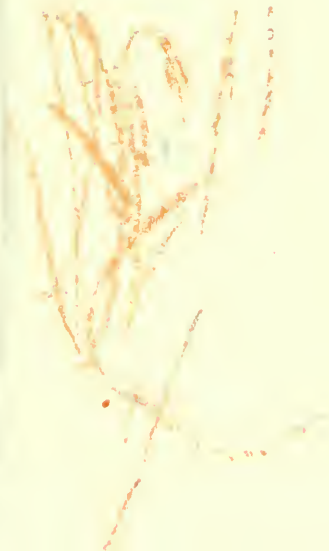

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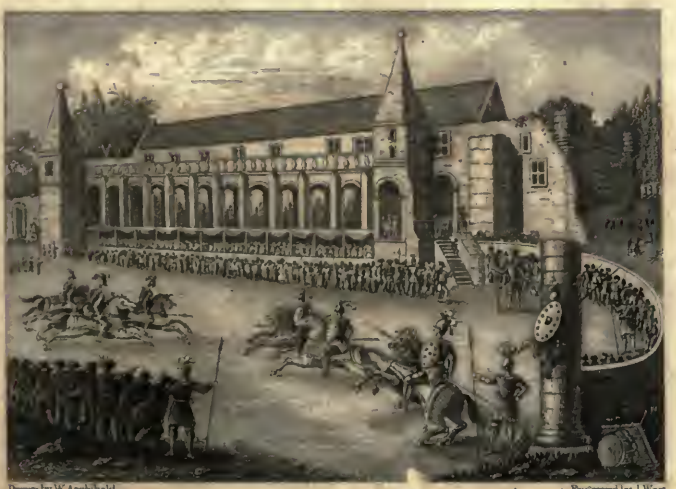
CHIVALRY AND THE CRUSADES VOL. I.



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1829.

THE

HISTORY OF CHIVALRY

AND

THE CRUSADES.

BY THE

REV. HENRY STEBBING, M.A. M.R.S.L.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE AND CO.;
AND HURST, CHANCE, AND CO., LONDON.
1830.

TO

THOMAS ROSCOE, ESQ.

THESE VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,

AS A TESTIMONY OF SINCERE RESPECT,

BY HIS FAITHFUL

AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

Arkheim

PREFACE.

The intention of these volumes is to give a general idea of the nature of Chivalry, and of the events which attended the chivalrous armies of Europe in their invasion of Palestine. The writer has endeavoured to offer such observations in the progress of his narrative, as may excite the reader to use his reflection on a subject in regard to which popular opinion is more likely to be mistaken than otherwise. The highly coloured pictures which have been given of Knighthood, and of the times in which it flourished, if they do no worse injury to truth, lead to false opinions respecting the progress of general improvements; and by doing this, induce the inquirer to regard the advantages at present possessed by society as of less value than they really are; or o be indifferent in the struggle which is going on, to provide mankind with more

certain guides in the pursuit of knowledge and happiness, than were enjoyed when war was the only road to distinction, and courage the first of all virtues.

It has not, however, been the author's intention to represent the institutions alluded to, as wanting in that external splendour usually ascribed to them; or as not exercising, to a certain extent, considerable influence on the opinions of former generations; his only object having been to guard against the mistakes and puerilities of mere eulogists.

In regard to the History of the Crusades, the narrative is necessarily a rapid one; but it is hoped that nothing is omitted, which can assist the reader in forming a correct view of the Holy Wars, or of the events and characters which the history concerns.

Authorities are given where any extraordinary event is related, or expressions are employed from the old writers on the subject; but references have not been thought necessary where the events recorded are such as form the staple matter of all histories of the period described.

London, December 1829.

HISTORY

OF

CHIVALRY AND THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF CHIVALRY.

CHIVALRY owes its origin to a state of society which has only existed once, and which it is more than probable will never again exist in any part of the civilized world. The destruction of the vast Roman monarchy at no long period after the establishment of Christianity, seems to have been ordered by Providence, that a total change might take place in the civil government of nations, simultaneously with the revolution in their belief and morals. By the fearful convulsions which attended the decay of that Empire, its feeble and exhausted provinces were speedily broken off from the once splendid mass of sovereignty and triumph-

ant grandeur which they contributed to enlarge. As if a call to victory had been suddenly heard in the recesses of their vast forests, the Northern barbarians poured forth, in unlooked for strength and numbers, upon the rich and defenceless plains of Gaul, Spain and Italy. Had the Roman government been possessed at the time of more vigour, and a bolder and better disciplined army, it is probable that, fierce and numerous as were the invaders, she would have successively repelled them, or, leaving the least tenable parts of her domain as their prize, would have concentrated her strength within narrower bounds, and by her wealth and compactness defied any further assaults. But the enervating effects of misgovernment and luxury had been too long operating; and there was now no Roman or national spirit which might be called up to resist their influence. By the end, therefore, of the fifth century, Rome scarcely possessed even the shadow of her former greatness. Like other conquerors, with the warlike renown of her name, she had lost all that rendered her respectable. The first horde of barbarians that successfully defied her legions, pulled up, in fact, the foundations of the Capitol; and the Eastern empire, splendid as were the materials out of which it was formed, never possessed the strength which insures to kingdoms a long and healthy existence.

The contests which the barbarians waged with the imperial forces, were marked by many and striking traits of romance. Their fierce spirits were urged forward by the twofold desire of conquest and adventure. They knew no other state but that of freedom; and they believed that valour and freedom were invincible. In the bleak and

impenetrable wilds from which they issued, the grave and solemn superstitions which distinguished the heathenism of the North, had taught them to imbue every project with the awfulness of religion: and their long and perilous routes through unknown districts; the dangers they had to encounter in invasions where the enemy's forces were frequently uncalculated; and the strong delight which they felt at their first entrance upon the bright and flowery vallies of the South; were all calculated to strengthen both their superstitious and warlike character.

Without much apparent change, either in their dispositions or habits, the conversion of many of the Gothic tribes to Christianity took place shortly after their conquests. There was thus engrafted upon their original nature a new system of belief, which in its own native purity would have been singularly in opposition to all their former principles of conduct. But the doctrines and precepts of Christianity had been gradually becoming more and more obscure, amid the convulsions of society, the fierce contentions of new sects, and the mistaken zeal of devotees and ascetics. We must not, therefore, expect to see the effects of their conversion such as we may suppose they would have been in the primitive times of the Gospel. But though imperfect, they were, notwithstanding, considerable; though they could not subdue, they gave a different tone to their warlike dispositions, and greatly modified the first ideas with which they commenced the foundation of new states.

In speaking of the rise of Chivalry, which derives its existence from the union of warlike vir-

tues with religious devotion, it is worthy of constant observation, that Christianity was embraced by the founders of the most chivalrous kingdoms, when they came hot from the battle-field —when they were rejoicing in the pride of their prowess—trampling on subject foes, and only waiting for breathing-time to rush forward again in their triumphant career. It was not the conversion of a people, by the slow work of reason and missionaries, but of an army following the example of its venerated leader, and instigated by motives which were more likely to work on the sudden, than after mature deliberation. Thus, the Burgundians and others are said to have embraced Christianity; and thus Clovis, the renowned head of the French monarchy, became a convert to the faith, after having triumphed in the doubtful battle of Tolbiac. The labours of Ulphilas among the Goths had early given them the means of conversion; many of them had received it from h[illegible] hands; and they pursued their conquests, carry[illegible] with them the Gospel, but not trusting less t[illegible] shields with which they had been armed by [illegible] fathers.

We have here the groundwork of that s[illegible]m institution which threw its lustre over s[illegible] ages of gloom and anarchy, but which nev[illegible] the characteristics which belonged to its [illegible] So natural, however, does it seem for men exp[illegible] to the excitement of great and frequent dang[illegible] to be more open than others to religious impressions, that we find this element of chivalrous feeling in the character of many of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. The minute observances of rites and ceremonies, and the terrible

commands to which, according to Homer, the Grecian captains submitted, afford a strong instance of this description. The boldest warriors appear as the most devout worshippers of the gods, and the hero of the Æneid receives his distinguishing characteristic and praise from his great piety.

There can be no doubt, also, that the original of chivalric forms and institutions may be discovered in the military customs of nations long before their establishment in modern times. The Roman Equites formed, in the earliest ages of the republic, the great ornament of its army; they were distinguished by a gold ring, which was presented them by the state, and were provided with horses at the public charge. In the rude ceremonies with which the German youth were admitted into the assembly of warriors, we observe a still nearer approach to the observances of knightly initiation. They were publicly endowed with the spear and shield, and from that time forth attached themselves, with devoted constancy, to some particular chieftain. "The noblest youths," says Tacitus, "were not ashamed to be numbered among the youthful companions of a celebrated leader, to whom they devoted their arms and service. A warm emulation prevailed among the companions, Who should obtain the highest place in his esteem—among warriors, to acquire the greatest number of bold companions. To be constantly surrounded by a band of select youths, was the ambition and glory of the chiefs,—their ornament in peace, their protection in war. The glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond the narrow limits of

their own tribe. Presents and embassies were employed to obtain their friendship; and the fame of their arms often ensured victory to the party which they espoused. In the hour of danger, it was shameful for the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions—shameful for the companions not to equal the valour of their chief. To survive him, if he fell, was irretrievable disgrace. To protect his person, and to increase his glory by their own triumphs, were the most holy of their duties."

Thus, a principal part of the forms which introduced the modern warrior to his noblest degree, and that faithful attachment which subsisted between the military baron and his followers, the knight and his squire, seem to have existed long before Christianity was made to assist in forming them into a system, and to add the solemnity of devotion to the haughty gallantry of war. Nor ought it to be passed over unobserved, that the people among whom we trace these early dawnings of chivalry, were remarkable for the honour in which they held the female character. The women of Germany were as distinguished for their chastity as the men for their heroism; and they were regarded with a respect which partook of religious veneration. This union of so many of the elements which gave birth to knighthood in a subsequent age, affords sufficient reason for ascribing its doubtful and obscure origin to our Northern ancestors, who alone seem to have possessed, at the same time, that feeling of religious awe, that free and heroic courage, and severe purity of manners, which, at its commencement, distinguished the votaries of chivalry.

The warlike dispositions of the barbarians remained, almost necessarily, unaltered, long after their settlement in the countries they had conquered. When no danger existed from the remaining spirit of their vanquished subjects, they were left free to exert their proud and turbulent feelings against each other; and when no proper ground of quarrel could be found, they were not long in discovering an imaginary one; for, when men are possessed of wealth and power, but have neither the employments which an established government creates, nor the resources afforded by literature, they must either retain their warlike disposition with its attendant evils, or gradually sink into slothful barbarism.

