sent to Saladin ; but, as he threatened to revenge the Saracen blood spilt by the first crusaders, the Franks

t yield without another desperate effort. In this they met with such success, that the sultan consented to enter into a treaty. Its terms were, that the Oriental Christians should still reside at Jerusalem under his dominion; but that the Latins should depart safely conducted to the sea-ports on paying a ransom. After four days spent, it was said, in weeping over what they held so sacred, the Latins left the city in a solemn procession. Children of all ages clung to their

The fathers carried some of their moveables. The queen, and the ladies, appeared as suppliants going through the enemy's camp. Perceiving that they were touched with their distress, the women made supplication to him that he might relieve it, by restoring their husbands, husbands and brothers, for whom they were ready to leave their fortunes in his hands. With the most generous generosity the sultan released the prisoners whom he demanded, and sent them away with presents. He gave liberally to the widows and orphans; and on that the friars of St. John had been wont to nurse their countrymen, he allowed ten of that order to remain for a year to finish their service to such as were held for ransom which had been demanded was ten gold for a man, five for a woman, and one for a child. With this understanding that any individual who was captured should remain in perpetual slavery; but so soon as he was dismissed freely, and so many with a smaller ransom that the captives were reduced to a few thousand.

After the Latins had departed, the sultan made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The great cross was removed from the church of the Sepulchre and dragged from the mire of the streets; the bells were melted, and as they had never been permitted when the city was under the Mahometan yoke; and the great mosch of Omar was richly sprinkled with rose water in order to prepare it for its original use. The patriarch had placed all the images, vases and relics, in four ivory chests, and was anxious to present them to the caliph as the most precious part of his spoil; but he was at length persuaded to resign them, and they were afterwards redeemed at a heavy cost.

The sensation excited throughout Europe by the taking of Jerusalem, and the fresh crusade that was set on foot on this account, must form the subject of our next chapter. We have here to relate a story connected with the Greek empire, in order to understand the state of Constantinople at the time of the Third Crusade.

We have stated in our last chapter, that Alexius II., at the death of Manuel his father, fell under the guardianship of his relative Andronicus. It is the singular history of this prince that we have to relate, as his conduct after he reached the throne can only be explained by a sketch of his previous adventures. Andronicus was a nephew of John the Handsome; and, being provoked by some imaginary insult from his uncle, he fled to the Turkish camp. He obtained the sultan's daughter in marriage, and returned to the imperial city. He was remarkable for his handsome person and bodily strength; but his habits were so abstemious that he never tasted flesh, unless it were that of a boar or stag taken in hunting and roasted by his own hands. He was skilful in arms, and remarkably eloquent in speech; and his various talents seemed to fit him in turn for the various circumstances into which he fell. When hunting in the rear of the army, after the death of Calo Johannes, he was taken prisoner by the Turks; but, after a time, he was restored to his family, and became the favourite of his cousin, the Emperor Manuel, sharing both his perils and his sinful pleasures, at home and abroad. Even when their day was spent in military action, the night was given to song and dance; and a band of comedians was in their train.

But Manuel found Andronicus unworthy of his confidence; for his ambitious cousin entered into correspondence with the foe, and was seen near his tent in the night with a drawn sword. For these offences, he was placed in a tower of the palace at Constantinople, and strictly watched during twelve years. His spirit was not broken by this long confinement; and he found means to escape in a most singular manner. In repeatedly examining the walls of his chamber, he discovered some broken bricks, and, on removing them, perceived a narrow opening into a forgotten recess. He

contrived to make his way into it with his remaining provisions, replacing the bricks as before. The guards were alarmed at his disappearance, they reported it to their own disgrace, and orders were sent into all the provinces, to stop the fugitive; and his wife, who was suspected of aiding in his escape, was imprisoned in the vacant chamber. In the dead of the night, Andronicus discovered himself to her,—they embraced after their long separation, and shared their provisions; and in the morning he returned to his retreat. Several weeks passed, and these nightly meetings rendered the confinement less irksome; and when the guards grew careless in watching a less important prisoner, Andronicus actually escaped; but he was soon brought back and loaded with a double chain. He had, however, taken previous counsel with his wife; and, in case of failure, directed her how to contrive another means of his escape. On being set at liberty, she employed a servant to intoxicate the guards, and to obtain in wax an impression of the key: a similar key was made, and placed with a bundle of ropes at the bottom of a hog'shead of liquor provided by his friends.

Andronicus unlocked the door, descended from the tower, hid all day in the bushes, and, at night, scaled the garden wall of the palace. His friends were waiting with a boat,—he visited his house, embraced his wife and family, and mounting a fleet horse took his way into Thrace. Other friends helped him onwards; and he was already on the borders of Russia, when some Wallachian horsemen, who knew his person, seized him in order to take him back to Constantinople. He rode with them some way; but in the night, feigning sickness, he was allowed to dismount and retire to a little distance. He planted a long staff in the ground, on which he placed his cap and upper garment; and, whilst the horsemen thought their prisoner was still in sight, he had escaped into the woods, and was beyond their power. At Kiow, Andronicus met with a good reception from the czar, Yaroslav; and, having obtained his friendship, accompanied him in the chase of bears and elks; and displayed his uncommon strength to the admiration of the barbarians. At last he won the forgiveness of his offended cousin, by influencing Yaroslav to join him in the invasion of Hungary; and when Andronicus, at the head

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of the Russian cavalry, assaulted Zemlin, with valour only inferior to that of the emperor, Manuel pronounced his free pardon, and invited him back to his court.

It will be remembered that Manuel, before the birth of his son, adopted Bela, a Hungarian prince, to be the husband of his daughter and the heir of his throne. Andronicus protested against the choice of a foreigner. Probably he thought of his own claims. Manuel was displeased, and removed him to the command of the Cilician frontier, in order to free himself from his presence. But Andronicus neglected all the duties of his station; and spent his time in the company of Philippa, a daughter of Raymond the prince of Antioch, and sister of Maria the emperor's second wife. The resentment of Manuel obliged him to desert her; and, with a band of adventurers, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His rank and military fame made him welcome among the defenders of Palestine, and the lordship of Berytus was bestowed upon him. In that neighbourhood he was attracted by Theodora, the widow of Baldwin III., king of Jerusalem; and when the emperor's renewed jealousy made even Palestine an unsafe residence, she and her two children accompanied him in his flight to Damascus. Nouredin, and his successor, Saladin, alike befriended the wandering prince; and, after visiting Bagdad and the courts of Persia, he settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, and repaid their hospitality by making inroads into the provinces of the empire, and returning both with its spoil and Christian captives.

During his absence in one of these excursions, the governor of Trebisond surprised Theodora, and sent her and her children to Constantinople. Their loss alone induced Andronicus to implore the pardon of his cousin, and he threw himself before the imperial footstool, with an iron chain round his neck, lamenting his past conduct, refusing to rise till some *faithful* subject should drag him away by his chain. This extraordinary humiliation gratified the emperor, and procured him a pardon; but he was sent to reside in a distant town in Pontus.

At the death of Manuel, the ambition of Andronicus was again aroused. The Empress Maria gave up the government to a favourite; and her step-daughter, the princess

Maria, raised an insurrection against her. The youth of Alexius kept him passive.

The effects of a century of peace and order seemed to be swept away in a few months of civil war. A battle was fought in the square of the palace; part of the city was burned, and the rebels sustained a siege in the cathedral. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the name of Andronicus was mentioned; and that prince hastened to the capital, little mindful of the oath which he had taken: "if the safety or honour of the imperial family be endangered, I will oppose the mischief to the utmost of my power."

His foreign dress, reminding the people of his long exile, and displaying to advantage his majestic stature, attracted attention. His eloquent expressions of religion and loyalty deceived many; and he was hailed as the deliverer of the empire. He compared himself to King David in his many adventures and perils, and in his subsequent elevation; but the clean heart and the right spirit were altogether unsought by Andronicus. His subsequent course led the biographer to seek to express in words the thoughts which it might be supposed filled the mind of the restored exile, as with feigned respect he visited the sepulchre of Manuel on his return: "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me as a vagabond to every kingdom of the earth. Thou art safe under a sevenfold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the last trump. It is now my turn; and I will speedily trample upon thy ashes and thy posterity." Yet in the most hypocritical manner Andronicus concealed his designs for some months; and in taking the bread of the sacrament after he was crowned, he vowed that he lived and was ready to die for the service of the young emperor, his pupil. The Empress Maria was, however, degraded at once, and after some time brought to trial, under pretence of treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary. Without a hearing, she was condemned to be strangled and her body thrown into the sea; and the youth Alexius was compelled by Andronicus to subscribe the sentence of his own mother's death. The reckless tyrant exposed to view an ugly representation of her beautiful form, and blackened her character; and, at

length, having caused her son to be strangled, he struck the dead body of the innocent youth, with the most insulting expressions against him and his parents.

Alexius was murdered in A.D. 1183 ; and Andronicus, during three years and a half, reigned in the most despotic and cruel manner. The terrors of this period may be imagined, by the application of the term "halcyon days" to one bloodless week. Those who had been the enemies and rivals of Andronicus during all the long years of his adversity, now felt the effects of his vengeance ; and the execution of many led to the murders of many more, who could not forget or forgive the death of their friends. The ancient proverb, that "blood-thirsty is the man that returns from banishment," might be applied to him with as much force as to Marius and Tiberius. The Latins were unsparingly massacred as foreigners and heretics ; but above all as favourites of their countrywoman, the Empress Maria. Their quarters in Constantinople were burned ; the clergy perished in their churches, and the sick in the hospitals ; and four thousand were sold to the Turks. Yet such was the fury of party spirit between the Greeks and Latins, that the priests and monks of the former religion chaunted thanksgivings, whilst the head of a cardinal, the pope's legate, was dragged through the streets at a dog's tail. Such of the Latins as escaped to their vessels, took revenge for the loss of their brethren and property, by ravaging the sea-coast for two hundred miles, and then returned to their countrymen in Italy and France, to describe the cruelty and treachery of the Greeks. These events prepared the way for the subsequent conquest of Constantinople by the French and Venetians.

Andronicus included in his severities wicked and corrupt ministers of justice ; and thus, whilst the capital groaned on account of his daily cruelties, the distant provinces enjoyed prosperity. But some of the noblest of the Greeks left the court of the tyrant, and raised insurrections in various places. These, however, were quelled by the emperor's military talents ; and, thinking himself safe from his foes, Andronicus retired to a beautiful island in the Propontis, taking with him, as his wife, the youthful Alice, daughter of Louis VII. of France, who had been betrothed to the

deceased Alexius. During his absence, but by his command, Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from Alexius the Great, was brought out of prison to the place of execution. His only offence was his rank. When the fatal moment approached, he made a struggle for his life, slew the executioners, and fled to Saint Sophia. The cathedral was gradually filled by the inquiring multitude, and some ventured to say that Andronicus was but one, they were many, and it was in their power to free themselves. At dawn the whole city was aroused; the prisons were thrown open; and Isaac, the second of his name, was proclaimed emperor. Andronicus hastened to the capital, but all had deserted his cause; and though he promised forgiveness, if he were restored, and then offered to crown his son Manuel, none would hearken. He attempted to escape by sea; but his galley was pursued, and he, loaded with fetters, was taken before Isaac Angelus. With more than ordinary eloquence he pleaded for his life; but the mercy which he had denied to others was refused to him, and the new emperor abandoned him to the fury of those whom he had bereaved of their dearest friends, and thus left room for the most fearful display of the fiercest of human passions. Andronicus was first deprived of his teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, and then, placed astride on a camel, he was led through the city to receive a thousand blows and insults. At length he was hung by his feet, between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and a sow, and every hand that could reach him had an opportunity of inflicting some hurt upon the wretch whom they esteemed their common enemy. "Lord have mercy upon me," and "Why will you bruise a broken reed," were cries that escaped his lips during his protracted tortures; and at last two Italians plunged their swords in his body. In this miserable manner Andronicus perished, A.D. 1185. Whilst these shocking events were transpiring at Constantinople, Rome, its ancient rival, displayed almost equal barbarity. In the popedom of Lucius III., which lasted from 1181 to 1185, several of the priests, his partisans, were made prisoners by the people, who put out the eyes of all but one, whom they reserved as a guide to the rest, and then, crowning them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses, with their faces to the tails,

and desired them to go and present themselves to the pope as a lesson to him. Rome was perpetually the scene of war and discord; even the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by contending factions and families.