How little effect their new religion had in softening the habits of the Northmen when they first embraced it, may be understood from what is related of the famous Earl Siward, who, when he felt death approaching, thus lamented the sad fate which awarded him such an ignominious end—"Alas," he cried, "that I have escaped death in so many battles, to yield up my life in this tame, disgraceful manner, like a cow! I beseech you, my dear friends, dress me in my impenetrable coat of mail; gird my trusty sword about my body; place my helmet on my head, my shield in my left hand, and my gilded battle-axe in my right, that I may die in the dress of a warrior, since I cannot have the happiness to die in battle!" The same feelings were common, in life and death, to all the celebrated warriors of those ages; and it was not till after they had been some time subjected to the influence of ecclesiastical authority and monkish

superstition, that they lost the last remnants of Scandinavian ferocity.

The noble attempts which were made by some of the Roman missionaries to diffuse the purest knowledge they themselves possessed, had only a very temporary effect; and for more than a century preceding the reigns of Alfred and Charlemagne, both the clergy and the laity were sunk in the grossest darkness. The policy of both those enlightened princes, led them to endeavour the establishment of religion on a surer footing. They encouraged learning by the foundation of public schools and universities, and ensured the better and more regular instruction of the people, by the erection of splendid churches, and the appointment of officiating ministers. But Christianity, in its passage through the dark period which preceded this era, had become too closely mixed up with all the errors and superstitious conceits of the times, to be easily separated from its corruptions; and when Charles by his splendid victories obtained the empire, and adorned the church with many trophies of his victories, it retained few traces of its original and simple character.

But it was to the predominance which superstition gained over the open plainness of truth, that chivalry owed its strongest nourishment. The gorgeous hues with which she dyed the simple banner of the Cross, made it more fitting for the pomp of the battle-field, and the tents of kings and conquerors. Her voice, unlike that of truth, was many-toned, and seemed as much in harmony with the concert of triumphant clarions and neighing war-steeds, as with the meek voices of preachers and confessors. The offering of a bloody sword

was more acceptable to her than that of a bleeding heart; and spoil-laden soldiers better worshippers at her altar, than penitents who brought nothing but their sins.

Chivalry, as a military institution, had acquired part of its ceremonial pomp before the time of Charlemagne. An account is given in the life of that monarch, of his formally investing his son Lewis with the arms of a knight on his reaching manhood. King Alfred, also, is related to have admitted Athelstan to the same dignity, by clothing him in a purple vest, with a belt set with gems, and a sword sheathed in gold. If, also, we are to believe only a small portion of the traditionary history of the gallant Arthur and his knights, chivalry, as early as the sixth century, could boast of its gay and festive shows. The candidate for its honours, according to Segar, was, on the day of his admission, called before an august assembly of the king and the noblest lords and ladies of his court, in a church adorned for the purpose. There, seated on a silver chair which was ornamented with silken curtains of green, he replied to the several questions which were put to him respecting his readiness to fulfil the arduous duties of his profession; which having done, he received his arms, his belt and golden spurs, and was then led forth into the banquet-hall, by the fairest and most exalted ladies of the realm.

Whether we are to believe or not this account of the early splendour of chivalry, it is certain that, by the end of the eighth century, as far as regards its military ordinances, it existed throughout Europe. The formal girding on of the sword, the *accollade* or kiss of brotherhood, and the striking

on the ear, which constituted so great a part of the ceremony in after times, are all mentioned, both in the account we possess of the admission of Lewis, and in the constitutions for Friesland, in which Charlemagne gives the governor authority to make knights, and directs him to do so by investing the persons worthy of the honour with a sword, striking them on the ear, and presenting them with an ensign emblazoned with the Imperial crown.

Thus far, however, chivalry was not consecrated by religion. We hear nothing of prayers and vigils, of swords and shields made proof by priestly benedictions, or of vows that rendered it doubtful whether the order of knighthood was not equal in holiness to that of the clergy. It was an institution purely military, and owing, it is probable, whatever it possessed of a moral character, to its connection with feudalism, which strongly inculcated not only the virtues of bravery, but those of truth and devoted fidelity.

But though it thus remained unimpressed with that religious solemnity which subsequently perfected the system, it was, I am persuaded, in the reign of Charlemagne, that the proper foundation of Christian chivalry was laid, and that from this period we are to date the commencement of its progress to that complete and beautiful harmony of parts which it subsequently attained.

We have no positive statements from which to determine the precise time at which the ministers of religion first performed any part at the creation of knights; and writers on the subject are generally contented with ascribing it to some period between the reign of Charlemagne and the eleventh century. But there are many circumstances which

may induce us to place it much nearer the former than the latter era. The principal of these is, the close and remarkable union which the warlike Charles formed with the great potentate of the church. To his father and grandfather the Roman See had owed its deliverance more than once from bold and impious invaders; but it was reserved for him to complete the sacred triumph of his family, and to make himself not only the champion, but the favoured son of the church. Like his ancestors, he enlarged the patrimony of St Peter, and offered the profoundest homage of royalty and valour, to secure the favour of his spiritual father. The opportunity which a barbarous attempt on the life of the reigning pontiff afforded him of showing his reverence for that sacred person, added additional lustre to his character for piety; and he was splendidly rewarded, by being crowned Emperor by the Pope, as the legitimate successor of the Cæsars.

The connection which was thus established between the most warlike monarch in Europe and the Church—the mutual interchange of honours and rewards, in which they vied with each other, must have had a very powerful influence on the military character of the period: and it appears highly probable, that as the monarch was rewarded for his achievements by an imperial crown, his knights and barons would enjoy some proportionable share in ecclesiastical favour; that the piety of their master would lead them to imitate his devotion to the protection of the church; and that they would, in like manner, find themselves adopted into the sacred family of its defenders.

It was also a favourite part of the policy of

Charlemagne, to increase the authority of the clergy in his dominions. He employed them in the most important offices of the state, and seems to have generally opposed their authority to that of his more warlike subjects. This could hardly be done without bringing into action that species of influence, which, by awing the minds of men, renders them ready to pursue a conduct, the moral rectitude of which they are at first incapable of appreciating. It is also easy to perceive, from a circumstance which is recorded respecting the maintenance of the clergy at this period, that they were far from scorning to increase their advantages by the assistance of a fertile invention. The duty of paying tithes having been somewhat neglected, it was declared, at the Council of Frankfort, that voices had been heard in the air ascribing a famine which had happened to that cause, and that demons had therefore been permitted to devour the produce of the earth. We can hardly fix upon a time at which we should find military virtue and ecclesiastical domination more active, or in a better condition to act upon each other, and to bring about the establishment of a system compounded, like chivalry, of their several characteristics. A period, moreover, of great darkness had, as we have said, preceded the reign of Charlemagne. During that time, the love of ceremonies, and all the verbiage, if we may so term it, of religious worship, had been constantly gaining ground. In proportion as Christianity was stripped of its purity, first by the virulence of sectarian zealots, and next by the ambition of designing priests, it became immersed in pomps and gorgeous representations. Its simple beauty, like that of the buried litera-

ture of classic ages, was insufficient to move imperious soldiers to obedience. Religion was therefore again submitted to the gross forms of bodily emblems. Its influence was thenceforward felt, not in the internal world of humanity—the hearts and spirits of men—but in the forms only, and circumstances of society. The most active minds that were employed in its defence, when they left the subtleties of dispute, set themselves to the instruction of the multitude by means as opposed to the airy nature of their speculations, as to the genius of religion itself. They made corporeal images of the very things which they were incapable of describing by all the powers and technicalites of reason; and while they almost ceased to struggle for the moral mastery of truth, exerted an authority over the feelings and imaginations of men which threw a new and glaring light on the whole surface of existence.

The alliance of Charlemagne with the See of Rome gave ample space for the operation of this authority; and the power, the extensive rule and grandeur of that monarch, made it act in a direction favourable to the magnificence of his reign. The same alliance with the ambitious head of the church, when formed by monarchs less wise or powerful than Charles, led, in after times, to the degradation of royalty and the subversion of constitutions. But he never lost sight of his interests as a king, while he offered his homage as a faithful servant to the church; and the church was more likely to consecrate the shields and standards of a conquering host, than respect the sceptre of a pusillanimous prince.

Whenever, indeed, chivalry assumed the character of a perfect institution, it must have owed its consolidation to circumstances, which we find most powerfully acting under the reign of Charlemagne. That which rendered the knighthood of Christendom different from the military honours of earlier times, was, if traced to its source, the peculiar relation which the church, in Christian nations, has always held to the civil government. Nothing like chivalry, properly so called, could exist in ancient times; and this, not because of the want of valour, gallantry, or a devotional spirit, but because there was no special sacred authority, no distinct power—distinct from that which warred and governed—to give them a new name or direction. The religion of paganism never for a moment rivalled the majesty, or stood independent, of the state; and, to carry the observation farther, Mahometanism was an indissoluble compound of the religious and civil power. In neither the one case nor the other was there an authority that could add a glory to regality which kings could not of themselves acquire. The Christian church, from its earliest establishment, existed necessarily and absolutely as a separate foundation; and, while it retained its primitive simplicity, was content to expend its sanctity on the consecration of its own spiritual soldiers. But no change, either in its character or circumstances, could destroy its complete distinctness from the temporal power. It might be brought to act in conjunction with it, but they could not be confounded with each other; and, whether robed in sanctity, or in the purple pall of dominion, the church had an authority which, like the mysteries of its name, could never be alienated or divided.

But what could be more likely, when this new establishment had become as much an object of wonder for its magnificence as of veneration for its holiness, than that men should begin to regard it as a new fountain of honour, and readily yield themselves to its influence when they believed it capable of heightening the glory of their exploits by the consummation of its sanctity? To create such an institution as chivalry, nothing was wanted but this; and this, I apprehend, was the powerful source of all the proud and solemn adornments of Christian knighthood. At the period assigned for its commencement, the ecclesiastical authority obtained its first and most striking advance upon worldly splendor; and this important circumstance was aided by others, which served to vary the uniformity of its effect upon the rising system. From the reign of Charlemagne, literature began to show symptoms of revival. The light which it shed was not strong enough to lead to truth, but it tended to soften the manners of the high and noble, who alone could enjoy it. Charles himself is said to have been fond of science, to have learned astronomy, rhetoric and logic, under the famous Alcuine, whom he invited from England for the purpose. Many academies, also, were instituted in different parts of Europe; and history was studied by the ecclesiastics as a favourite and fashionable pursuit. Not one of these branches of literature, it is true, was cultivated in its purity. Philosophy was disfigured by the useless speculations of schoolmen; poetry was a vain imitation of the classical authors; and the dignity of history was diminished by a frequent mixture of incredible traditions. But even an uncertain

light makes men conscious of there being something in existence besides themselves. If it be not sufficient to show them the proper forms of things, it makes them aware of objects after which it is their interest to seek, and in seeking for which the mind becomes better acquainted with its capacity. The example which was set, both by Alfred and Charlemagne, must have had no little effect on the pursuits of their courtiers and military followers; and hence a new order of feelings, favourable to a more gentle gallantry than that which had hitherto prevailed, was connected with the profession of arms.

We may also add, that the solidity which belonged to the extensive power of Charlemagne gave superior splendour to his court, and to all the circumstances of courtly life. Though he himself affected, as many other celebrated commanders have done, the extreme of plainness both in his dress and habits of living, his followers appear to have indulged in the most costly luxuries. Thus it is related, that on a certain day when they were hunting with their master, and habited in cloaks made of the most expensive silks and furs, a violent storm coming on, they were soaked with rain; seeing which, the monarch, clothed in a simple coat of sheep-skin, heartily laughed, and kept them waiting upon him on their return, till their furs and silks were drawn up and ruined. On the morrow he directed them to appear in the same garments they had worn the day before, and took occasion, on seeing their miserable plight, to ridicule their affectation and luxury. Nor is it to be doubted, that it was under the reign of this monarch that women of rank began to ex-

ercise their influence in giving to chivalry that courteous character which so essentially belonged to it in after times. Charlemagne was himself, if report speak true, a most ardent worshipper of the fair sex; and the gaiety which we have stated, as belonging to the frequenters of his court, must have had considerable influence in giving importance to the smiles and opinions of the ladies.

I have merely had space sufficient for noticing one or two of the circumstances which seem to fix the birth-time of modern chivalry in the reign of the son of Pepin. The inquiry is one of considerable interest, and merits a much more extensive consideration than I am able to give it; but the few observations I have made may serve to establish in the reader's mind some foundation for the details which are to follow. I will only therefore add, to the above remarks, that the wars in which Charlemagne was engaged the greatest part of his life, were made to partake of the nature of crusades, by the importance which he always gave to the consideration of religion. In his contest with the Saracens, he directly faced the most renowned enemies of Christendom; and, in his long and bloody wars with the unconverted Saxons, his victories were always followed either by some attempt to incorporate them with the Catholic Church, or, which seems in those days to have been almost equally meritorious, by their merciless slaughter if they remained obstinate.

The fame alone which he acquired by this championship of the faith, is almost sufficient to point him out as the author of Christian chivalry. In an old and marvellous history of his exploits, we even

find him honoured as the leader of a band of heroes to Jerusalem; and, guided by miracle through pathless wilds and forests, taking possession of the Holy City. Countless other legends describe him, in the same manner, as the most Christian of kings and conquerors; and the whole stream of traditionary history, which from that period teems with notices of chivalry, appears to have had its most powerful source in the events of his splendid reign.

To whatever age we assign the commencement of this celebrated institution, it is to be regarded as among the most remarkable circumstances in the progress of modern civilization—as one, perhaps, of the seven hills on which the citadel of our civil and religious liberties is founded: or, if not this, as a barrier against the troubled current of tempestuous times, affording at least protection, if not nourishment, to the scattered seeds of knowledge and refinement. But I confess, so far as I have hitherto viewed the subject, I am not inclined to ascribe all those prodigious advantages to the institutions of chivalry, which is frequently done. According to the representations of some writers on the subject, it would require no little judgment in a reader not to be persuaded, that every good we possess as a civilized people is derived from the influence of knighthood. They would make us believe, by their extravagant eulogiums of its principles, that it was the concentration and activity of every religious and social virtue—that Christianity would, in fact, have done little towards the civilization of Europe without its aid—that the natural power and energy of growing kingdoms is a shadow, when compared

with the influence of chivalry—that mankind would have stood in great peril of never discovering what is right or becoming in the duties and manners of social life, had not knights and their squires set them an example—that the female sex owe all the respect they possess in free and Christian states to the gallantry of soldiers in the middle ages—and that every gentleman in the land owes his love of truth and his honourable character to the brave bearing of his harnessed ancestors.

To give credit to representations which thus eulogise the glory of chivalry, is to detract from the worth of those humbler but surer aids to civilization which belong to mankind in every state of progressive improvement, and which were the especial property of the times in which this institution gained its principal celebrity. It would be madness, or at least very unphilosophical, to believe, that when the great spirit of humanity was nourished by the richest food that truth ever provided it; when it was bursting with irresistible strength like a stream in the bowels of a mountain, through every obstacle to its progress, and when the empire of war, and the glory which pertained to conquest, was every day imperceptibly yielding something to the worth of citizenship and commerce—it would greatly savour of an extravagant predilection for the gala-shows of history, to give more credit than is plainly due to the influence of chivalrous institutions. They softened, perhaps, the barbarism of war, but there were principles at work, independent of chivalry, which put a bit into the dragon's mouth, and chained as well as tamed it. They threw splendour over scenes which had otherwise wanted the ornament and grace of polished life; but society, in

the second great era of its formation, had inseparably mixed up with its elements the principles of moral and domestic excellence; and these were continually tending to produce that state of social life which is the best and happiest, because truth and virtue are not its ornaments, as with chivalry, but its simple and unnoticed groundwork.

But though I am inclined, in these respects, to differ widely from the romantic panegyrists of knighthood and its times, I would not be understood to mean, that the institutions of chivalry were in aught less magnificent than tradition and imagination combine to represent them. It is, indeed, as brilliant inventions of an age when the love of pomp had outrun the gradual advance of civilization, and men, though not yet strong enough to be the soldiers of truth, began to pay her homage by forms and ceremonies, that such institutions deserve the most serious attention. Under this point of view, chivalry will not seduce us into fanciful and injudicious exaggerations; nor will it lose any of the splendour in which romance has clothed it, by being in some measure deprived of that grave importance in the fate of empires which has been attributed to its influence. The glittering spears and polished swords of its votaries were glorious as spears and swords, but not as ploughshares and pruning-hooks.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF CHIVALRY IN FRANCE—SPAIN—ENGLAND.—ITS RELATION TO FEUDALISM.—ITS DEGENERACY.

COTEMPORARY history affords scarcely any materials for tracing the progress of chivalry, from the reign of Charlemagne, to the full development of the system at the period of the crusades. The only ideas we can form upon the subject, are to be derived from what knowledge we possess of the state of Europe in the intervening ages of gloom and anarchy. The genius of Charles had given birth to a mighty monarchy; but, like the castle of a magician, which vanishes at the death of the enchanter, it fell into ruin almost as soon as his spirit ceased to uphold it. His descendents, either not equal to him in ability, or wanting that energy which the first fresh draught of empire inspires, saw themselves despoiled of their authority by inferior, but rival potentates. The division of the empire among his sons and their offspring, was followed by troubles, which subdued the rising spirit of civilization, and, by filling the ambitious nobles with hopes of conquest, put an effectual bar to political improvement. The reigns

of Louis, Lothaire, and Charles, were disturbed by every evil which can destroy the value of government. The church was, by turns, the subject and the tyrant of these Christian monarchs. Its rites were regarded with the most solemn veneration; and to conclude a life of aggression and tumult with the reception of her sacraments, was the perfection of devotion. Lothaire, whom his country might fairly accuse of having been one of its worst enemies, could not end his days happily, without receiving what, in the language of the times, was called a second baptism; that is, about a week before his dissolution, he assumed the habit of a monk, and so expired in the expectation of paradise. Even Louis, who, disgusted with the vices of the clergy, sought to improve the discipline of that order, was shortly after persuaded by a monk, his minister, to do public penance for his crimes, to beg pardon for them before the assembled bishops, and to acknowledge his sin in disgracing the rebels whom they thought fit to encourage. But on the other hand, we read of the supreme pontiff being obliged, about the same time, to have recourse to assassination to punish two adherents of the king, and afterwards to purge himself by an oath which was not deemed sufficient without thirty-four bishops swearing with him. *

The thorough dissolution of all union between the sovereigns of the same family which now prevailed, and that bad and uncertain agreement which existed between the church and its rival governments, were amply sufficient to produce the most deplorable condition of affairs. But these evils were augmented by the vigilance with which

* Nithard.

the foreign enemies of the empire took advantage of their existence. The Saracens had been so daring and successful in their invasions, as at one time to have pillaged the church of St Peter at Rome. The Hungarians, yet uncivilized by any communion with Christendom, swept like an unexpected blast over the fields of Germany; and the wild adventurous Normans, kings of the sea, haunted like birds of prey the unprotected coasts of France.

But wretched as this condition was for the people, and destructive as it shortly proved to the establishment of regal authority, it was favourable to the progress of chivalry. The institution of laws is the imposition of an involuntary obligation; and when there is no authority sufficiently stable to fix this unwilled rule of right on the many, means must be taken to gain the few, by their own free consent. The possessors of large territories at the period of which we are speaking, had little to fear from the authority of the monarch; but, exposed as each was to rivals in ambition as advantageously situated as himself, he found it necessary to gather around him as many followers as he could muster. Both the monarch and his barons had thus to pursue a line of policy in the highest degree productive of personal valour. Unable, in the unsettled state of their territories, to exercise an absolute authority, they were obliged to offer rewards and inducements, to secure the services which were so necessary to their safety and elevation. While, therefore, it is to this epoch that the foundation of the feudal system has been ascribed,* we may also attribute to the causes

* Hallam, Hist. of Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 117.

which then operated a great increase of strength in the advancing spirit of chivalry. Independent of the strong connection which always existed between these two important institutions, the state of the empire during the ninth and tenth centuries was in every way adapted to unite them, and to promote the principles from which the union arose.

The knight became a vassal originally, not from any inferiority of birth, or from circumstances which affected the free nobility of his nature, but because he possessed courage, a bold spirit, a heart that could nourish fidelity and friendship—the virtues which rendered him a worthy and useful associate of warlike princes and nobles. The grant which he received of land was not only the reward of services freely given, but a new bond of friendly union between him and his lord. It gave him a kind of domestic relationship with his superior, rendered their interests thenceforth one, and taught them to look to each other as reciprocally obligated to resent their affronts and support their rights. It was from this original freedom of the contract that all those maxims were derived, which rendered it shameful for a knight ever to fight against his lord, and even bound him to contend by his side, when he waged rebellion against his sovereign. All the duties which were inculcated at the time of his investiture breathe the same feeling, and are evidently referable to the same origin. If chivalry, indeed, have any of that moral beauty for which it has obtained so much admiration, the spirit of the feudal system also deserves somewhat of the same praise. As they present themselves to the mind in theory, they appear equally calculated to produce sentiments of generosity, noble and de-

voted friendships, and all the kind and hospitable sympathies of a free but useful association. In their corruption they were about equally productive of bad effects; and if we contemplate either with pleasure, it must be in their first establishment, or when the principles from which they proceeded had the power of novelty over those who embraced them.