Urban III. succeeded Lucius in 1185, and is only remarkable for the manner of his death, which is said to have been of grief, on hearing that Saladin had made himself master of Jerusalem. His successor, Clement III., distinguished himself chiefly by his zeal for a new crusade, on the particulars of which we are about to enter.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Richard the First and his Times, A. D. 1189—1199.

CHARACTER OF RICHARD I.—CRUELTY SHOWN TO THE JEWS.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE THIRD CRUSADE.—END OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA.—AFFAIRS OF SICILY AND CYPRUS.—THE CRUSADERS BESIEGE AND TAKE TYRE.—BATTLES WITH SALADIN.—TERROR OF RICHARD'S NAME.—DEATH OF SALADIN.—CAPTIVITY OF RICHARD.—HENRY VI., EMPEROR.—HIS CONQUEST OF SICILY.—END OF RICHARD'S REIGN.—CONDITION OF EUROPE.

THE melancholy death of Henry II. left his eldest surviving son in possession of all that he had coveted. Richard went to visit the dead body, as it lay in state in the church of Fontevrault; and seeing blood gush from the nose and mouth as he stood by, he exclaimed, according to a common superstition, that he was his father's murderer, and expressing deep remorse, he sought when too late to evince his regret for his unnatural course.

All who had favoured his rebellion were thrown into lasting disgrace; all who had faithfully adhered to his father, he continued in their offices, and treated with honour; that he might not be wanting in filial duty to his remaining parent, he sent orders for the immediate release of Queen Eleanor, and entrusted her with the government till he could go to England: his brother John he loaded with wealth and honours. Nor was Richard's regret for his behaviour to his father, a transitory feeling; for even on his death-bed he

desired that he might be buried at his feet, as an expression of his sorrow for his unfilial ways. And here we have related all that can be said to the credit of Richard's humane feelings. Throughout his short but eventful reign, we shall perceive the appropriateness of the epithet of *Cœur de Lion* or *Lion-hearted*, whereby he has been distinguished by historians. The fiery pride that will not brook a rival, the ferocious nature that never recoils at the sight of blood, the greediness of spoil, and the generosity that occasionally finds it a luxury to spare—these are characteristics that Richard possessed in common with the king of the forest.

The spirit of chivalry was at this time exhibited in its maddest excesses, and there was not in Europe a bolder and more aspiring knight than Richard. He aimed at nothing less than the recovery of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Turks. The greater the difficulty, the greater the charm to such a spirit as his. It was a field that tempted his ambition; and he seemed only to value his rich and large inheritance, for the power it gave him to make such preparations as he thought suitable for the new crusade. His zeal, like that of the first crusaders, was accompanied with a strong hatred of the Jews; and this perhaps was increased by the opinion of the monks, that the late king's protection of that race was a stain upon his character. Richard issued a proclamation forbidding any Jew to be present at his coronation, lest he should suffer from their magical arts. The archbishop of Canterbury performed the ceremony at Westminster; and when the king had taken the usual oaths, he adjured him in the name of God to be mindful of them. Richard replied, "By God's help, I will punctually perform them all." At this moment, a small band of wealthy Jews, according to custom at such seasons, tried to enter the hall to lay their gifts before the new sovereign and petition the continuance of royal favour. The known prejudice of the king, added perhaps to the sight of the brilliant presents, induced the courtiers to fall on them; and when, beaten and pillaged, they were driven out of the hall, the populace without began an unsparing attack on all the Jews within the bounds of the city. If they barricaded their houses, burning wood was thrown in at the windows, and they perished in the flames. If the mob forced their way in,

they threw even the feeble, the sick, and the dying, into the fires which they had kindled in the streets. Women and children and aged persons were massacred, as well as those who had power to resist. Two days elapsed before the tumult ceased. One Jew, who cried out "I will be a Christian," was immediately baptised; but when the king sent for him and asked if he had heartily embraced the cross, he said, "No; what I did was to save my life." Richard then enquired of the primate how he should be punished. "Not at all," replied he; "if he will not live a man of God, let him live a man of the devil." Rough and strange as the answer was, it would appear from it that the archbishop did not sanction the persecution. At Norwich, Stamford, Bury, Lincoln, and Lynn, similar scenes took place to those in London. At Lynn, one Jew professed himself a convert; at Dunstable, many.

Two years afterwards, the same horrors were perpetrated at York. A massacre was commenced of all who refused to be baptised; and five hundred Jews, with their wives and valuables, took refuge in the strong castle, from which the governor was absent, and closed the gates. The governor, at his return, demanded admission. They pleaded their own danger as a cause of refusal; and he then in haste gave orders for an attack on the fortress; but when the fury of the people made him regret the word, it was too late to recall it. The besiegers were excited by some ecclesiastics, who urged them to destroy the enemies of Christ. At length a Rabbi exhorted the imprisoned Jews to die for their law as their forefathers had done, and voluntarily to return their lives to their Creator. Few dissented from the proposal. They destroyed their precious things, then sacrificed the women, and finally destroyed themselves. Those who survived were cruelly put to death when the castle was taken.

The Jews, in this day, being the most industrious and wealthy class, were the chief money-lenders; and their practice of usury had rendered them unpopular. That money was the great root of the evil in this case was apparent, as all the bonds of Christian debtors to Jews were collected in one great heap and destroyed, that payment might never be demanded. To put an end to these tumults,

Richard employed the first lawyer of the land to make enquiry and execute justice. But so little justice was done to the Jews, that only three who were concerned in these dreadful scenes were selected for execution, and one of these was chiefly punished because he had stolen the goods of a Christian; and the two others, because the fire with which they destroyed Jews' houses had spread to the dwellings of Christians.

This was the first deep stain of Jewish blood that marked this land. Alas! it was not the last suffering inflicted on the house of Israel by England.

Richard used every means to raise money to fit out an army for the crusade. Great sums were given by such as made a vow to go in person but, repenting, obtained dispensation from the pope. The king of Scotland paid a quota to be free from doing homage. The bishop of Durham paid for the earldom of Northumberland: Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the pope's legate, paid for the chancellorship; and these two were appointed regents during the king's absence. One man paid fifteen thousand pounds to be released from prison. Some lent the king money on large interest. Richard, in his hot zeal, is said to have exclaimed, "I would sell London itself, if I could find a chapman."

Having completed his magnificent preparations, Richard united his hosts with those of Philip Augustus at Vezelay; and there they renewed their vow of eternal friendship. It was about the end of June, A.D. 1190. The gross amount was reckoned at one hundred thousand armed men; for it is to be remarked, that these kings, being determined the expedition should be wholly warlike, refused to take with them peaceful pilgrims. The French crusaders on this occasion bore red crosses, the English white, the Flemings green.

The two kings published severe regulations for the preservation of morality in their camp, and sailed for Messina with their whole force in the month of September. We must leave them there awhile, whilst we relate the history of the emperor's expedition.

We have already made a sketch of the reign of Frederic I., as far as relates to his European wars. The *splendours* of

his reign, in the world's eye, consisted of his untiring encounter of difficulties that would have overwhelmed a less resolute prince, and his long series of wars, which, for the most part, ended in his own aggrandisement. "*Men will praise thee,*" said the wise man, "when thou doest well to thyself." Yet, after six martial expeditions into Italy, he retained no solid power in that fair country. The popes, the Italian republics, and even the king of Sicily, had greater influence there; and he was so neglectful of all that learning could bestow, that he never learned to read.

At length, all Frederic's other thoughts were swallowed up, in the one engrossing idea of distinguishing himself in Palestine. Pope Clement III. proclaimed remission of sins to such as would take the cross; and the emperor, with the flower of his nobles, and a multitude of freemen, prepared to set out on a new crusade in A.D. 1188. The poorest soldier in the army was furnished with three marks of silver for the payment of his travelling expenses; and every means was taken to secure good treatment from the Greek emperor. But Isaac Angelus dreaded Frederic more than Saladin; and, whilst he even allowed a mosch to be built at Constantinople to please the latter, he and the whole Greek church showed the greatest hatred to the Latins. Frederic's fame, as a warrior who had fought in forty campaigns in Italy and Germany, was well known in the Greek capital; and Isaac was resolved to weaken instead of strengthen the hosts that such a prince led through his country. But, notwithstanding the lack of provisions, the treachery of the Greeks, and the assaults of the Turkoman hordes, Frederic and his troops overran Armenia and Cilicia; and though, when they reached Iconium, only a thousand knights had strength to sit on horseback, the capital was stormed, and the sultan sued for peace. More than this, Frederic was not permitted to accomplish; for only a few days before the review at Vezelay, his earthly career ended. The road through Syria lay across the small but impetuous river Selef; and, as he saw that his army would be a long time in crossing the narrow bridge over it, he plunged into the stream on horseback; and either the coldness of the water caused a stroke of apoplexy, or the force of the current carried him away. Life was gone when the body was

brought ashore. After the death of Frederic, the German army was greatly thinned by sickness and desertion; and only five thousand remained in Asia to join the other crusaders on their arrival.

Frederic, before his departure from Germany, had visited the chief cities, accompanied by his son Henry, some years before elected king of the Romans; and by leaving the regency in the prince's hands during his absence, he smoothed the way for his recognition as emperor. He was, in fact, immediately recognised; and we have to distinguish him as Henry VI., surnamed the Severe, for reasons which will hereafter be named. This prince had married Constantia, sister to William II., king of Sicily; and the news of that sovereign's death reaching him about the same time as that of his father, he conceived the idea of adding the crown of Sicily to that of the empire. In order to make himself popular, he increased the privileges of the Italian cities; and at Rome he received the imperial crown from the hands of Celestine III.; but it is related that after the pope had performed the ceremony, and the newly created emperor stooped to kiss his toe, he kicked off the crown with his foot, in order to show him that he reserved to himself the power of taking away, as well as conferring, the imperial dignity. Celestine, moreover, opposed Henry's design upon Sicily. In that island, King Richard tarried six months. William II. had married his sister Joan; and Tancred, nephew to the deceased king, had usurped the crown, and thrown the widowed queen into prison. The English king entered into warm disputes with Tancred; but, at length, on consideration of receiving twenty thousand ounces of gold, he gave up his own and his sister's claims to the island, made Tancred his ally, and promised that his nephew and heir, Arthur of Bretagne, should espouse the daughter of the Sicilian king. Tancred's own bravery, and the support of the pope and the king of England, alike opposed the design of the emperor upon Sicily and Naples; but Henry took many towns in the Neapolitan kingdom, and was actually besieging the capital, when a dreadful mortality amongst his troops obliged him to return to Germany. Richard had other reasons for lingering at Messina besides the settlement of the affairs of Sicily. He had long been

attached to the princess Berengaria of Navarre, and had despatched his aged mother to the Spanish court to bring her to him. Eleanor was successful in her embassy, and returned to England, leaving the Spanish princess to the care of her daughter Joan. In April, 1191, Richard, with a fleet of two hundred and five ships, great and small, left Messina; but the vessel which conveyed his sister Joan and his espoused was so tossed in a storm, which dispersed the rest of his fleet, that the commander sought refuge in a port of Cyprus.

That island formed a part of the Greek empire; but Isaac Angelus, the reigning emperor, had no power to preserve his dominions, as he wasted his time in idle amusements, and his revenues in extravagant pleasures. His domestics amounted to twenty thousand, and the expenses of his household and table to four millions sterling; and, as he raised this immense income by oppressive taxes, he became an object of general dislike. An embassy which he sent to Saladin, proposing an alliance, rendered him yet more unpopular. Under his weak rule, Isaac, a prince of the Comneni family, had taken possession of Cyprus with the title of emperor; and Saladin secretly favoured him, in order to weaken the Christians by division. This prince pillaged all the vessels of crusaders that reached his coast, and imprisoned the seamen and passengers, not excepting the royal ladies; but Richard quickly landed with his whole army, obliged Isaac Comnenus to surrender at discretion, and established governors over the island. The Greek emperor in his turn was imprisoned; and when he complained of his iron fetters, Richard ordered silver chains to be put in their stead, upon which, Isaac expressed a sense of his generous consideration of his dignity. Before the king left Cyprus, he celebrated his marriage with great splendour; but Berengaria unhappily carried away with her the daughter of the Cypriot prince, who soon usurped her place in her husband's affections. In May, 1191, Richard actually set sail for Palestine, and reached the bay of Acre, which had previously been entered by the German and French crusaders. Guy of Lusignan, after being ransomed from captivity, had joined the rest of the outcasts, from Jerusalem at Tyre; and, finding the walls too narrow

to contain the multitude that sought refuge within them, he laid siege to Acre, one of the most valuable places of communication with Europe, before the arrival of the crusaders. For two years, the chief powers of Europe and Asia met on this spot in deadly conflict; and never was greater military enthusiasm displayed than was beheld on either side. A quarrel which had arisen between Philip and Richard during their abode in Sicily, at first hindered them from fighting in unison; and the jealousy of the Germans, who were headed by Conrad, a younger son of Barbarossa, and Leopold, duke of Austria, made them act in independence of the two kings. Richard had offended Philip in preferring Berengaria to his sister Alice, who had been sent into England many years before as his espoused; and, when that question was amicably settled, many causes of difference arose, from the arrogant temper common to both these fiery young monarchs, and from the suspicions of each other which Tancred excited, in order that they might not unite together against him. But, at length, the three powers being separately repulsed, and Conrad being slain under the walls of Acre, the whole body of crusaders united, as the only means of taking the place.

Saladin encamped within a few miles of Acre, and laboured day and night for the help of the besieged. He corresponded with them by means of divers and pigeons; and, as often as the sea was left open, he withdrew the exhausted garrison, and poured his bravest soldiers into their place. On the other hand, the crusader's camp was replenished with fresh armed pilgrims; and it was reported that the pope himself, with an innumerable host, was coming to their support. Nine battles were fought near Mount Carmel. On one occasion Saladin forced his way into Acre; on another, the crusaders penetrated to his tent. It was not till July, 1191, after all efforts to preserve the place appeared fruitless, that the sultan allowed the garrison to surrender. He agreed to pay the two kings a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, to restore the relics, especially "the true cross," and to set free one thousand five hundred chosen prisoners of war. Of the Christians, it was calculated that one hundred thousand had perished before

Acre by the sword, shipwreck, or disease; and of three hundred thousand persons engaged in the third crusade, only six thousand again saw their homes. Six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty counts, and five hundred other noblemen were counted among the slain during the siege of Acre. When the confederate crusaders entered Acre, their want of unity was conspicuous. Richard and Philip planted their respective standards on the walls. The duke of Austria did the same. "What," said Richard's officers, "do you, a mere duke, pretend to be on a footing with kings?" "I fight," replied Leopold, "by my own power and sovereignty; and, under God, I acknowledge no superior but St. Peter." This was the first of many insults heaped on the Germans by the English sovereign; but he had to suffer for his arrogance.

Before the terms of the treaty with Saladin were concluded, the most horrible act was performed with the assent of all the conquerors. Two thousand five hundred of the defenders of Acre were led out into the plain and cruelly massacred, their dead bodies were searched for the gold which it was supposed had been swallowed, and, with a savage barbarity which we can scarcely believe, the gall was torn out and converted into medicine for the Christians. It is not surprising that the war did not cease at this point. Philip, however, tired of the service, and jealous of Richard's superior fame, pleaded illness, and declared his resolution to return home. The king of England spoke to him with insult and suspicion; but, after Philip had solemnly promised not to attack his dominions in his absence, he was quieted. The duke of Burgundy, with five hundred French knights and ten thousand foot soldiers, was left to continue the crusade. The march from Acre to Ascalon, a distance of one hundred miles, was a continued battle for eleven days. Saladin did not lower his standard, nor suspend the sound of his kettle-drums. The Turkish army, spread out in shining and dreadful array, occupied a length of two miles. The wild Bedouins with their horrid cries, and a mixture of negro troops, rendered it more frightful to the crusaders. Moreover, the Mahometans concealed knives and other sharp instruments in the ground whereon the crusaders encamped, and thus fatally injured either horses

or warriors. The sultan's heralds continually exhorted his soldiers to charge *the idolaters*,—the heralds of the crusaders were bid to cry around their camp "God help the holy sepulchre!" and these words were thrice shouted by the whole army whenever they rested. At Azotus, Richard defeated Saladin. He also took Cæsarea and Jaffa, important sea ports; but when he arrived at Ascalon he found the fortifications destroyed and the garrison fled. The setting in of a severe winter at this point suspended the war; and Richard required all the host to employ their leisure in rebuilding the walls of Ascalon. The proudest nobles and clergy laboured with the meanest of the people; but when the king was insolently giving his commands to the duke of Austria, Leopold, previously incensed in many ways, roughly replied, "My father was not a mason, and I was not bred a carpenter."

Whether Richard laboured with his own hands we know not; but it appears that, even at this season, he pursued his favourite diversion of hawking; and one day, whilst engaged in this sport, he and his party were surrounded by some Turks. William de Breaux, a generous attendant on the king, cried out in Arabic, "I am the Malek" (or king), in order to save Richard; and the Turks, contented with so valuable a prize, took him to Saladin, whilst the real king escaped. Richard afterwards ransomed his deliverer by giving up twelve Turkish prisoners.

From Ascalon, Richard sent to Saladin, demanding Jerusalem, and the "true cross;" but the sultan replied, the city was as dear to Moslems as to Christians; and that *he would not sanction the worship of a piece of wood*. The king then proposed a government, partly European and partly Asiatic, and the marriage of his sister Joan with Saphadin, the sultan's brother. To this, it appears, Saladin would have consented; but the imams on one side, and the priests on the other, forbade so incongruous an alliance. In the month of May, Richard's army advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, and psalm-singing announced the joy of the pilgrims at the near accomplishment of their vow. Saladin himself occupied the city; but the garrison was in such fear, that in vain he offered to share with them in person all the dangers of the siege. Richard knew nothing of

their weakness; and at Bethlehem he consented that the barons of Syria, with the Templars and Hospitallers in his army, should decide as to the proposed attack on Jerusalem. When, however, they determined that it should be postponed because of the intolerable heat of summer, and the report that the Turks had destroyed all the cisterns, Richard lamented the decision, and, ascending a hill to gaze upon the city, he shed tears at the thought of not visiting it: then veiling his face, he returned to the camp, saying, those who were unwilling to rescue, were unworthy to view the sepulchre. The sudden retreat of the crusaders when they might so easily have taken Jerusalem, seemed to the Turks little less than miraculous. Saladin immediately led his army to Jaffa, whilst Richard returned to Acre. The citizens of Jaffa were reduced to such straits that they promised a great ransom, if help did not arrive the next day. The king and a small body of knights came in time to save the city by their incredible feats of valour.

Negotiation was again and again tried by Richard and Saladin, both seeming to respect each other's extraordinary boldness. The king sent a present of Norway hawks; the sultan, of Arabian horses, with snow and fruit. The health of both princes declined; both were needed in their own dominions; but, as Saladin declined a personal interview on the plea of difference of language, there was long delay. It was at length agreed, that for three years and three months (some add three weeks, three days, and three hours) all war should cease between the Turks and Latins; that pilgrims should have free access to Jerusalem; and that, on condition of the demolition of the walls of Ascalon, the Christians should possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre. The principal chiefs on both sides swore to observe the treaty. Saladin and Richard declared that their word and their right hand were sufficient. The terror which Richard had inspired may be conceived from the fact, that his name was preserved in the proverbial sayings of the grandsons of the Turks against whom he had fought. Syrian mothers used to silence their naughty children with threats of King Richard; and, if a horse suddenly started half a century after, the rider would exclaim, "Dost thou think King Richard is in the bush?" Once when Saladin

was in familiar talk with the bishop of Salisbury, his prisoner, and admiring the bravery of his royal rival, he observed that the skill of the general did not equal the valour of the knight; the bishop replied, that at any rate there were not two such monarchs in the world as those of Syria and England.

Saladin died a few months after his treaty with the king of England. It is related of him, that he caused his winding sheet to be exhibited to the people, whilst a herald proclaimed in the streets of his capital, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin!" His last charge to his son is on record, as follows: "Honour the greatest of all Beings, and obey his commandments; for he is the root of good, and in him is our weal. Spill no blood; for it will one day reach thy head. Preserve the hearts of thy subjects by loving care; for they are entrusted to thee by God. Hate no one; for all are your fellow-mortals. If thou hast offended God, repent; for he is of great mercy!"

The unity of the empire was destroyed at the death of Saladin. His sons were oppressed by Saphadin, his brother; the sultans of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, were independent and hostile; and the Latins retained their fortresses along the coast of Syria.

The Saladin tenth, a tax raised by the Latin church to cover the expenses of the third crusade, did not cease upon the death of Saladin, but was the foundation of a lasting tithe for the benefit of the Catholic sovereigns or the papal see.

Before Richard left Palestine, a terrible tragedy took place, in which he was suspected of having a part. Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, had contended with Guy for the remains of his kingdom in Palestine, and by a party had been elected king of Jerusalem—all but an empty title, as that city was still in the possession of the Turks—and the same day, on returning to his own house in the marketplace at Tyre, two youths stopped him at the door; one presented him with a letter, whilst another inflicted a deadly stab, exclaiming, "Thou shalt neither be a marquis nor a king." Richard denied that he had any concern in the murder; but this event, with the offences he had given to crusaders of rank, increased the dangers of his return to

Europe. The ship conveying the ladies, and the bulk of his fleet, reached England in safety, although separated by storms; but the vessel in which Richard was making the voyage dared not put into Marseilles, though within sight of the port, for fear of the king of France, his rival; nor could it seek shelter in any Italian harbour, because of the charge concerning the Marquis Conrad: it, therefore, put back to Corfu, narrowly escaped capture by the Greeks, and falling in with some pirates, they were bribed to carry the king to Zara, where he landed under the name of Hugh the Merchant.