That personal valour was at its highest price in these unsettled times, the history of the wild feuds, the ceaseless struggles for territory, and the violent changes which distinguished them, prove beyond doubt; nor is there any want of evidence to demonstrate the power which the church had gained over its filial subjects. Instances, it is true, occur, in which we see the stern and barbarous passions of some chieftain pushing him on to a desperate contempt of its ordinances; but this, in general, appears to have been the result of an audacious impiety, not of any cool disregard of ecclesiastical authority; and was ranked by his cotemporaries with the fearful blasphemies which made men dare the vengeance of God, or the spirits of evil. The almost universal state of mankind was one of trembling superstition; nor is it requisite to bring forward the vices or corrupt conduct of the sovereign pontiffs, as absolutely necessary to explain the gloomy phenomenon. I can never believe, that, bad as was the influence they exercised, horrible as were their sins against the divine truth, which they hid and polluted as much as they had the power to do, that they had so completely the sway over light and darkness, as to be able, by their policy, to steep the world in night whenever

it was their will. No sovereign, either temporal or spiritual, gains a more than just influence over the minds of his subjects, till causes foreign to his authority have tended to debase them. The great ignorance into which every class of mankind had fallen at the period of which we are speaking, was of itself sufficient to produce the complete corruption of religion. To preserve the purity of a faith divinely revealed, there are two things necessary; the full and general comprehension of its doctrines, and such an idea of the evidence on which they rest, as will prevent their being confounded with the inventions of either impostors or fanatics. Religion may exist in the minds of individuals, without the possession of much reasoning power, and be pure and effective; but among a large body of people, in a nation, or a family of nations, it cannot; for though it may not be corrupted by, or yield to, private passion, of which it often supplies the place, it never has a sufficient pre-eminence above the present interests which agitate people and nations, not to be subjected to the public mind, and take the very hue and colour of its disposition. But to whatever causes we attribute it, certain it is, that every country in Europe felt at this period the iron hand of superstition, as heavy as it ever fell in the worst times of paganism on the heathen world. The worship of relics was carried to the highest pitch of absurdity; pilgrimages to Rome, which had never either reason or imagination to dignify them, were regarded as the most pious act which the faithful could perform; and to reverence the clergy with a blind and servile awe, the best and sweetest sacrifice which God could receive. However the mind may be con-

stituted, it is next to impossible that it should escape the influence of such an enervating atmosphere as was thus cast about it. If it be naturally weak or base, it will become brutish and besotted, a vile mass of dull surmisings and untamed appetites; if it be of a better and higher nature, it will give life to the empty forms and ceremonies which it has been taught to regard with reverence. It will feel the strange awe, the mysterious, though perhaps doubting dread, which even companionship with the superstitious inspires. In the power to which the multitude bows, it can see the only image of the divine attributes on which, from infancy, it has been taught to look; and free as it may be in all other respects, it willingly yields itself to the solemn impressions and associations with which the faith of our fathers is bound up. But the generousness of its nature remains, and imagination throws a light and glory even over the forms of the earthliest superstition. It may worship the same idols as the vulgar, but it is not till the wood and stone with which the vulgar are contented, have become spiritualized—clothed with the brightness of thought, and made to assume the shape and lineaments of some heavenly form which they have loved and nurtured in their souls.

This, or something very like it, was the actual state of many of the free and ardent spirits who laboured under the oppressive darkness of the middle ages; and to the resistance they opposed against the total destruction of all true and noble feeling, that period owed the only gleam of light which saved mankind from utter barbarism. Whether these sentiments of generosity and freedom, which in the worst times of anarchy prevailed in

some breasts, had their origin in, and could only be supported by, the institutions of chivalry—whether it is to them we must principally attribute their higher development in succeeding ages, or that we are to regard the former altogether in the light of inventions which only testify the existence of a power, but have no influence in the creation of that power—the consideration of this question cannot be here undertaken; but there appears to me far more reason to regard chivalry as the exhibition of a secret energy, long trying to emancipate itself, and at length becoming satisfied with any outward expression which circumstances prompted it to take, than as a mysterious assemblage of all-powerful rules, each of which had life in itself, and could give life to the qualities which were wanted to perfect the chevalier; that is, not as a religion, but as the ceremonies which men invent after the religion has been established, and when a bolder licentiousness makes it necessary to support what is natural and divine by what is human.

France, and the territories which had been subjected to that monarchy by the talents of Charlemagne, continued to suffer all the evils we have mentioned, till the last descendant of that prince who filled the imperial throne was driven from it with contempt and obloquy, and a successful usurpation conveyed the kingdom of France to a new and powerful leader. To Hugh Capet is generally ascribed the praise of having attempted to restore order and tranquillity to the nation; and it is supposed that, during his reign, or that of his immediate successors, chivalry received many important additions, and began to assume more of

the character which belonged to it as a strictly religious system, than it had hitherto done. "There was then more of mystery about it," says Fauchet; * and he believes this new authority to have been given it, that the violence of the warlike barons might, in some measure, be restrained by its influence. But the power of Hugh Capet was not of sufficient stability to enable him to effect much by any positive ordinance; and if it be not regarded as the result of a new authority, chivalry might take its commencement as well while the great seigniories were left unthreatened by the prince, as after the ascension of a more ambitious family.

The situation of the other great European states appears to have been equally favourable at this period to the fostering of chivalry. Spain had been overrun by the Moors, and its people subjected to the triumphant banner of Islamism; but the root of national worth and valour remained after the stem and the leaves were blasted. The noble heroism of Pelayo, and of his bold followers, was sufficient to keep alive the spirit of their country in its worst calamities; and amid the wild fastnesses of the rocky Asturias, they breathed the true air of liberty, while their hearts were fed with the deep love and holy recollections of their paternal homes. The desperate hazard of the life which this little band of patriots habitually led—the actions they performed, in the most romantic spirit of adventure—the whole tenor, in fact, of their existence, was in harmony with the purest

* Origines des Chevaliers.

maxims of chivalry; and they only wanted the advantages of a richer dominion, to shine in all the glory of its most perfect stages.

The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon had an origin similar to that which was founded by Pelayo, and were equally propitious to the growth of chivalry. The subsequent history of Spain during these early times, tends strongly to manifest the hold which it had acquired on the minds of her warriors. The defeat which Charlemagne suffered at Roncesvalles, if history be not very false, must have been entirely owing to the operation of principles which knightly honour is most likely to foster. The character of the early kings of that country was also imbued with the same spirit; and many of them had some of the brightest qualities of Christian warriors. There was one important circumstance, however, which prevented chivalry from attaining its genuine character so early in Spain as in other countries. The power of the Pope was less acknowledged there than in any other part of Europe; and hence, the splendour of rites and ceremonies was less likely to become embodied with the pomp of war and military virtue. I am inclined to think, that we should at all times be more correct, when speaking of modern chivalry, to apply to it the epithet Ecclesiastical, instead of Religious, or Christian; for it was never the pure principle of religion which characterized it, so much as the glory with which it was invested by the church, and the maxims which it was the interests of churchmen to place among its laws. There was in Spain more of that devout but desperate valour which properly belongs to chivalry than in any other country; and no na-

tion was ever placed in circumstances more adapted to unite war with piety. The enemies with whom its defenders had to contend, were the enemies of its faith. The name of Moor could not be heard by the Spaniard, without his calling to mind the danger which menaced all that sanctified the land of his birth. To save it from the power of the invader, was to fight on the side of God; and when he returned in triumph, he had succeeded in fixing the standard of the Cross in opposition to that of Satan. It is therefore a very singular circumstance, that, favoured as chivalry was in the early times of Spain, it had not the power of summoning her sons to the contest, when it was most actively operating on the spirit of every other Christian soldier. The truest reason, perhaps, is that which has been hinted at above.

In Italy and Germany, we meet with circumstances which, as respects the early state of chivalry, associates their history with that of France. The same stern contests of baron with baron, the same character of haughty independence in these chieftains, and the superstitious veneration for the church, which, with few exceptions, was general among them all, afforded the same necessity for the employment of knights, and conduced to a similar assumption of sanctity.

The records of our own country, at this period, are highly illustrative of the ancient history of chivalry, and serve to confirm the idea of its originating at an earlier era, than that which many writers assign. Among the Anglo-Saxons, * there is the undoubted testimony of cotemporary writers

* Turner's Hist. of Anglo-Saxons.

to prove, that it existed with a considerable degree of religious ceremony and importance. We hear of fasts and vigils, and all the solemn rites of investiture which belonged to the order in later times; and so distinguishing a feature was this of Saxon chivalry, that the Normans, on coming into the island, despised the native warriors for submitting to such ceremonies. A very short period, however, served to corrupt the piety of the old English knights. "They are," says one of their writers,* "inconstant and faithless, neither governed by benefits nor fear; drinking their delight, and quarrels, fighting and blasphemy, their perpetual practice. The crimes committed in their intoxication, they laugh at on the morrow; perjury they deem a trifle, blood-shedding a praise, and unchastity scarcely a subject of blame." But it can hardly be wondered at that this was the character of the knights, if we are to place any confidence in the account which is given of the manners of the people themselves. In a sermon cited by Dr Henry, we find the preacher, a bishop, thus describing his countrymen. "We cannot be deceived, for it is too evident that this nation is plunged into innumerable crimes and vices; as covetousness, theft, robbery, gluttony, heathenish impurities, fornications, adulteries, incests, plottings, treacheries, treasons, lyings, perjuries, cruelties, murders, parricides. The far greatest part of the people of this country, as I have already said, are deplorably corrupted in their manners, and become murderers, parricides, priest-killers, monastery-haters, violators of sacred orders, false swearers, apostates, be-

* Adam Brem.

trayers of their masters, thieves, robbers, and plunderers. Many of the women also are desperately abandoned, child-murderers, and witches. In a word, it is impossible either to number, or give names to all their wicked and flagitious deeds." It is possible that this picture may be the gloomiest one which could be given of the manners of the period at which it was taken; but it is not probable that it had so slight a resemblance to the original as Doctor Henry supposes; and another author, * who wrote when society appears to have been under the influence of similar circumstances, and at no great distance of time from Bishop Lupus, gives us a description of the knights of his age, which impresses us with an idea that chivalry had been then long existing in considerable splendour, but had become grossly corrupt. After observing, that a knight, to be a good one, should inure himself to labour, to run, carry weights, bear the sun and dust, and be content with hard living and coarse food, he says, "Some think that military glory consists in this:—that they shine in elegant dress; that they make their clothes tight to their body, and to bind on their linen and silken garments as to seem a skin-colour like their flesh. If they are sitting softly on their ambling horses, they think themselves so many Apollos. If you make an army of them, you will have the camp of Thais, not of Hannibal. Each is boldest in the banquetting-hall; but in the battle, every one desires to do the least. They would rather shoot arrows at the enemy, than come to close fighting. If they return home without a scar, they sing triumphantly of