Although nearly betrayed by his magnificence, he was allowed to pass; but, knowing that he had deeply offended the duke of Austria and the German knights, he fled from one obscure place to another, till, after being without food nearly three days, he sent a servant to Vienna to purchase provisions. He said that his master, a rich merchant, lay sick at a neighbouring place, and would come to the city when recovered; but suspicion was aroused, and at last, when the servant went to market with his lord's gloves, they were recognised as Richard's by an Austrian knight. The boy being put to torture, confessed that his master was the king, and the house where he lodged was soon surrounded with armed men. Richard's high-mindedness did not then forsake him, and he refused to deliver up his sword, except to Leopold in person. The duke told him that it was well he had not landed in Italy, for Conrad's friends tracked him every where; and that had he a thousand lives he could not save one in that country. The Emperor Henry VI., hearing that Richard was in the hands of Leopold, declared that no duke must presume to imprison a king; that it was an imperial privilege only; and the duke delivered up his royal captive on receiving £60,000. The king was guarded by the bravest German knights, day and night, with drawn swords, and removed from place to place, according to the emperor's will.

It is at this period that a romantic story of the discovery of the place of Richard's captivity is usually related. Blondel, his favourite minstrel, went, it is said, from castle to castle, singing some of the ballads in which the king used to join him, and at last had the satisfaction of hearing his

strain taken up by the familiar voice of his imprisoned master: Richard himself was reckoned among the Troubadours. But this incident rests on no authority. It is, however, certain that Queen Eleanor, on hearing of her royal son's captivity, wrote three letters in succession to the pope; and he, with others, interfered for Richard's deliverance. Henry, in order to excuse himself for the confinement of a crusader of such note—the champion, as it was said, of all Christendom—appointed a formal trial of the king on account of his several offences; and in an assembly of princes, caused him to be accused of the murder of Conrad. Richard swore that he was innocent; and produced a letter to prove that the marquis had been murdered by the command of the well-known leader of a Mahometan sect called Assassins. This man, Hassan, otherwise called "the Old Man of the Mountains," absolutely trained a band of desperate men to execute his vengeance on whomsoever he would: they were practically atheists; holding the indifference of all human actions and the non-existence of heaven and hell. After attaining to great power, the sheikh Hassan perished, and all his followers were exterminated; but a horrible remembrance of them is retained to this day in the word *Assassin*.

Richard offered to meet any who accused him of this murder in single combat; but no one accepted his challenge, and the other charges were at length dismissed. Yet the emperor would not liberate him without an immense ransom, and England, from sea to sea, was reduced to the utmost distress to meet the demand. The monasteries and churches were stripped of their plate; and the Cistercians, who had no such valuables, sold their wool to help to redeem the captive.

The money was used by Henry to make fresh preparations for the conquest of Sicily; and as Tancred died about this time, he was enabled to add that island to his dominions, A. D. 1193. Tancred's widow surrendered all personal claim on the crown, on condition that her son William should be prince of Tarentum; but when Henry became master of Sicily, he caused the infant prince to be deprived of sight, and thrown into a dungeon, and sent the queen and her daughters to a convent.

During his absence in this expedition, Henry's wife gave birth to a son; and on his return the emperor procured a decree of the diet rendering his crown hereditary, and declaring his infant Frederic, king of the Romans, A. D. 1196. At this period, Henry was entreated by Pope Celestine III. to engage in a new crusade; and, in a diet at Worms, the emperor assumed the cross. His example was followed by multitudes of his subjects; and they were soon formed into three great armies. The first, under the bishop of Mentz, set out by way of Hungary, and was joined by Margaret the queen, who ended her days in Palestine; the second went by sea, in ships provided by the commercial cities of Germany; the third was diverted by Henry from its avowed object, in order to chastise the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had rebelled against his government. Well did he deserve the title of Severe! After he had defeated the Normans, he condemned their chiefs to dreadful tortures; and one of them, called Jornandi, was—we shrink to write it—tied naked to a chair of red-hot iron, with a circlet of the same burning metal around his head. These horrid cruelties aroused the revengeful passions of the empress; and she urged her countrymen to take up arms against her husband, and even put herself at their head. Having sent the best part of his troops to Palestine, hoping thus to expiate his sins, Henry was obliged to submit to terms; and as he died at Messina soon after the treaty, it was supposed that the empress had caused him to be poisoned, through fear of his taking some future revenge on her country, A. D. 1198. Pope Celestine, who had set on foot a fourth crusade, died in the same year. We have here briefly glanced at the evil use which Henry made of King Richard's ransom, we have now to relate the events that occurred in England during his absence, and to look upon the lion-hearted Richard again at liberty.

Archbishop Longchamp, the pope's legate, who had been appointed co-regent with the bishop of Durham, usurped the sole authority; and through the general discontent, Prince John found it easy to raise a party in his own favour. Longchamp was cast into prison, but contrived to escape; and after disguising himself both as a woman and a pedlar, he managed to reach the sea-shore. There, however, he

was betrayed, through his inability to answer some fish-women who accosted him in English; for he had not even learned the language of the people whom he aspired to govern. He was again thrown into prison; but afterwards, by John's permission, suffered to retire into Normandy. An assembly held in London acknowledged John's title to the throne, in case his brother died without children; but the prince being impatient to reign, applied both to the kings of Scotland and France to establish him at once. The latter alone attempted to do so, and even offered the emperor money to detain Richard in prison, or to give him into his custody: he also attacked Richard's continental dominions. When all these machinations failed, and Philip Augustus heard that Richard was actually on his way home, he wrote to John, "Look to yourself, since the devil is unchained."

Richard had been in confinement fifteen months; and as soon as he was free, took his way through the Netherlands, and embarked at Antwerp. The emperor caused him to be pursued, repenting that he had let him go; but it was too late, and Richard arrived at Sandwich on the 20th March, 1194, and was received with great joy by his subjects. He had been obliged to release the captive emperor of Cyprus and his daughter; but his rich standard was amongst his spoils, and the king's first act was to offer it publicly to God in St. Edmond's church. Thus, it appears, he thought that he had pleased God with what he had done. It is an affecting fact, but, alas! so common as to excite little notice, that banners and other witnesses of bloody deeds should be displayed in buildings dedicated to the worship of the God of peace.

On his return, Richard was, for the second time, crowned at Windsor. William, king of Scotland, attended at the ceremony, and carried the sword of state. The people gloried in their sovereign's fame, and compassionated him for the sufferings which he had endured. He said that he had been loaded with as many irons as an ass could carry; but we are told on other authority, that he passed his months of imprisonment in jovial mirth, drinking and singing with his guards; sometimes amusing them by his feats of bodily strength, and sometimes making sport for himself by causing them to drink to excess. However

popular, no king was ever more useless, not to say injurious, to his country than Richard; and in a reign of ten years, he only spent four months in England. His first object on his return was to raise money to carry on war with the king of France, by whom his brother John was upheld and protected. He was sitting at table when he received intelligence that Philip Augustus was besieging one of his towns in Normandy; and swearing in his haste, that he would not turn his face till he met his foe, he had part of the wall of the house taken down that he might go out straight and keep his oath. Philip was obliged to raise the siege of Verneuil in such haste, through Richard's unexpected approach, that all his tents and baggage were left behind him. On this occasion, the queen-mother brought John into the presence of his brother, and the offending prince, prostrate at the king's feet, implored his forgiveness. "I forgive you," said Richard, "and wish I could as easily forget your offences, as you will my pardon." Five years of almost perpetual war witnessed to the bitter hatred that existed between Richard and the French king; and both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners. They fought with various success; but in a battle near Vendome, in 1194, Philip was defeated with the loss of all his money, his camp-furniture, and the records belonging to the crown. This misfortune induced him to erect a building in Paris expressly for the royal archives.

His war with Richard was not the only trouble in which the king of France was involved at this period. His first wife, Isabella of Hainault, was a daughter of Ermengard, daughter of that Charles duke of Lorraine, who contended for the crown with Hugh Capet; she was therefore the female representative of the house of Charlemagne. Their only son, Louis, who succeeded his father, united in his person the Carlovingian and Capetine races. Queen Isabella died in 1191; and whilst Richard was in captivity, Philip married Ingeberga, a princess of Denmark. But he disliked her so much that he obtained a divorce, and sent her into a convent, and married Maria, daughter of the duke of Dalmatia. By her he had a son and a daughter; but the pope, Innocent III., took Ingeberga's part, and laid the kingdom under an interdict for three years. Philip

was obliged to make an apparent submission ; but after divorcing Maria, and bringing Ingeberga on a pillion behind him from her convent to the house of the pope's legate, as a token of reconciliation, he sent her back again, and lived with Maria till her death. He then called Ingeberga to court, and they lived together apparently in peace, but they never had any children.

A curious anecdote is related concerning the bishop of Beauvais, who was taken prisoner by Richard in one of his battles with the king of France. Richard demanded so heavy a ransom for this bishop, who had himself been concerned, by Philip's command, in hindering his release from captivity, that appeal was made to the pope. The pope wrote to Richard, desiring him to set *his son* free. The king sent to Rome the prelate's armour, covered with blood, as it was taken from him on the field of battle, asking the pope if that were his son's coat. Struck with the reproof, Celestine refused to plead any more for one who had engaged in warfare so inconsistent with his profession, and returned answer to the king that it was not his son's coat, but that of some imp of Mars who had got his place, and since he had chosen the world's warfare, he must suffer the consequences. Great riots took place in London during Richard's absence in France ; and Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, having seized William, called Longbeard, the ring-leader, who had professed great regard for the poor, caused him to be shut up in St. Marylebone church, and afterwards to be hung in chains with nine others.

Richard had lost his affection for his wife soon after their marriage ; and, after his return home, notwithstanding her faithfulness and devotedness to him, he refused to take her back ; but some monks, whom he met with on the Continent, brought about a reconciliation. They had no children.

Richard, who had passed through so many extraordinary perils, met with his death-wound at an unexpected moment, and from an obscure enemy. The pope's legate had nearly accomplished a treaty of peace between the rival monarchs, and Richard was thinking of returning to England, when he heard that one of his vassals, the viscount of Limoges, had found a treasure on his estate. As superior lord he claimed the whole of it, but the finder was only willing to give him

a part. The king therefore besieged him in his castle of Chalos; and though the garrison offered to surrender, he said, that as he had taken the trouble to begin, he would finish by force, and hang every one of them. The same day, as he was surveying the walls, one Bertrand de Gourdon, an expert archer, pierced him with an arrow in his shoulder. The king's intemperate habits, and the unskilfulness of the surgeon, caused the wound to mortify, and he became sensible that his end approached. The castle was taken, whilst he lay ill, and all the men hung except Gourdon. Sending for him into his presence, the dying king demanded why he had sought his life. The archer replied, "You killed, with your own hands, my father and my two brothers, and you intended to have hanged me. You may take revenge, by torturing me as you will. I shall die, rejoicing that I have freed the world from such a nuisance." Admiring, even in death, a boldness of spirit which so few possessed in the same degree as himself, Richard ordered that Gourdon should be dismissed, with the gift of a hundred shillings; but he had no sooner expired, than the man was flayed alive. Richard left all that he possessed to John, requesting that one-fourth of his money might be given to the poor.

Thus ended the reign of one of the *most famous* of the kings of England—"a thunderbolt of war," as one has expressed it; and had he not been stopped in his course, at the age of forty-two, what further desolation might he not have produced! He left on the statute-book of England a re-enactment of the severe laws of William the Conqueror for the preservation of the game in the New Forest—one proof among many others that he inherited the spirit of his great-grandfather.

As the great majority of the martial spirits of the age were drawn off into the East by the crusades, Europe was not so much the theatre of war in this century as in the foregoing ages. It is certain that literature, commerce, and peaceful arts, made some advance at this period. In A.D. 1201, Oxford is said to have contained three thousand scholars; and the university of Paris, which was thronged

with professors and students, received its earliest charter from Philip Augustus in the last year of the twelfth century.*

The properties of the magnet are distinctly described by a French poet of this date ; but as it was not in use for the guidance of ships till a much later period, commerce between distant nations was still very limited. In Europe there were two distinct regions for maritime commerce: the countries which border on the Baltic, the German, and the Atlantic oceans, had intercourse with each other by sea ; and those situated around the Mediterranean, had that sea to connect them together. Flanders was distinguished for its woollen manufactures in the twelfth century ; and the wool was chiefly imported from England, so that a little later it was extravagantly asserted, that all the world was clothed with English wool wrought in Flanders ! The merchants of Cologne became famous as early as the reign of Henry IV.

A curious anecdote is told of some Greeks, who were no lovers of free-trade, at the time of the emperor Otho's embassy to Nicephorus. As they were displaying their own clothes, the German ambassadors informed them that the people of Lombardy were dressed as well as they. How, said the Greeks, can they get our fine cloth ? The reply was, through the merchants of Venice and Amalfi, who made a livelihood by importing them. The Greeks hereupon were very angry ; and a law was afterwards passed at Constantinople, which declared that any one daring to export their fine cloth should be flogged. If it be true that the Greeks would not export their cloth, the manufactories of Western Europe were possibly helped on by the circumstance. The Venetians and other Italian traders had but little to export in exchange for the luxuries of the East : Western Europe could at this period only send out gold and silver, furs and arms ; and the latter were in vain forbidden to be sold to the Saracens : the want of articles of export was long filled up by the exportation of slaves, a traffic which was carried on to the shame of Christendom.

* The Mahometan students far outwent those of Christendom. At the end of this century, there were six thousand scholars at Bagdad, a thousand colleges at Cairo, and many large schools at Morocco, Fez, Alexandria, and even at Bassora and Bokhara.

The twelfth century is not stigmatised as one of the dark ages; but the various improvements which began at this era were so much in their infancy that we must notice them as we proceed onwards.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE DIVISIONS OF CHRISTIAN SPAIN.—ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELLA.—ALPHONSO IV.—SANCHE THE FAT.—RAMIRO II.—CONTESTS BETWEEN THE MOSLEMS AND CHRISTIANS.—THE CID.—QUARRELS OF ALPHONSO VII. AND HIS WIFE URRACA.—MILITARY ORDERS OF SPAIN.—ALPHONSO IX.

DURING the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Christian part of Spain was divided into the five kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Navarre, Arragon, and Barcelona; and their respective sovereigns, though sometimes linked together by marriage alliances, or by common danger, were more often engaged in struggling for supremacy among themselves. Nothing can exceed the confusion of the history of Spain at this time; and we scarcely know whether the so-called Christians are to be preferred to their Mahometan rivals.

We have referred to the famous shrine of St. James at Compostella; and the explanation which the native historians give of its origin may suffice as a specimen of the traditions wherewith they sought to establish the popular superstitions. According to the legend, St. James was the apostle who founded the church in Spain; and when on his return to Jerusalem he was condemned to be beheaded, he knelt down to suffer martyrdom, and "by divine power" held his severed head in his hands, still kneeling, till the disciples came at evening to bury him. By another miracle, the body was carried across the sea to the scene of the apostle's labours, and centuries after *miraculously* discovered at Compostella, and a splendid church built in honour of the relics. The deceased was often said to appear in different forms, but particularly with a bloody sword encouraging the Christians in battle. Did the poor ignorant legend-writers know that James, by the Spirit's guidance,

had traced "wars and fightings" to their true source? It was strange indeed that they should make *him* the patron of war. So little interest can we have in the details of Spanish history at this period, that we shall only briefly mention some of the more remarkable kings.

Alphonso IV., king of Leon in A.D. 925, resigned his crown to his brother Ramiro, and retired to a monastery, after reigning six years; but not being contented in his retirement, he left his cell, and collected an army in order to regain the throne. His brother defeated him, and sent him back to the monastery with three other princes of their family, all of whom he deprived of their sight. Ramiro gained many advantages over the Mahometans; and, in 950, resigned his crown to his son, on account of illness, assumed the penitential garb, and passed his few remaining days in retirement. Sancho I., king of Leon in 955, was driven out by a usurper, and sought the aid of his uncle, the king of Navarre. The latter advised him to submit with patience to his lot; and to take the opportunity of seeking to rid himself of his excessive corpulency, which had gained him the surname of the Fat. No Christian physicians could do him any service, and as those of Cordova were renowned all over Europe, Sancho wrote to Abderrahman III. for permission to visit his capital. The caliph and prince courteously granted it, and entertained him magnificently; and by the juice of certain herbs, Sancho was restored to lightness and agility. He also received from his Mahometan friends sufficient aid to enable him to regain his kingdom. He came to his end some time after by poison. A violent death, in various modes, was often the termination of the career of the Spanish princes of these troublous times.

Ramiro II., king of Leon, being about to engage in battle with the forces of Abderrahman III., promised, in case of victory, an annual measure of wheat for every one of his subjects, as a tribute to the altar of St. James at Compostella; and as he won the day, the patron-saint rose in honour; and the Christians even adopted, as a battle-cry, "Santiago di Compostella!"

Alhakem, the most literary of the caliphs of Spain, died 976; and, as his son Hixem was only eleven years old, a

brave warrior named Almanzor was appointed regent; and, after his charge grew up to man's estate, he continued, as vizier, to possess the real power. In 995, under the excitement caused by the supposed presence and favour of their patron saint, the Christians defeated and pursued the Moorish army, as if bent on its extermination. Almanzor determined to restore their courage or to perish, and instead of turning his back to the enemy he sat down on the bank of a little river, cast away his turban, and placed his hands across his breast, saying he would die there, if the Moslems fled. His resolution revived the spirit of the Moslems, and returning to the charge they were completely victorious. Almanzor, during his long regency, defeated the Christian princes of Navarre, Castile, and Leon, in fifty engagements. One specimen of the spirit displayed on both sides may suffice. As the Moslems and Christians—we shrink from the use of this title—stood face to face in battle array, a knight came forward challenging any one of the Moslems to single combat. Almanzor and Mustapha, his general, were conversing together on the condition of their warriors; and the latter declared to the regent's surprise that there were not more than three men among them who would dare to present themselves as champions. Whilst they debated, two Moslems left the ranks, and fell in succession by the sword of the Christian knight, a third was transfixed by his lance amidst the hurrahs of the Christians. Almanzor in astonishment and indignation was about to spring forward in person, when Mustapha coolly said, "Leave it to me. Dost thou see the beautiful tiger's skin that covers his horse? It shall soon be thine." Almanzor replied, "No, conquer and keep it thyself." Just as the knight was exclaiming, "Why do you loiter? Come all, one by one, and if that does not please you come two at a time," Mustapha went out to meet him. "Who art thou?" said he, in a scornful tone. "Here is my nobility," replied Mustapha, shaking his lance, and immediately they were engaged in a violent struggle which ended in the death of the knight. His head and his tiger-skin were laid at Almanzor's feet by the victor. Almanzor's last triumph was at Compostella; he sacked the city, pillaged the famous church of St. James, and melted the bells into lamps for the mosch at Cordova; he also

carried away the gates of the city. A dysentery soon afterwards attacked the Moslem army, and carried off a great part of the soldiers; the Christians believed it was judgment inflicted by the hand of St. James, and, taking courage, defeated the regent's troops in the next engagement. Almanzor sunk into despair, and refusing to take any food, actually died of starvation. This was in the memorable year, A.D. 1001. Besides the real sovereignty of Mahometan Spain, Almanzor possessed extensive power in Africa; he was an active and intelligent governor, and an encourager of the arts and sciences. Hixem III., the last of the caliphs of Abderrahman's race, endeavoured to make his people happy by his affectionate behaviour and just rule: the Arabic writers represent him as too good for his age. It appears that the princes of Cordova became so absorbed in science and literature, or so taken up with the immediate affairs of their metropolis, that the governors of Toledo, Saragossa, and other large cities, found it easy to erect independent states. Many of these rebelled against the last Hixem, who was of too mild a character to place them in fear of him: he gladly retired into private life, A. D. 1030. After the unity of the Mahometan empire was broken, a succession of independent kings reigned at Cordova during two centuries, and some of these obtained the supremacy over all the petty kings. The Moslem princes were however usually at war with each other; and, though often at open war with the Christian princes also, they sometimes sought their help, and paid them the obedience of vassals. We shall proceed to notice some of the most conspicuous of these princes, as we do not deem the history of Spain at this period of sufficient importance to demand an unbroken narrative.

Fernando I., who, in A.D. 1037, united the crowns of Leon and Castile, loaded the altar of St. James with magnificent offerings, in acknowledgment of the apostle's supposed aid in his wars with the Mahometans. He wrested almost the whole of Portugal from their grasp; but, whilst he was before Valencia, he was seized with sudden illness, and obliged to abandon the siege. He returned to Leon and died there, the year before the Norman conquest, A. D. 1065. In the course of his victories, Fernando had obtained

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the relics of the famous bishop, St. Isidore; and when he was taken ill, he desired to be carried into the church which he had built in honour of this saint, in order to receive the sacrament. There he passed many hours of the day and night going through a round of prescribed devotions, the end of which is thus described. On the twenty-sixth of December, he desired to be arrayed in his royal robes, and again carried to the church, and a number of the clergy accompanied him. The king knelt before the altar and said, "Thine, O Lord, is the power, thine the dominion! Thou art the King of kings, supreme alike in heaven and earth! I return the crown which thou hast given me, and which I have worn during thy good pleasure. And now I only ask that when my soul leaves this body, thou wilt receive it into thy celestial mansion." The crown and mantle were then removed from the king's person, and the penitential garb thrown over him; and as Fernando lay prostrate on the floor, ashes were scattered on his head. He remained in this attitude, confessing his sins and imploring mercy, till late in the following evening, when he expired. We dare not pronounce upon the state of heart which led to these closing acts of Fernando's life; but we know that with simple faith in Jesus he might have died happily in his bed, instead of remaining on the church floor. It is certain that Fernando was the best of the Christian princes. He was zealous for the welfare of his people, generous and charitable, humble in his deportment, and desirous of advancing religion, according to his knowledge: we cannot, however, gather up anything which will answer the all-important question as to his faith in Christ. Information concerning trifles has however been carefully preserved; and the poor monks of a certain convent with whom he often dined, related that the king, having broken a glass from which he was about to drink wine, replaced it by a golden cup adorned with precious stones.

Fernando committed an error into which many wise princes have fallen, in leaving his dominions to be divided among his children: much civil war ensued.