* John of Salisbury.

their battles, and boast of the thousand deaths that wandered near their temples. If diligent idleness can procure any spear, which, being brittle as hemp, should chance to be broken in the field; if a piece of gold, minium, or any colour of the rainbow, by any chance or blow, should fall out of their shields, their garrulous tongues would make it an everlasting memorial. They have the first places at supper; they feast every day splendidly if they can afford it; but shun labour and exercise like a dog or a snake. Whatever is surrounded with difficulty they leave to those who serve them. In the meantime, they so gild their shields and so adorn their tents, that you would think every one not a scholar, but a chieftain of war." By comparing these two accounts, we may form some conjecture of the ancient state of chivalry in this country. It had, from a very early period, partaken of the religious, or rather the superstitious character, which distinguished the Anglo-Saxons shortly before the Conquest. Their love of relics and pilgrimages—their devout reverence of the church—their belief in witchcraft and prodigies, and original bravery of constitution,—all united to impress them with a rude notion of the system. It accordingly acquired a footing among them, as early as it did in any of the countries where it afterwards flourished in such magnificence. But in the violent and sanguinary contests which marked the decline of the Saxons, and delivered the country to the ravages of private warfare, its religious character was buried in a stern and ferocious licentiousness, and to a great degree justified the testimony left against them by their cotemporaries.

At the Conquest, a new power was given to

chivalry in England. The feudal system, which it is doubtful whether the Saxons had before known, was engrafted upon the already existing scheme. William divided the land into so many knights' fees; and the vanquished inhabitants saw his proud followers vow the service of their swords in return for the possessions they acquired. The condition, however, of a conquered country is perhaps the least of all others favourable to knightly virtue. Courage invariably degenerates into brute force, when it is not opposed by courage and power equal, or nearly so. The reigns of William's immediate successors afford ample proof of this fact. A few years converted the noble warriors of Normandy into a tribe of plunderers. The power of oppression had taught them the love of pillage; and when that is learnt, it requires no little time to eradicate it. After having, by a long series of severities, destroyed the objects which at first exercised their swords, they began to turn them indiscriminately on whatever awakened their passions, or their hopes of profitable aggression. Castles were built for the sole purpose of shielding these bandit soldiers from the power or vengeance of the people they oppressed; and William Rufus, who had received his knighthood at the hands of an Archbishop, is said to have given his young chevaliers unbounded license to practise their courage and weapons in the plunder of travellers and ill-defended castles. It also deserves remark, that even the ministers of religion were at this time not protected by their sanctity from the savage fierceness of knights and barons. An account is given of one of these disgraces to the order, who boasted that he had helped to burn twenty-four monks with

their monastery. Their conduct towards each other, when taken captive in their private feuds, was marked by the same spirit of lawless barbarism; and chivalry appears, at this time, to have possessed none of its worthiest and most interesting characteristics. When manners became a little softened by the gradual introduction of milder principles, the turbulent chieftains drank deeply of the luxuries which their wealth or their swords had enabled them to acquire; and thus they became ambitious of that pomp and splendour of apparel and soft living, which John of Salisbury so roundly accuses them of affecting.

But we are now on the verge of that important era in the history of chivalry, which gave a fixed and decided character to the whole institution. I have thought it necessary to take a rapid glance at the circumstances by which its commencement was most probably attended in the different European States. We must undoubtedly leave much to uncertain conjecture; but the subject merits a very ample consideration. The history of the system becomes, it is true, fuller of more splendid details as we proceed; and it is from its later annals, and from the pictures drawn of it just before the brilliant chimera vanished into nothing, that the poet and romancer may draw their most gorgeous materials; but the historian and philosopher will find most pleasure in examining its obscure origin, and the first effects of its existence. The subject under this point of view is one of profound interest, and, if fully treated, would bring into consideration many of the most important questions connected with the history of modern times, and the formation of modern systems of

thought and opinion. By far too much influence I conceive is ascribed to the later forms of chivalry on European manners. The gay and courtly knighthood, which filled the palaces of more modern princes with proud and gorgeous trappings, had far greater connection with the mere outward and superficial circumstances of society, than with the things which affect and govern its spirit; but the chivalry of earlier times, if it had any existence, was deeply rooted among the strongest fibres of social existence.

CHAPTER III.

THE INITIATORY CEREMONIES OF KNIGHTHOOD—ITS SACRED CHARACTER.

HAVING briefly considered the origin of Chivalry, and its relative importance in the great work of modern civilization, we proceed to give some view of the several particulars of which the system was composed. These may be divided under two heads:—the ceremonies and the doctrines of Chivalry,—its outward shows, and its moral and practical application. The former of these will furnish materials for the present chapter.

One of the principal and distinguishing circumstances of chivalry as an institution—that which ought in fact to be ranked next in importance to its union with religion—is the influence which it possessed as a system of education. This, it seems, was more certainly peculiar to it than any other of its characteristics. Feelings of religion belonged, as we have seen, to many of the most distinguished warriors of former ages; and something like the ceremonies of investiture prevailed from the earliest times. But chivalry alone provided a regular system of education for the future warrior, and, from the first dawn of youth,

began to imbue his mind and feelings with the principles on which he was to act. Nor is the attention, which it formed a part of the institutions of chivalry to bestow on its young aspirants, to be confounded with that which nations have sometimes employed in the public education of their youth. The latter was in general a political and legislative ordinance, and was intended to form a whole people, not a certain number of individuals, in the practice of war, or warlike virtues. But chivalric education was of a private and domestic character; was used for the instruction of a select few; and was part of the rules of an order, not of a nation.

We shall probably be nearly right if we consider, that chivalry made its most important step towards a general establishment, when the inculcation of its principles began to be regarded as a regular and necessary part of education. The precise period at which this was the case, is not to be easily determined. Under Charlemagne, there is reason to believe, the warriors of Christendom first assumed to themselves the sanctity of the sworn friends of the church; and it is likely that, towards the latter end of the reign of that monarch, or soon after its conclusion, some part of the ceremony was invented by which that sacred union would be signified. It is highly probable, moreover, that soon after this union of religious and military honours, a regular system of education began to be thought of, for the future defenders of the Holy See. The ecclesiastics, who frequented the court of the sovereign or of the other great potentates of the nation, would, we may reasonably suppose, favour this proceeding; and the pe-

culiar circumstances of feudalism rendered it both natural and necessary.

We can only draw our notions of knightly education from documents which were written long after the establishment of the system; but the representations of which, at least in these respects, there is no reason to mistrust. According to the view which these have given of the instruction bestowed on a chevalier, from his being first devoted to a life of war to his obtaining the spurs, the education which he received was admirably adapted to its purpose.

The feudal system, the republicanism of aristocracy, produced a singular mixture of domineering haughtiness and turbulent freedom. But the political equality which it bestowed on a number of lofty-minded men, led to the introduction of a barbaric and splendid luxury. To have the gayest banquets and the noblest followers, was almost as great an object of ambition as extent of territory; and hence the castles of the great barons were filled with retinues, and sometimes exhibited the pomp of princely courts. When the use of arms, the inculcation of military ambition, and of the qualities which might best adorn the descendant of a race of soldiers, formed the most necessary acquirements of noble youths, these baronial halls were the fittest schools that could be found. There the veteran warrior told the tale of his stormy exploits, the minstrel woke his lays in praise of the heroes of past ages, and lordly wassailings, showed the triumphant chief in all the glory of successful daring. The maxims which were to guide the future knight in his career were there in full action. The pride of birth, the show of

fearless courage, the generous feelings of brotherhood, which were necessary to associates in the same cause, and that courtesy of behaviour which was to be exhibited in their intercourse with other noble and princely warriors, were nowhere to be learnt but in those almost royal seats of aristocratic splendour. There also they first sprung up, and there they continued to flourish, strengthened and multiplied by all the circumstances which contributed to preserve the independence of the nobles, or render the specious virtues of warriors worthy of popular admiration. To the castle of his brother noble the baron sent his son to be trained in the duties which would one day belong to his condition, and which the freedom of home would give the parent less power to inculcate. To the same school of honour the less wealthy gentleman sent his child, that he might be initiated in the rites of a chivalrous life, of which his own meaner establishment failed to afford such lofty examples. Nor was it only the barbarous graces of war which were thus taught in the feudal castles. The young and beautiful daughters and wards of their possessors, were early taught to add the influence of their charms to the teaching of barons and knights. Their presence made the minstrel divide his song equally between the praises of love and bravery. To their smiles the aspirant after fame saw the noblest of his predecessors look for encouragement; and the romance of youth, combined with the spirit of the times, served to make gallantry one of the first virtues that were looked for in every youth who had gentle blood in his veins.

As soon, therefore, as a father had determined

on devoting his son to the profession of arms, his immediate care was to place him in the household of some prince or noble who had the greatest reputation for knightly virtue, and whose court was most celebrated for its magnificence and the number of distinguished warriors by whom it was frequented. Having succeeded in this important point, the object of his ambitious hopes was placed, at the age of seven or eight, in the family of the nobleman under whose auspices he had to pursue his martial exercises. The first title bestowed on the embryo chevalier, was that of varleton, damoiseau, or page; and the duties of his office were a compound of service and study. The object of his situation was, to afford him the knowledge and accomplishments of a finished gentleman of the period; but in order to do this, he had to occupy himself in the performance of duties, which were only not servile, because paid for in liberal instruction and fair example. This was even still more the case when he advanced to the next step in his progress, and when time, service, and obedience were required, in proportion to the greater degree of honour which was given.