Besides the many kings at this time reigning in Spain—about twenty in number—there were many independent nobles, who could offer themselves and their followers to the service

of any prince whom they chose. One of these, who by way of distinction is called the Cid, that is, *the great captain*, is the most conspicuous personage in the verse or prose wherein this period is described: the exaggerations concerning his history and his personal prowess have thrown doubts upon the very existence of such a person. He is said to have assisted Sancho, Fernando's elder son, to make himself sole king, and at his death, supported on the throne his younger brother Alphonso VI. This prince, the Cid served as a master, although himself more famous, and he distinguished himself especially in all the battles against the Moors. The boldest knights ranged themselves under his banner, cased in armour, and mounted on the finest steeds the country produced. Of all the enterprises which the Cid and his followers undertook, the most famous was the siege of Toledo, in which they assisted Alphonso against the Moors, A. D. 1084. In that very city, Alphonso had found an asylum when driven away by his brother Sancho, and the Moorish king had given him help out of his treasury: it is even said they had lived together in close friendship and shed tears at parting. Before the siege began, several Moorish chiefs went out to reproach Alphonso with ingratitude; but it was the spirit of the times to deem everything lawful that could be done against the Moslems. At the end of a year Toledo capitulated, on condition that the Moors should retain their own religion and laws. All New Castile yielded shortly after; and Madrid, then but a small place, fell into the hands of the Christians. Alphonso increased the dominions which he had acquired by the help of the Cid, by marrying Zaid, the daughter of the Mahometan king of Seville, with whom he received several towns as a dowry. But the sovereign of Morocco, being called into Spain by Alphonso and his father-in-law to assist in subduing some of the petty Moorish kings, turned his arms against the king of Seville, and having taken his city became a dangerous neighbour to Alphonso. In the meantime the Cid had fortified himself in the city of Alcassar, and from thence sallied forth and subdued the kingdom of Valencia. Few kings of Spain were more powerful than he; yet he did not assume the regal title, but continued faithfully to serve Alphonso till his death, A. D. 1096.

Alphonso VI. reigned many years; and at his death, left to his eldest daughter Urraca, widow of the duke of Burgundy, and recently married to Alphonso, king of Arragon and Navarre, the crowns of Leon and Castile; and to their son, Alphonso-Raymond, the lordship of Arragon.

This arrangement subsequently led to war between Urraca and her husband and her son. Urraca was a princess of abandoned character and tyrannical disposition, and soon came to an open rupture with her husband, who, from his association with her in the government of Castile and Leon, was now called Alphonso VII. The king confined her in a fortress; but her partisans rescued her, and took her to Burgos. There she attempted to procure a divorce from her husband, on the plea that he was her first cousin, but in reality because she hated him, and loved another. The nobles, however, brought about a temporary reconciliation, but it only increased their mutual aversion; and the king publicly repudiated her, and sent her back to Castile. The nobles of Castile and Leon took up the cause of their queen, and would not bear the yoke of Arragon. One of the queen's lovers brought an army against Alphonso, but was defeated and left dead on the field. His place was supplied by another; and the queen continued the war. King Alphonso took possession of many of her cities, and is said to have committed cruelties worthy only of the fierce Mahometan princes. A third party, who disliked the king as a foreigner, and the queen on account of her wickedness, set up the young Alphonso-Raymond as king. In 1114, a council was assembled which, by the pope's recommendation, declared the marriage of Alphonso VII. and Urraca to be void; and the king of Arragon retreated from the Christian states, and turned his arms against the Mahometans. But not satisfied with Leon and Castile, the queen aspired to Galicia, and made war with her own son. Her reign was one succession of horrors; and her death, which took place in 1126, was to the universal relief of her people. Her son, Alphonso VIII., became undisputed sovereign of Leon and Castile. At the death of his step-father, he preserved Arragon from the Mahometans. The king of Navarre did him homage, and the courts of Barcelona and Toulouse vowed allegiance; and, flattered by all these honours, he assumed the title of

Emperor of all Spain, A.D. 1135. It was, however, but an empty name, as the princes of Navarre and Portugal soon declared war against him; and as he divided his dominions amongst his sons, unity seemed as hopeless as before.

During the reign of Alphonso the First, military orders of monks were founded in Spain, after the fashion of those at Jerusalem, in order to defend the frontier against the Mahometans. They were called the Knights of Alcantara, and followed the Benedictine rule. In 1158, the orders of Calatrava and Santiago were instituted for the same purpose. The former was founded by two Cistercian monks who had borne arms before they took up the monastic profession; and the warlike abbot, called St. Raymond, assembled twenty thousand men, including many of his own monks. They followed the Cistercian rule, and wore the dress of that order—a white robe and scapulary.* The other order began in 1161, under the following circumstances. Some robbers of Leon, repenting their crimes, wished to make reparation for them, and devoted themselves to the defence of the frontiers against Mahometan incursions. Their leader engaged his brethren to take up the rule of Augustine and the moral obligations of knighthood. Fernando II., then king of Leon, approved the institution; and at his suggestion these monastic knights chose Santiago as their patron, and his bloody sword in the form of a cross as the symbol of their profession. These orders were so richly endowed by successive kings that their wealth became immense.

Fernando II. was succeeded by his son Alphonso IX. in 1188. This prince, wishing to be on good terms with his cousin Alphonso III. of Castile, received from him the honour of knighthood, and accompanied him in an expedition into Africa; but after a time they quarrelled, and the king of Leon sought to strengthen himself by marrying Theresa, the daughter of his uncle Sancho I., king of Portugal. Pope Celestine III. sent a cardinal into Spain to dissolve the marriage, and a council declared it null. Four bishops, however, supported the union; not only on account of its political advantage, and the mutual attachment of the par-

* This was a narrow piece of stuff, black or coloured, worn by monks and nuns across the shoulders, hanging down to the feet.

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ties, but as not being contrary to the law of God. They were, however, excommunicated by the legate; and the kingdom was threatened with an interdict, unless the king and queen separated. Alphonso and Theresa were unmoved; and in 1193, the threat was fulfilled. The affrighted people murmured, not against the pope, but against their sovereigns; and Alphonso in vain sent a bishop to Rome to procure a dispensation for a removal of the barrier, although it was often granted to common people. The royal pair were obliged to consent to a separation in 1195. Two years after, it was agreed that the king of Leon should marry Berengaria, daughter of the king of Castile, who, by her mother Eleanor, was nearly connected with the Plantagenet family. This princess, however, was within the same degree of relationship to Alphonso as Theresa had been; but it appears that the bishops and people hoped that the pope then at the head of ecclesiastical affairs would not oppose the interests of the country by refusing his sanction. They were, however, mistaken; and the marriage had scarcely been celebrated with great solemnity and rejoicing at Valladolid, when Innocent demanded a separation, and sent a legate to lay an interdict in case of refusal. The legate perceiving the affection of Alphonso for his new queen, and that the union was most important to the welfare of the two states, represented the circumstances to the pope; but Innocent was determined to show that his will was not to be resisted by kings. Alphonso was equally firm; and the birth of a son, which opened a prospect for the union of the two crowns, made him still more anxious to have his marriage legalised. As before, the king and queen were excommunicated, and Leon was placed under an interdict; but some of the prelates refused to attend to it, considering it an act of tyranny to refuse to kings an indulgence which was granted to persons of inferior station. Thus the state and church were divided into two parties. In 1204, the royal pair were induced to give way, and separated on the understanding that their children should be considered legitimate, both by the popes and the states of Leon. Fernando, their eldest son, was accordingly recognised as the lawful successor to the throne of his father.

Alphonso had given up two wives under the pressure of

papal power; but these proceedings were the means of plunging the country in civil war—war between the nearest relations—as we shall hereafter relate. Of all the countries of Europe, Spain, on the page of history, usually appears the most miserable.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

CHRISTIAN PROFESSION IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO CENTRAL ASIA.—PRESTER JOHN.—ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN SWEDEN, GREENLAND, AND ICELAND.—THE ICELANDIC POETS.—VIOLENT CONVERSION OF THE SCLAVONIANS, FINLANDERS, AND LIVONIANS.—REMAINING LIGHT IN THE CORRUPT CHURCH.—PETER THE VENERABLE, AND BERNARD.—ACCOUNT OF THE WALDENSES.—CONCLUSION.

It requires some stretch of mental vision, even to glance at the most prominent features of the century before us, and much discrimination to separate that which man glories in, from that which God can approve. Man naturally loves that which is magnificent, and makes a great show in the world. He delights in a general illumination, however transient be the blaze; and overlooks the smoking flax, that the Lord's gracious care may be cherishing to form a steadfast light, when all the sparks of human kindling are gone out.

We will begin with noticing the Christian profession that attracted man's admiration in this period, and afterwards seek to point out that which was disallowed of men, but manifestly honoured by God.

A great Christianised nation that had sprung up in the centre of Asia, and was in the height of its prosperity and fame in this century, may first draw our attention. It is certain that a multitude of missionaries traversed Asia during the first centuries of the Christian era, and that many bishoprics existed even in China at an early period. But the various changes are very obscure, and it is not till the year

1000, that we have any thing definite as to the state of Central Asia. It is related, that the king of the Kerites, a people on the borders of China, having one day lost his way whilst hunting, on account of a deep fall of snow, met with Mar Sergius, a Nestorian priest, who promised to guide him safely, on condition that he would embrace Christianity. The king promised to do so, and on returning to his tents, made inquiry of the Christian merchants scattered among his subjects, as to what would be required of him. They told him he must receive the Gospel and be baptised; and, accordingly, he wrote to the Catholicus, John, metropolitan of the Nestorians in Chorasan, desiring him to come himself, or to send a priest who could instruct and baptise him, adding, that all his people, two hundred thousand in number, would be ready to follow his example in professing Christianity, and inquiring in what manner fasts should be observed in their country, as they only lived on milk and flesh.

John, in reply, promised to send some priests and deacons furnished with sacred vessels, who should baptise all that believed in Christ, and teach them Christian customs; and as to the observance of the fast-days, he advised them, at such seasons, to abstain from flesh, and take nothing but milk. From another account, we learn that they were taught to recite the Lord's prayer, and some other prayers found in the Chaldean liturgy, by heart; and these, and such like outward observances, gave the name of Christian to the whole tribe. The king, probably in honour of the Catholicus, received the name of John, it might be in baptism, and to this the title of Presbyter was added, apparently as a mark of honour. The native title was Ung Chan, or the Great Khan. The tradition, however, long was current, that a Presbyter, named John, had conquered a barbarous nation, and having converted them to Christianity, reigned over them in the enjoyment of the most extraordinary magnificence. The introduction of a new religion seems to have changed the manners of the Kerites; and through increasing civilization and the abandonment of their former peaceable and roving shepherd habits, they were led to attempt the subjection of the tribes around them. In 1060, the Nestorian metropolitan of Samarcand

wrote a letter to the Jacobite Catholicus, which was read at the caliph's court: it thus described an invasion of his country. "A great people, like an army of locusts, has opened a passage over the Mount Imaus, having at their head seven kings, each of whom leads 70,000 men on horseback. These people are as black as Indians. They do not cut their hair, but tie it at the top of their head in a tuft, which is like a helmet. They are excellent archers: they want little food, and that of a frugal kind. Humanity and justice are their greatest ornaments." These are supposed to have been the Kerites, who conquered the west of Asia under John II. His successor, John III., reigned over Scythia towards the middle of the twelfth century, and was brought into notice by a bishop whom the Armenians sent from Syria on an embassy to Pope Eugenius III., A.D. 1145. His statement was, that a few years before, a certain John, priest and king, a Christian, like all his people, had conquered the kings of the Persians and Medes, and had even taken Ecbatana, their capital; that after a long and bloody battle, the Persians had been put to flight; and that John had then resolved to go to the assistance of the Christians of Syria and Palestine, who were oppressed by the Saracens; that he had even reached the Tigris; but the great obstacles in his way forced him to return home.

This same priest John III. wrote to the emperor, Manuel Comnenus, in a most pompous strain; and however much he might exaggerate his own greatness, there can be no doubt that he was at the head of a powerful nation, boasting in the Christian name. His own words are sufficient evidence how ignorant he was of the real spirit of Christianity. "Wilt thou know over what states I reign, and the greatness of my power: I will tell thee. I, priest John, am a servant of God, who surpasses in power and riches all the kings under the sky. I have seventy kings as vassals. I am a pious Christian, and defend and protect all the poor Christians in my kingdom. I propose to go and visit the tomb of the Lord at Jerusalem with a great army, as is suitable to my majesty, to humble the enemies of the cross of Christ, and to exalt in that place His adorable name. I am sovereign of the three Indies, and my states extend from Western India, where reposes the body of the holy

apostle St. Thomas, across the desert to the sun-rising ; they reach across high mountains and deep valleys, to the tower of Babel, in devastated Babylonia. My dominion comprehends seventy-two provinces, only a small number of which as yet profess Christianity. In my country are found elephants, dromedaries, camels, and almost all the animals that are known under heaven : it flows with milk and honey. In my pagan domains there is a great river called the Indus, which traverses one of my provinces. This river formerly went out of Paradise, and extends by several branches throughout the province, where are found emeralds, sapphires, and other precious stones. In another portion of my great empire are the Ten Tribes of Israel, who are my servants, although they have their kings. They pay me tribute When we march out to war against our enemies, we have carried before each division of the army thirteen great crosses made of gold, and garnished with precious stones, each of which is followed by 13,000 soldiers, and 100,000 other armed men. Every time that I go out, they carry before me a simple cross without ornament, that I may never forget the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and a golden vase filled with earth, to remind me that my flesh also shall return to dust ; and another silver vase full of gold, that every one may know I am the lord of lords." Priest John IV., surnamed David, governed the great Tartar empire at the end of the twelfth century ; and during his reign, Christianity spread still more widely in Central Asia, through the labours of the Nestorians. Philip, a physician to Pope Alexander III., was sent into Tartary by his orders, to find out this royal priest ; and on his return, related to his master the wonders that he had seen, and the readiness of the great khan to enter into friendly relationship with the court of Rome. Perhaps the doctor flattered his master in this matter ; however, as Alexander was one who dreamed of universal dominion, he immediately took advantage of the opening, and sent back Philip ordained as a priest, with a letter to the Tartar prince, recommending him as a Christian teacher, and begging him to give him a kind hearing. This curious letter, dated A.D. 1177, contains these words :—"Pope Alexander, to

his dear son in Christ, the celebrated king of the Indies. The apostolical see is, according to the word of the Lord, the head and the teacher of those who believe in Christ, for to him it is said, 'I will give thee the kings of the earth for thine inheritance,' etc. We have long heard from the lips of many, and from general tradition, how incessantly thou hast applied to works of piety since thou hast borne the name of Christian, and how thy soul is only directed to what pleases God. My beloved son, Master Philip, my physician and friend, has told us that it was thy desire to be instructed in the apostolical doctrine, and that thou and thy people wished to be agreed with the apostolical see. Now, as we consider ourselves debtors both to wise and ignorant, rich and poor, we feel a lively interest for the good of thy soul, and for thy people; and we desire to recall you from the errors (that is, the teaching of the Nestorians), through which you differ from us. For this purpose, we have deputed our dear Philip, that you may no longer fear that any error should oppose thy salvation, and that of thy people." At the end of the letter, this fair-speaking pope gave the prince reason to hope that he would be able, according to his desires, to obtain a church at Rome, and an altar in the church of the sepulchre at Jerusalem. The pope's epistle took no effect; and if the letter of John III. to the Greek emperor may be credited, no result could be expected, for the Tartar court was already filled with an immense number of ecclesiastical dignitaries, who were not likely to tolerate rivals of another sect.

Either Prester John had made ecclesiastics his officers, or his officers ecclesiastics. He says, "My master of the pantry is primate and king; my cup-bearer is archbishop and king; my chamberlain bishop and king; my first groom archimandrite and king; and the prince of the cooks is abbot and king; and because my highness would not be designated in like manner, I have preferred, by humility, a lower ecclesiastical title, and I call myself priest." Letters were addressed to the Emperor Frederic II. in a similar style.

The sudden destruction of this mighty empire, and the

almost utter blotting out of this wide-spread profession in Central Asia, belongs to the commencement of our next period. Suffice it here to observe, that evidence is entirely wanting as to the existence of a real work of God's Spirit in the strange revolution which we have recorded; but we may yet venture to hope that some good seed fell from the hand of the sower, where the enemy scattered a multitude of tares that brought forth no fruit.

We have often referred to the difficulties attending the establishment of Christian profession in the northern kingdoms of Europe, and the violent methods used to enforce it. In the days of Stenkil, a king of Sweden, who died about the time of the Norman conquest, there were eleven hundred churches. He was moderate in his zeal, and checked the forcible extirpation of idolatry; but, after his death, the pagans were persecuted to such a degree, that they drove out the clergy; but, after a time, the prudence of the reigning king brought about their restoration.

Inge, the son of Stenkil, who came to the throne 1075, exerted himself with uncommon ardour, abolished all sacrifices, constrained the pagans to be baptised, and overthrew their most sacred temple at Upsala. The Swedes rose, and declared that the king should either resign his religion or the throne; and on his replying that he would never abandon heavenly truth, they drove him away with stones.

His son-in-law, called Blot-Sweyn, or Sweyn the sacrificing, a noted Pagan, offered himself as king. His accession was hailed with joy by the idolaters, but deeply mourned by the Christians throughout the country. His first act was to sacrifice a horse, and to sprinkle with its blood the offended idol of Upsala; afterwards he traversed the country, everywhere celebrating his horrid orgies; and caused to be put to death a bishop, who had violently preached against idolatry. Within three years he seemed to have brought Christian profession to the brink of ruin, when Inge, with a valiant troop of cavalry, made a sudden attack on his palace, and set it on fire: Blot-Sweyn himself was slain in trying to escape. Inge immediately re-ascended the throne, and caused it to be proclaimed throughout his kingdom, that

Christianity was to be the fundamental law. From that time paganism raised its head no more, though decided traces of pagan idolatry were to be found in the North till the time of the Reformation. Indeed, one can hardly understand how Romish teachers could uproot it altogether, whilst they were setting before the ignorant people more refined forms of idol worship. The Northmen might well confound the images of the saints with the household gods whom they had always been accustomed to adore. Inge II., who reigned from 1112 to 1133, gained the surname of Pious, because he assiduously attended mass, built churches, and enriched the clergy. After his death, three pretenders, each of a persecuting spirit, fell one after the other; and Eric Jedvarson, surnamed the Saint, obtained the kingdom in 1156, and gained the confidence of the people. He also was a great friend to the clergy, and was highly extolled by them. He built churches, sent missionaries everywhere, and several districts, especially Dalecarlia, embraced Christianity under his influence.

Greenland and Iceland received Christianity partly from Ireland, partly from Norway. We have mentioned the zeal of Olave Trygweson. Olave II., also surnamed the Saint, engaged the Icelanders to abolish their secret sacrifices, to forbid the exposure of children, and the use of horseflesh. Greenland, which possessed seventeen churches in the eleventh century, received its first bishops from Hamburgh. The name of this country describes its ancient aspect. The climate of Northern Europe was in these ages far less cold than at present, nor was access to its shores blocked up by ice as now.

The gigantic, fantastic, scenery of Iceland and its natural phenomena were perhaps then as striking as they are now; and the minds of the people seemed to take an imaginative tone, as if wrought upon by what they saw around them. In later ages, since a purer faith has been preached among them, God has been glorified in many an Icelandic Christian; but in the middle ages Iceland was chiefly noted for its poets. Between the ninth century and the thirteenth, the names of two hundred are on record; but the fragments of their verses that have reached us are in praise of the gods and heroes of

the North. It is, however, certain that the intellectual activity displayed by the Icelanders acted as a spur to slumbering minds in other nations. A company of skalds was formed among them at an early period, and the most distinguished of them went to foreign courts to recite their poems. Their talent was rewarded by a gold ring, a sword, or a sumptuous garment; and the kings of Europe often chose an eminent skald as a prime minister, a genealogist, or a historiographer, or made him his friend and counsellor. Snorro Sturleson, an Icelander born in 1178, was a celebrated poet, and the author of a chronicle of the kings of Norway, which is esteemed one of the most interesting and valuable of the ancient records of the North. Towards the end of his life, he filled the office of Lagman, or first magistrate of the island, with much wisdom. The Scriptures were certainly known and used in Iceland in the twelfth century, though we know not to what extent the word of God was glorified. An Irish translation of the Scriptures was found there, supposed to have been made in the thirteenth century, having the first letters of the chapters gilt; also a paraphrase of the same date, beginning at the creation and extending as far as the captivity. It was almost a literal translation from the Vulgate; but intermixed with legends and whole homilies borrowed from Isidore.

We have glanced at the most remote quarters in which any glimmering of light can be discovered at this period; we must now record the horrible manner in which the servants of Rome sought to enlarge the borders of the corrupt church. Waldemar I., king of Denmark, accomplished a bloody work of conversion among the Sclavonians, Venedi, and Vandals, about 1168. He pulled down their temples and images, laid waste their groves, and set up Christian worship among them. Priests followed his army to instruct the conquered people how to conform to the new rites. The Finlanders, being conquered by Eric IX. of Sweden, were compelled, though with the utmost unwillingness, to adopt the forms of religion imposed upon them by the conqueror; and the archbishop of Upsal accompanied this monarch in his bloody campaign in order to form a new Church. He

treated the converts with great severity, and was at length assassinated for having imposed a very heavy penance on a great man who had been guilty of manslaughter. The honours of saintship and martyrdom were conferred on him by Adrian IV. But Livonia was the scene of the most revolting cruelty and bloodshed. A monk named Mainard went into Livonia with some merchants of Bremen, in order to convert the pagans ; but, impatient of their obstinacy, he left off preaching, and appealed to Urban III. for help. That pope consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and declared a holy war against them. Mainard and his two successors preached sword in hand, and army after army was led into Livonia ; and in 1198, Albert, the third bishop, raised fresh troops in Saxony and made an encampment at Riga, where he instituted, by the permission of Innocent III., the military order of the Knights Sword-bearers, who were commissioned, by force of arms, to oblige the Livonians to receive baptism. With the aid of other troops from Germany they at last accomplished their purpose, but not without frightful butchery, and cruel oppression of the people ; and when at last they submitted, their lands and property were taken from them and divided by the knights and bishops who had assisted in the enterprise. Henry, duke of Saxony, surnamed the Lion, of whom we have already spoken, distinguished himself by going to work in a different manner among the Sclavonians on the coasts of the Baltic, who had long resisted the efforts of princes and missionaries. He restored or richly endowed three bishoprics that had been destroyed, and placed in them the most eminent teachers. Among these was Vicelinus, a man of piety and learning, who spent thirty years in patiently instructing the Sclavonians, undaunted by all the dangers and difficulties of the work. It is said that his own life was to the glory of God, and that he had much fruit from his labours.