The ideas which commonly connect themselves with the word *page*, even at the present day, afford a tolerably correct picture of the varlet of chivalry. The first lesson which he received was that of humility, and respectful attention to the commands of his superiors. As the best method of inculcating this salutary principle, he was placed, at the beginning of his course, almost entirely at the command of the ladies. He was to attend their bidding in hall and bower, to perform their messages, accompany them in their visits, and

whenever it pleased his fair mistresses, to be their confidant and their faithful assistant in all the arts and emprises of lady-love. In conjunction with these employments, the pages were next taught to afford their puny aid in the sports of hunting or hawking, to be near their master or mistress, and tender their services during the chase; but principally to increase the number and gaiety of the retinue. As they acquired strength, they were exercised in the use of light weapons, and engaged in games, or mimic tournaments and battles. They were thus gradually ascustomed to bear the greater fatigues which awaited them; and the principles of gallantry and honour which were instilled into them in the earliest years of their youth, prepared them for undertaking the splendid exploits which were the glory of knighthood. But the lessons which they received in the use of arms and the practice of military virtue, were not the only kind of instruction of which they had advantage in the baronial hall. They were taught, if we are to place any faith in the representations of the old romances, all the duties which they owed to God and man, and particularly to the church. When the priest neglected to impress them sufficiently with the necessity of a holy life, or when his exhortations were neglected, some aged knight or pious dame took upon themselves the charitable office of instructing their favourite page; and if the writers above alluded to be worthy of credit, they lost nothing by the change of their teachers. The old knight, who, in the Book of Chivalry, warns the squire against levity in his holy calling, is represented as deeply versed in divine knowledge; and the celebrated Dame des Belles Cou-

sines, has hardly her equal for skill in theology among the most learned doctors of the church.

The famous romance of the Petit Jehan de Saintré, which has furnished so many amusing illustrations to writers on chivalry, affords us some idea of the kind of teaching which the page received in matters of faith and doctrine. The Dame des Belles Cousines had fixed her tender regards on the Petit Jehan, whom she deemed she might love and yet keep her vow of widowhood unbroken; but having, with some difficulty, made the bashful youth understand that he must and ought to love her in return, she proceeded to instruct him in the solemn duties of religion. And first, she taught him he must avoid the sin of pride, which was hateful to God, and unbecoming in a lover,—of anger, which was condemned on the same authorities,—of envy, for no dame could love any one who had so base a passion,—of idleness, which would prevent his performing his duty to her,—of gluttony, which was unbecoming in a lover, who should be lively and spiritual,—and of luxury. He was also to keep the ten commandments inviolably,—to treasure in his heart the twelve articles of faith,—to exercise the seven principal virtues, in contradiction to the seven vices, —and to perform the seven works of spiritual mercy, which consisted in saving people from error; and the seven works of corporal mercy, which embraced all works of charity done to the body.

Having been thus fully instructed in the several parts of his calling, and been made to understand, both by precept and example, what he ought to do as an aspirant to the honour of knighthood, the accomplished page looked anxiously for his

elevation to the rank of squire. This he obtained, if he acquitted himself well in his former capacity, at the age of thirteen or fourteen; and his admission was frequently accompanied with some degree of pomp and ceremony. He was presented at the altar by his father and mother, bearing tapers in their hands as an offering; while the priest, taking a sword and girdle, which he sanctified with many benedictions, bestowed them on the page, who thenceforward wore them, and obtained the name of Squire. This ceremony is supposed by Saint Pelaye to have preceded that which belonged to knighthood, and to have been the only one alluded to in the more ancient authors. But it appears unlikely, that religious offices should have been employed in conferring the inferior honours of chivalry, and altogether omitted when the possessor arrived at the highest glory of the profession. It is more probable, that if no distinct ceremony existed for the admission of knights at the time alluded to, that the rites above mentioned formed the ordinance appointed for the general admission of the nobly descended warrior to the profession of arms; his first acceptance of, and right to bear them, being the time when the church thought it most proper to interfere, and manifest the claim she had upon his services.

This religious admission, however, of the young squire to the honours of his new station was not universal, as appears by the history of the Petit Jehan de Saintré; for that notable varlet having a powerful friend in the Dame des Belles Cousines, was one day called by the maître d'hotel of the prince his master, who, having demanded his name, at once exclaimed, "Jehan, you shall be no longer

page, the king has appointed you his varlet-tranchant;" and then directed him to avoid being proud, to keep his hands and nails clean, and also the rest of his person, which would be a necessary attention in the duties he had now to perform. Jehan promised obedience; and went first and kneeled before the king, whom he thanked for the grace he had done him, and then paid the same honour to the queen, who said, "Saintré, the services and grace you have shown to all, and especially to the ladies, have advanced you from a page to a squire of my Lord." And all present joined in exclaiming, after she had exhorted him to continue his good deeds, "He has been, and is, a good varleton." As soon as this was done, and his master and mistress were seated at dinner, the maître d'hotel put the napkins, bread, and other necessaries of the table upon Jehan's shoulder, and told him to begin his duty as varlet-tranchant, which he did to the great pleasure of all who saw him.

According to the same account of a squire's admission to that honour, considerable expense was requisite to do befitting respect to the office. The Petit Jehan was directed by the Dame, to whom he owed so much of his success, to make noble presents to every person about the court. To one he was to give a horse, to another a splendid robe, to ladies of high rank precious jewels, to those of inferior degree ornaments of less worth, but equally flattering by the manner in which they were to be presented. His own dress and accoutrements were also to be of the most expensive kind; and many hundreds of good crowns had vanished before the generous Dame des Belles Cousines saw her handsome squire fully equipped to her wishes.

But it was now that the rules and duties of a chivalrous life began to be more fully set before the ambitious novice. He had hitherto been regarded as rather fit for the service of dames and demoiselles than men of war. He had been permitted to try his strength only in mock-encounters with boys of his own age; and his superior had not yet admitted him even to the semblance of a companionship in profession. But he now became an object of distinguished attention to the knights, whose care it was thenceforth to see him well instructed to follow their example. "For," says Caxton, * "in likewise as a man will learn to sew for to be a tailor, or if a carpenter, him behoveth that he have a master that can sew or delve; all in likewise it behoveth, that a nobleman that loveth the order of chivalry, and will be a knight, have first a master that is a knight; for thus as a discovenable thing it should be, that a man that would learn to sew should learn to sew of a carpenter; all in likewise should it be a discovenable thing, that a squire should learn the order and the noblesse of chivalry of any other man than a knight."

When the household was of great extent, and a number of these noble youths formed part of the establishment, they were divided into different classes, and received appellations significant of the particular duties they had to perform. Thus, there was the body-squire, the squire of the chamber, the squire-tranchant, whose duty it was to attend at table, the squire of the equirie, and those whose particular charge it was to take care of the

* Book of Chivalry.

wine-cellar and the pantry. The first of these was the most honourable rank, and was not generally obtained till after some years service in the inferior degrees of squireship. But it was very common to have the different offices united, when there were but few squires to perform the various duties of attendance; and the respectful youth, while he was practised in managing with skill the war-horse, in bearing his person valiantly in arms, and addressing himself to gain the favour of the ladies by all the graces of gallantry, was employed a great part of his time in the services of a household attendant—to wait at table with respect and adroitness being as essential a requisite in his character as his more showy accomplishments.

Far from this being considered as derogatory to the honour of the squire, it was a custom to which the most noble youths submitted with the utmost grace and satisfaction. Instances are not wanting * of the proudest lords, and those who had the dignity of their house most at heart, being uniformly attended on by their sons; and the manner in which these services was performed by the aspirant to the honour of chivalry, was an augury of what was in future to be expected from his gentle blood. Besides assisting at table during the principal repast, the squire had also to prepare the rooms for the festivities of the evening, and to divide his attention between dancing with, and paying compliments to, the ladies, and serving the confitures, the hippocras, and other refreshments, which it was the custom to present on such occasions. The nobleness of his demeanour, his ami-

* Froisart's Chronicles.

able disposition and graceful person, were here shown to the best advantage; and while his attendance at the back of the knight his master, was rendered honourable by the etiquette of military subjection and the prospect of advancement, his modest but polished attention in the gayer festivities of the hall, was rewarded by the kind smiles, and, not unfrequently, the kinder thoughts, of lovely and high-born damsels. If we add to this, that it was at such times the properly instructed squire was called upon to exercise his skill in song and music, and to employ to the best of his power every accomplishment which either nature or art had bestowed upon him, we shall have a proper idea of his importance in the gay retinue of a wealthy baron.

If there be any thing, indeed, in the poetry of old romance, in which we may indulge as a true picture of chivalrous delight, it is in its representations of the pleasures of a young and noble squire. In the full glow of youth,—occupied incessantly in some pursuit that added to the graces of his person, or to his hilarity of feeling,—enjoying the advantages of proud associations, and encouraged to expect the most brilliant rewards of future exertion,—he had the brightest materials that hope could possibly possess of which to frame her enchantments. War was to be his glory; but its ancient splendour was blended with a milder and more captivating charm. The ponderous sword had a golden scabbard, and the iron lance-head was adorned with a silken pennon. There were other smiles to be won than those of senates, and those which he was justified by his elders in valuing more highly than all other rewards of va-

lour. While he was looking forward with anxiety to opportunities for distinguishing himself in his proud career, he was surrounded by love and beauty in all their brightness. Every facility was afforded him for the early devotion of his affections to some rich and gracious mistress. The mode of life which was followed in the baronial hall, made love a necessary ingredient to existence, and maidenly modesty was, no more than maidenly pride, likely to chill the bosom of an ardent and humble suitor. Cheerfully resigning himself, therefore, to the fascinations of beauty, he felt a higher delight in the gallant exercises which were to prepare him for defending it. His strength and agility were never without an admirer, and whatever merit he possessed was sure to be enhanced by the smiles and favour of his gentle mistress. If he dared openly tell his love, it was his pride and glory to uphold her superiority to all other maidens among his compeers; and if circumstances obliged him to keep it secret, he had the romantic pleasure of stolen interviews, and the interchange of mysterious tokens, with the hope that never failed either squire or knight, of vanquishing all difficulties in love or fortune by the good deeds of their prowess. The first years of chivalrous life were thus full of splendid promise; and the heart of the young acolyte danced buoyantly to the music of love and romance which filled the atmosphere that surrounded him. Existence had not yet been dispoiled of any of its seeming good; the glory after which he panted it was for his own arm to win; and the love of woman, in all its brightness and luxury, was the jewel of chivalry from its lowest to its highest grade.

But to proceed with our account of the squire's employments. One of his most important duties was to take care of the horses; and it is from this part of his occupation many authors have believed that he derives his name, the Latin word, *scuria*, a stable, being the supposed foundation of the term esquire, but which is more commonly derived from *escu*, a shield, which formed part of the arms he had a right to bear. By far the most serious, however, of his duties were yet to come, and they were those which more particularly belonged to him as an attendant on the person of his lord. Every means was employed to prepare him properly for the fatigues and perils to which he would thus be exposed. The games in which he was almost incessantly exercised to give him strength and agility of limb, were much the same as those practised in a modern school of gymnastics; but there were others which have been lost sight of, since the object for which they were pursued has ceased to exist. Of these, the principal were the quintain, or running with the lance at a wooden figure, which, if not struck properly on the body, spun round on a pivot, and inflicted a heavy blow on the shoulders of the maladroit esquire. Another was the course à-la-bague, which, like the quintain, was used to give great accuracy of measurement and quickness to the eye,—a most important quality to the knight whose principal weapon was the spear.