The true reason of the furious zeal wherewith the name of Christians was imposed upon so many people, was the desire of extending the dominion of the popes of Rome, and of defending the civilized nations from the incursions of barbarians. And it has been well observed, the pure faith

of Christ was never presented to these unhappy nations, and the senseless round of ceremonies whereby they were taught they might obtain the favour of God, might have been easily reconciled with their ancient ideas, and the superstitions they were desired to renounce, but for the introduction of the name and history of Christ, the sign of the cross, and certain rites which marked it as a new religion. The Pagans, it is true, were numerically few at the close of this century, but Christianity was paganized; and papal triumphs were not the triumphs of the cross of Christ, but of its enemies, and of the arch-enemy himself. But let us search for the remnants of godliness which were yet to be found within the tainted sphere of this evil system, nor dare to deny that Almighty power which *holds in life* the souls preserved in Christ, whilst they in ignorance cleave to many and grave errors. Let us begin with an extract from a letter written by a sub-prior in the diocese of Tours, to a monk of his own order, dated 1170, in reference to the duty which his abbot had urged on him of buying a Bible. "A monastery without a library is like a castle without an armoury. Our library is our armoury . . . See to it therefore that in your armoury of defence is not wanting *that great defence of all other defences*—the Holy Bible—wherein is contained the right rule of life and manners. There *each sex and every age* finds what is profitable. Spiritual infancy finds that whereby it may grow, youth that which may strengthen it, age that which may support it—a blessed hand which ministers to all, whereby all may be saved. If therefore you have taken care to provide the arms of this warfare, you will have nothing to do but to say, Take thine arms and thy shield, and arise to my help. Farewell, and take care that the Bible, which no monastery should be without, is bought."

In these days, when there was no public post whereby to transmit letters, it was usual to send them by a trusty messenger, and in any matter of consequence such a person was chosen as would not merely deliver the epistle, but carry any message that could not be written with safety. Peter, surnamed the Venerable, abbot of Clugni, and Bernard, the celebrated abbot of Clairval, carried on a correspondence

which was entrusted to one Nicholas a monk, the bosom friend of both, and the depositary of the *verbum secretum* (secret word) that often passed between them. In both these eminent men there seems to have been manifest evidence of vital godliness, notwithstanding the errors in which they were involved, and the infirmities wherewith they were encompassed. They were persons of ardent feeling, and both had a zeal of God, though it went beyond scriptural bounds. They carried on a warm controversy as to the merits of their respective orders, but preserved in the midst of it a tone of the most affectionate respect towards each other, and ended by loving each other more heartily than before.

Bernard dared to expose the luxurious habits that had crept in amongst the Clugniacs. Peter tried to moderate the excessive austerity of his friend; apologising, on good grounds, for many changes that had been made in the discipline of his own order. Bernard declaimed against the excesses that prevailed, saying that he knew many abbots, each of whom had sixty horses in his stables, and such a variety of wines in his cellar that it was scarcely possible to taste half of them at one feast. He condemned the superfluity and magnificence to be seen in their dress, their furniture, and buildings. He also alleged that those who originally professed to be spiritual fathers of holy and humble communities, and to be crucified to the interests and pomps of an evil world, had now the appearance of governors of provinces, and were full of pride and vanity. Peter could not deny the declension; and although he had not the same views as Bernard as to the mode of reform, it appears that he encouraged simple and industrious habits in those whom he could influence.

This abbot made a Latin translation of the Koran, and wrote a scriptural treatise against the Jews—both intended as service to the church of Christ; and his own secretary testified that he had both Testaments in his memory. Other learning he did not approve; and wrote against classical study to his own notary, Peter of Poitiers, urging him rather to seek the knowledge of Christ: "*If through his gift you attain to this, there will be joy over you among the angels and much joy among the saints, and to*

me a joy beyond every thing. I will receive you as an only son, bring you up among the little ones of Christ," etc. Here surely the good abbot pointed to *true conversion*. Afterwards he wrote to the same person lamenting his temporary absence in a neighbouring cell in such affectionate strains, that we may believe the desire of his heart for him had been answered, and that he did esteem him a son in the faith. In this letter, he recommended him to turn to some manual employment when fatigued by the spiritual exercises of prayer, reading, and meditation; and especially to use his pen in copying the word of God. "Thus," said Peter, "you become a silent preacher of the divine word. You will cry aloud by the reader in the public assemblies of the church, and whisper the same things to the silent servants of God in the recess of the cloister and the corner of the house You will not die even when you are dead; and even ceasing to live, you will not cease to do good, while by your works you are recalling the dead to life." He added, that, if through injury to his sight, head-ache, or weariness, this one manual employment did not suffice, he might vary it by making combs for the brethren, turning needle cases, or hollowing out vessels for wine, or he might weave mats to bedew often with his tears and wear out by frequently kneeling on them, or he might make little baskets. He wished him to leave "no room for the devil, none for sloth, none for the other vices."

Bernard, to whom we have often referred, deserves more serious notice here. All the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel are to be found in his writings, and his experimental acquaintance with them can scarcely be doubted: whilst his admirers extolled him to the skies, he seems to have been little in his own eyes, and loved to trace every thing good to divine grace. Before the clergy assembled at Paris, he preached on the subject of conversion; and his sermons on the Canticles seem to indicate the most sincere love to the Lord Jesus, and humble faith in him.

His errors seem to have been on those points where he was led astray through the traditions instilled into his mind from childhood. His rigorous monastic observances seri-

ously injured his own health, and brought many into bondage who tried to imitate them ; but, in the end, he regretted, and even moderated, this excessive austerity.

In his care for doctrinal truth, Bernard assailed the views of Abelard, a monk of brilliant powers, who was very popular as a teacher and writer. The good abbot accused him of holding doctrines subversive of the atonement and other precious truths ; and after admonishing him alone, and then in the presence of two or three witnesses, without effect, he made his heresies public. In 1140, in the presence of Louis VII. and his nobles, and a number of learned men, Bernard stated his charges ; and Abelard, unable to reply to them, appealed to Innocent the pope. The pope, aroused by Bernard's vehement writings against Abelard, ordered his works to be burned, and sentenced the heretic to be confined in some monastery. Abelard was permitted to end his days under the eye of Peter the Venerable at Clugni ; and Bernard, with whom Peter procured him a meeting, expressed himself satisfied with his retraction of error, and the orthodoxy of his faith. Abelard had been guilty of error in life as well as in doctrine ; and although his latter years were outwardly moral, those proofs of genuine godliness, found in the abbots who testified their concern about him, cannot be perceived in him. We have referred to the influence of Bernard over the popes, especially Eugenius. It may here be added, that Theobald, count of Blois, elder brother to Stephen of England, was so much guided by the abbot's counsels that he lived in a plain and abstemious manner, and would suffer nothing indecorous in his presence. He was also eminent for his devotedness to the service of others, especially the poor and afflicted, and in a famine opened his own storehouses to the needy.

Nothing can more plainly prove the darkness that may cover the clearest mind, if wedded to a particular system, than the opposition of such a man as Bernard to the persons who in this age contended for the truths that were rejected by Rome, and cast off its errors.

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of God as their guide, and in labouring to establish the primitive church. They were mostly of the poor of this world; but as their numbers increased, some of a higher class had grace to join their brotherly association. In the south of France there were many of these simple Christians; and Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, who was converted about 1160, devoted his whole fortune and energy to the propagation of the gospel. He had the Bible translated at first into French, and then into Piedmontese; and because of the expense and delay in multiplying copies, a plan was adopted amongst these lovers of the truth of committing large portions of scripture to memory, and reciting them whenever they had opportunity. Of this practice, and its results, we shall speak more largely hereafter.

These enlightened Christians were distinguished in this century by the name of Waldenses; some say as followers of Waldo, but it appears more probable as pointing to the valleys where they were chiefly located, and originally known: Waldo, indeed, however eminent among them, was far from being the founder of the association; and we should lament to call the followers of Jesus by any other name than that of their Lord and Master.

At the commencement of the twelfth century the following account is given in a chronicle of the monastery of Corvey. "Simple laymen of Swabia, Switzerland and Bavaria, take the greatest pains to render the Latin church contemptible: these are people who have been seduced by that *old* bad race of men who inhabit the Alps and their environs, and who will not let go old traditions. Swiss merchants of this description who have learned the Bible by heart, often traverse Swabia, Bavaria, and the north of Italy, where they render contemptible the usages of the church, which they treat as novelties. They forbid the adoration of images and reject the holy relics. Their manner of living is exceedingly simple, for they feed on the products of the earth without ever eating meat: it is for this reason we are wont to call them Manicheans. Then there are others who have just joined them from Hungary, Moravia, and Bavaria, and who live with them as people who know each other very well."

Other accounts from their enemies state that members of the association could set out from the bottom of Calabria, and go as far as Russia, finding every where brethren who showed them hospitality: they had, among other names, that of pilgrims and wanderers. Their numbers were probably greatly exaggerated, as it was said that there were eighty thousand in Austria alone; their views, also, were in many respects misrepresented, as may appear by comparing their own writings with the statements of their opponents.

At Cologne, many were burned for testifying against the prevailing superstitious; and an ecclesiastic, who was a spectator of the joy with which they suffered, wrote to Bernard, expressing his surprise on the subject, and wondering that heretics should be of such blameless faith and conversation.

Bernard, it appears, was misinformed in many points concerning them; but he also condemned them for their rejection of purgatory and other unscriptural doctrines. Amongst other things, the good abbot complained of the secrecy of their religious rites; and we gather from other sources, that they were in the habit of holding private meetings among themselves, although they occasionally, or regularly frequented the churches. This, indeed, was a ground of complaint against some, being taken as a mark of insincerity. "They declare," said one of their accusers, "that the true faith and worship of Christ is not to be found but in their meetings, which they hold in cellars and weaving rooms.* If ever they do accompany the people with whom they dwell to hear mass or to receive the sacrament, they do it in dissimulation, that they may be thought to believe what they do not; for they maintain that the priestly order has perished in the Roman church, and is preserved only in their sect." Their enemies, however, acknowledged that they maintained their views only by the authority of scripture, that they were mostly illiterate

* In France they were often called *Tisserands* (weavers), because so many of them followed that occupation.

persons, and that they had no acknowledged leader among themselves.

Cologne, Flanders, the south of France, Savoy and Milan, were at this time their chief places of residence; and it is probable that they conformed, as much as they found it possible, to common customs, and only relinquished erroneous views and practices as they obtained increased knowledge of the scriptures, and increase of grace. "The testimony of the Lord is sure, *making wise the simple;*" and "the commandment of the Lord is pure, *enlightening the eyes.*" Things had, as it were, come to the worst in that which called itself the Church, when this mighty movement of God's Spirit became so evident; and at this point, it has been thought by some, there might have been a greater number of real believers than at any other period. But never was a flood of light poured from on high that the prince of darkness did not seek to overpower with blackness; and as we proceed, we shall have to detail, not only the bright course of these many witnesses for Christ, but a persecution against them carried on by the false church, which far exceeded in its unrelenting character and exterminating power any of the Pagan persecutions.

We have traced the History of the Christian Profession through four more centuries, and have seen how the Living God preserves His own in the thick darkness and manifold dangers that gather round their path. We have also noticed the farther working of that mystery of iniquity—the history of which, from its first budding to its full maturity, is so clearly set forth in the prophetic word. That there should be that which *corrupted* the earth—a fruitful source of abominations—was so plainly foreshown in the Scriptures, that we must doubt the correctness of our history if it did not treat of such corruption. The perversion of truth, and the introduction of error whereby souls are subverted, could never be unnoticed by the Judge of all: He showed his servants beforehand the things that should come to pass.

History may serve as our monitor. Let us take heed to ourselves. The devices of Satan are not yet exhausted—the worst, indeed, are reserved to the last; our hearts are not less easily beguiled than the weakest that have been led astray: the humblest are the safest. The believer who would not be moved must cease from man, and wait only upon God; for no day of trial, no hour of temptation, can be passed through, or escaped, as a conqueror, without the strength of Christ; and we know not how near we may be to the winding up of those wonders foretold by the prophets—the long-expected “time of the end.”

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