Besides these games, there were others in which the forms of actual warfare were more distinctly imitated; and in the favourite sports of hunting and hawking, which were formerly pursued with the characteristic spirit and bold reckless patience

of men that love danger, and cared not for hardships, their young followers were taught to bear hunger and thirst without repining,—to pass the night amid the darkness of wild forests and under the cold sky,—to employ their invention in saving themselves from danger on its unexpected approach,—and to be content with any thing, so that they might but obtain the credit of bold and patient endurance.

When he had been sufficiently tried in these sports and exercises to give assurance of his capacity, the now hardy and accomplished squire was chosen by his master to accompany him on his expeditions, whether they were undertaken in quest of adventure, or for the purpose of actual warfare. In both instances his duty was to lead the destrier, or reserve horse, on which the knight only rode when he engaged with the enemy, preferring the easy pace of an ambling palfrey for his journeys, and when not in the immediate presence of danger. This, though not always the case, was the general custom of chivalry; and the tall and magnificent courser which was to bear his lord in the pomp of battle, was adorned with his baldrick and other pieces of his armour, which the proud squire placed as loftily on the saddle as he could raise them. When they came in sight of the enemy, he was immediately to arm his master; and as it was very essential to the safety of the knight that this should be done skilfully, he had been long instructed how to fasten and fit together the different pieces which composed a complete suit of mail.

Having finished this important duty, he attended his master, eagerly panting for glory and the

prize of valour, to the field. His situation was immediately behind the knight; and thus placed, he was able to watch all his movements, and learn, from the boldness and address of his master, how to conduct himself in similar encounters. When he saw him triumphing over the adversary, he rejoiced as a partaker in his honour; and when the superior force or good fortune of his opponent drove him to extremities, his brave and faithful attendant sprung forward, supplied him with a fresh horse if dismounted, or covered him with his shield if wounded or disabled. Instances are very common in the lives of chevaliers, of their being preserved by the courage and affection of their esquires; and in battles that were general, or between a regular array of hostile forces, the victory was frequently decided by the determined courage of a body of these valiant youths.

By the time that the candidate for the honour of knighthood had achieved the various points in his education for that high degree, he must have closely resembled, both in age, appearance, and accomplishments, the son of Chaucer's knight, whose picture is so admirably drawn by the old bard.

"With him ther was his sone, a yonge squier,
A louer and a lusty bacheler,
With lockes crull as they were laid in press;
Of twenty zere of age he was I gess.
Of his stature he was of even lengthe,
And wonderly deliuer, and grete of strengthe;
And he hadde be sometime in Chevachie,
In Flandres, in Artois, in Picardie.
And borne him wel, as of so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his lady's grace.
Embrouded was he, as it were a mede,
Alle ful of freshe floures white and rede:

Singing he was, or floyting alle the day;
He was as freshe as is the moneth of May:
Short was his goune, with sleves long and wide;
Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride:
He coude songes mak, and wel endite,
Juste and eke dance, and well portraie and write:
So hote he loved, that by nightertale,
He slep no more than doth the nightingale:
Curteis he was, lowly and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table." *

Thus accomplished, and having proved his valour, patience of fatigue, and readiness to perform all the duties of a noble man at arms, the squire was generally sure of obtaining the honour of knighthood at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Circumstances, however, were sometimes permitted to alter the period; and youths of fourteen or fifteen, and in some cases even infants at baptism, were admitted to the order of chivalry. On the other hand, the expenses which attended the rank of knighthood, or the determination to receive it only from some prince or noble to whom the squire might not have present access, were reasons for deferring his acceptance of that degree; and instances frequently occurred, in which men of the greatest worth and bravery never proceeded farther than the second stage of their profession.

But these were exceptions to the ordinary rules of chivalrous life; and, at the period above mentioned, a fitting opportunity was sought for admitting the well-tried youth to the full enjoyment of knightly honours. It was very common, after the custom of tournaments became general, to fix upon some splendid occasion of that sort for the purpose of giving him an opportunity of showing

* Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

his prowess, and affording a public proof of his right to the high calling for which he was ambitious. When this was the case, the squires who were deemed worthy of being admitted as candidates for knighthood, were, on the day before the festival commenced, assembled together, and, being clothed in uniform liveries, dined with the prince, or other great lord, at whose call the tournament was holden. After this they went, accompanied by the most honourable chevaliers, to hear mass, and were then admonished by their lord to be faithful and loyal, and to fulfil all the duties which belonged to a good and pious knight. This being done, they retired to a church or chapel, where they passed the night in watching and prayer. Early the next morning, they attended the mass of the Holy Ghost; and shortly after high mass, in company with their master, whom they followed, walking two by two, and took their seats in the church, according to the directions which were given them. When the chanting of the lessons and the benedictions were finished, the prince girded on their swords, and other chevaliers gave them their spurs, and they returned to their seats, to await the conclusion of the service. At noon, the tournay for the evening was proclaimed with the sound of trumpets, and they were allowed to try their strength in the lists, which were to be filled the next day with chevaliers of more matured skill. Such is the account, at least, which the romancers give of the creation of knights on the occasion of tournaments; and the reason, perhaps, why they were admitted at these times, and on the eve of the festival, was, that the lists might be rendered the more splendid by the addition of

many young chevaliers exulting in the new and brilliant accoutrements of their order. But the favourite and most regular seasons for the creation of knights, were at the great festivals of the Church, Christmas, Easter, or Whitsuntide. At these times the whole pomp and ceremonial of investiture was observed with scrupulous exactness; and the holy occasion was recommended to the aspirant, because then, as the book of chivalry says, "much people would be gathered together, and God would be besought, by many voices, to give him grace to acquit himself well in his future career." The preparations of the acolyte were of the most strict and solemn nature. He was to fast the day preceding his initiation, and make a humble confession of all his sins and errors. As in the former instance, the night was to be passed in prayer and watching; and in the morning he was to enter a bath and purify himself, as typical of the new life he was thenceforth to lead; and after having bathed, he was to lie down in a bed before putting on any of his garments; and when he rose, to be clothed in raiment perfectly new. The principal parts of this dress were an under garment, said to be like a woman's quilted kirtle, and over that a vest made of silk or fine linen, and embroidered with gold. These were followed by the hauberk, a collar, commonly of leather, but sometimes made of more costly materials; and the coat of arms, which varied in form and ornament, according to the fashion of the times, and the taste of the chevalier.

Thus accoutred, he proceeded to the church, and presented his sword to the priest, who laid it upon the altar, and blessed it with this prayer:

"Hear, God, we beseech thee, our prayer, and, with the right hand of thy majesty, deign to bless this sword, wherewith thy servant desires to be girded, that it may be the defence and protection of churches, of widows, orphans, and all who serve God, against the cruelty of Pagans; and that it may be powerful, and a fear and terror to all deceivers, through Jesus Christ." Then, having taken an oath which bound him to the performance of all the duties implied in the above supplication, the priest returned the sword with these words, "Receive this sword, accompanied by the blessing of God, and by which, and the strength of the Holy Spirit, you may be strong to resist, and cast out all thy enemies, and all the adversaries of the Holy Church; and to protect the people of God, by the assistance of the invincible conqueror, our Lord Jesus Christ. Be mindful of what the Psalmist says, Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, that with it thou mayest exercise the strength of justice, and powerfully throw down the mount of corruption, defending the holy church of God, and execrating and destroying the hypocrite, not less than the infidel. Be the merciful protector of widows and orphans; raise the fallen, and defend them when raised; revenge the wronged, confirm the well-disposed; and in as far as thou doest these things, thou shalt come as the glorious champion of virtue to dwell with the Saviour of the world, and enjoy in his kingdom eternal and celestial joys." Then all the congregation joined in this antiphonal:

"Be of good courage, and observe the ordinances of thy Lord. Walk in his ways, and observe his ordinances, precepts, and judgments, and

may God be with you in all your undertakings." After this, the priest again prayed in the following terms for the Divine grace:—

"God, who by thy providence dost order all things, both in heaven and earth, prosper thy servant here devoted to the duties of thy warfare. May all the power of his enemies be broken by the strength of the spiritual sword, and altogether destroyed,—thou contending for him, through Jesus Christ." The service was then concluded by the congregation's singing a part of the forty-fourth Psalm, which was repeated three times.

The religious part of the solemnity being thus accomplished, the candidate was led before the prince, or whoever it was who intended to confer upon him the order of knighthood, and, having satisfactorily answered the questions as to his motives in demanding the honour of chivalry, the oath was administered to him, and he was invested with the external badges of his profession, the consecrated sword, which was fastened with the baldric, a belt of white leather studded with ornaments of gold, to the left side, and the gilt spurs, which, with the sword, formed the peculiar distinctions of his knighthood. When these had been put on by the persons assisting at the ceremony, the sword was drawn out, and the prince who conferred the honour, struck the candidate, who was kneeling before him, with the flat part of it upon the neck, at the same time pronouncing him to be a knight, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Instead of the stroke with the sword, a blow on the ear with the hand was frequently given, in imitation of the custom observed at conferring the rank of freeman on a slave, or, it is

probable, as a copy of some part of the practices followed at conferring fiefs; by which it might be signified, that as the tenant thenceforth owed his homage to the lord of the estate, so the new-made knight became the servant of God and the church. This is the more likely, as the whole ceremony of knighting was very similar to that used at feudal investitures, in which the person about to be admitted to the fief appeared with his head uncovered, without sword or spurs; and, kneeling before the chief, with his hands placed between his, took an oath of fealty, which was received in sign of future subjection; and the form ended, as was originally the case in the ceremony of knighting, by the lord's kissing the cheek of him whom he admitted to his tenantry.

Slight variations in these forms may be observed in the different relations of old writers on the subject, but the above seem to have been nearly universally practised, when times of peace or leisure admitted of such a recondite ritual's being followed. As the valour, however, to which the honour of knighthood was due, was frequently put very suddenly to the proof, the ceremonial of a long and formal investiture was often dispensed with, and brave actions were regarded as a sufficient preparation for receiving the highest military dignity. Personal bravery in the ages of chivalry required less time or exertion to make itself conspicuous than in the present day. There is no test by which courage can be so well and truly tried as its being submitted to a stern and regular order. If it endure this it will endure any thing, for it removes most of those adventitious incitements which will sometimes bolster up a very faint heart, and per-

suade it to an occasional imitation of great actions. But war, when chivalry was in existence, had not bitted her steeds with the iron thong of discipline. The sudden impulse of pride or ambition, if followed at a fortunate moment, might not only be yielded to, but might insure to him who felt it a quick and brilliant elevation. If he had a more daring heart than his comrades, it could not fail of being known, nor the times that he periled himself of being numbered.

When the courage, therefore, of any of his followers had attracted the particular attention of a prince, or other noble commander, during a battle, the favoured soldier was brought before him, and, directing him to kneel, he struck him on the neck with his sword, and, in the usual form of words, pronounced him a Sir Knight.* It sometimes occurred, that many who had deserved well by their conduct in one engagement, were in this manner made knights together, as in the instance of Charles the Fifth's victory over the Duke of Saxony, when he created a number of them, by only declaring that they should be chevaliers; and Philip IV. of Spain did the same with regard to the captains who had fought well in the defence of Maestricht, and whom he made knights by a royal codicil. † A curious example of the freedom with which the ceremonies of creation were dispensed with, even in courts and in seasons of peace, when circumstances rendered it inconvenient to observe them, is related by Favine. ‡ Sigismunde, being on a visit to Charles VI., was

* Selden's Titles of Honour. † Ashmole.
‡ Theatre of Honour.

made acquainted with a quarrel between two of the courtiers, respecting an office which each of them thought himself entitled to enjoy. One day, while sitting in court, the claims of the rivals were argued before the two monarchs, when he who had the greatest interest on his side thought at once to destroy the pretensions of his opponent, by representing that he had not the order of knighthood. Sigismunde, to whom the latter had been recommended, immediately directed that he should be brought before him, which was done; and then observing, that he had a right to confer the honour of knighthood wherever he might be, he ordered a sword to be brought, with which he gave the object of his favour three blows as he knelt before him. Then taking off one of his own gilt spurs, he had it put on the heel of the new knight; and, lastly, girded him with a girdle, whereto hung a long knife, instead of a sword.

An amusing picture of a somewhat similar kind occurs in the account given of King Arthur's liberality at the celebration of his marriage. His nobles and gentlemen being all assembled, a poor man came to them, and begged to know where he might find the king. His majesty, whose condescension was not less than his courage, made himself known without delay; and the following dialogue took place between him and his humble suitor.

"Sir, it was told me, that at this time of your marriage ye would give any man the gift that he would ask, but except that were unreasonable. That is truth, said the king, such cries I let make, and that will I hold, so it apayre not my realm nor mine estate. Ye say well and graciously, said

the poor man. Sir, I ask nothing else but that ye will make my son here a knight. It is a great thing thou askest of me, said the king. What is thy name? said the king, to the poor man. Sir, my name is Ayres, the cowherd. Whether cometh this of thee or of thy son? said the king. Nay, sir, said Ayres, this desire cometh of my son, and not of me. For I shall tell you, I have thirteen sons, and all they will fall to what labour I put them, and will be right glad to do labour; but this child will not labour for me, for any thing that my wife or I may do; but always he will be shooting or casting darts, and glad for to see battles, and to behold knights. And always, day and night, he desireth of me to be made a knight. What is thy name? said the king unto the young man. Sir, my name is Tor. The king beheld him fast, and saw he was passingly well visaged, and passingly well made of his years. Well, said King Arthur unto Ayres the cowherd, fetch all thy sons afore me, that I may see them; and so the poor man did, and all were shapen much like the poor man. But Tor was not like none of them all in shape, nor in countenance, for he was much more than any of them. Now, said King Arthur unto the cowherd, where is the sword, he shall be made a knight withal. It is here, said Tor. Take it out of the sheath, said the king, and require me to make you a knight. Then Tor alight of his mare, and pulled out his sword, kneeling, and requiring the king that he would make him knight, and that he might be a knight of the Table Round. As for a knight, I will make you, and therewith smote him on the neck with the sword, saying, Be ye a good knight, and so I pray to God

so ye may be; and if ye be of prowess and of worthiness, ye shall be a knight of the Table Round." *

In the famous romance of Perceforest, a very full account is given of the ceremony of dubbing a knight, in which the religion and morality of the form were supplied by the pious instructions of the prince and chevaliers who conferred the honour. The anxious aspirant was examined by them as to all the motives from which he desired to be admitted to the order. He was exhorted to pray earnestly for divine assistance, and every piece of his armour was displayed before him with some appropriate reflection. In the most humble manner he replied to all the questions put to him, and professed his earnest desire to be a good and pious knight, and his entire willingness to employ his might in the defence of the church, of widows and orphans, and all who might be in affliction, and require his services.

"Now, said the king, it only remains that I give you the accolade, which I am willing to do; but you must first promise me that you will, above all things, honour God, the sovereign God, he who made the heavens and the four elements out of nothing, and from which he formed all things, which no other could have done, for he is all-powerful, and without equal. After that, you must swear to follow the lessons and doctrines which have just been given you, and to remember the signification of your arms. Then, answered the youth, his eyes being tearful with devout thoughts, this have I promised to do. Then the king raised his hand, and giving him the accolade,

* Morte d'Arthur, Book iii. chap. iii.

said, Chevalier, be hardy and preux. Then came one of the knights present, and hung a vermeil shield which he held in his hand on the neck of the damoiseau, and said, Sir knight, I hang this shield on your neck, that you may know you ought to be so hardy of frame as not to fear, in a just quarrel, to meet two chevaliers in open field. Sire, replied he, I desire to perish if ever I shrink from a just quarrel. Then came to him another chevalier, who held a good and beautiful helmet, with which he adorned him, saying, Forasmuch as I have armed your head with this helmet, you ought to know that you must never doubt to undertake every enterprise which the prowess of a chevalier may be able to achieve. Sire, was the reply, may God keep me in that disposition. Then a knight led before him a great and powerful war-horse (destrier), and said, Sir knight, you may now mount when it pleases you. Then, repulsing those who would have held his stirrup, saying, he was not always to expect such aid, he vaulted, without touching any thing but the bridle, into the saddle. Having had, lastly, a strong sword put into his hand, and been again exhorted to be bold and to govern himself wisely, and feeling proud as if he were king of the world, he took his leave of the august company, and striking spurs into his horse, was soon on his way after perilous adventures." *

But even in these accounts, where the ceremony was not performed with its accustomed solemnity, or in churches, we see how strongly the spirit of chivalry was originally imbued with that of devotion, from the constant reference which is

* Perceforest, vol. ii. chap. cxxvi.

made to the duties of the holy life which the knight was bound to pursue. The ordination of priests, to which the admission to knighthood has been frequently compared, could not be accompanied with more solemn exhortations to devotion or purity of mind. Even the desire of glory was not allowed to be a worthy motive for seeking the order of chivalry, unless meekly subjected to the wish of honouring God; nor was it forgotten on the field of battle, or in the hour of greatest peril, that if a knight was made, he must be consecrated in the name of the Holy Trinity.

The allegorical meaning which was given to the several parts of the knightly accoutrement, furnishes not only an excellent illustration of the character of chivalry, but a curious exemplification of the spirit of the ages in which it flourished. Men form ideas of things long before they have a perfect or distinct knowledge of their real nature. When they have not the truths of a far-advanced science on which to exercise their intellects, they employ them upon their dim conceptions of reality; and, seeking to fix the fleeting images of their minds on a more substantial foundation, invest them with the forms of earth and matter which they thenceforth build up into pillars and temples or splendid altars, and in contemplating which, they imagine that the truth, which was before a shadow to their minds, is become a reality, and that the more they multiply the gorgeous objects of sight, the better will the spirit understand its own workings.

The state of the human mind during the middle ages was well adapted to favour this combination of every thing intellectual and moral, with its sup-

posed counterpart among the things of sense. How far this contributed to advance or retard the improvement of mankind, it is not my province here to inquire; but of one thing we may be certain, that if truth can live in a well, she may be smothered under a bushel. The most valuable of all her revelations, whether from God to man, or from man, pure and enlightened, to man base and ignorant, were, we know, in passing through a few centuries, mixed with errors that deprived them of their vital energy. Those centuries were the period when religion was apparelled with the nicest care—when her throne was higher than that of any of the kings of the earth—when she wore a crown, and there was a sermon in every jewel of her diadem. If we derive any opinion from this circumstance, it certainly is one not in favour of teaching either morality or religion by way of emblem and ceremony.

Chivalry, however, owed its principal characteristics, perhaps its very existence, to this fashion of its birth-times. It was the temporal and earthly image of the church-militant; the great development of the spirit which animated the age, as the latter was of an eternal mystery. All its parts were in harmony with this its emblematical character; and, numerous as were the minute observances of the church, they were equalled by those of this warlike order. This cannot be better instanced, as we have said, than in the pains taken to explain the signification which was given to every part of the knight's armour. Thus, according to the most approved explications, the sword was made in the form of a cross, in token of the cause in which it was to be used; and as it was always to be employed in the defence of justice, it

was to be cutting on both sides. The spear was straight and even, because truth is so; and its iron head was significant of strength. The pennon, which might be seen afar, was the sign of courage, which wished not to be hidden; and the steel helmet, on the other hand, was emblematical of modesty. The hauberk was a castle, or a fortification against the power of vices and defaults. The leg-armour was to keep the feet from the peril of evil ways. The spurs were tokens of diligence and swiftness in all honourable designs. The gorget signified obedience; and that, as it encompasses the neck, so should the commands of his sovereign the knight. The mace represented strength of courage, and the knife or miserecorde with which the combatant despatched his enemy, when other arms failed, the mercy of God, and trust in his aid! The shield was typical of the knight's standing between the prince and the people, or between the prince and his enemies, as the safeguard of the former. The gauntlets, in using which he lifted up his hands on high, were to remind him of prayer to God, and that he was not to be guilty of putting his hand to a false oath. The saddle betokened surety of courage, and the great charge which pertained to chivalry; and the horse nobleness of courage, and readiness in daring. *

The parallel is pushed still farther; but the above is sufficient to show the manner in which the knight was taught to regard his gay panoply with the eye of a moralist. We must not, however, conclude this part of our subject without observing, that the instruction given him on receiving

* Book of Chivalry.

the investiture was not confined to the ceremony, as it was considered necessary that, after having been admitted, he should attend a sermon, in which the preacher was to insist on his reverencing the sacraments, and sacredly observing the seven great virtues, of which three were termed theological, faith, hope, and charity, and four cardinal, justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance. A perfect chevalier was also to be meek and courteous in his demeanour towards all men. His speech was to be graceful and gentle, and his whole deportment such as became a man of the highest honour, engaged in performing the most sacred duties.

There were other particulars in the promise which he made at his initiation, but they relate to the proof of his courage, rather than his virtue. The first article in his vow, according to some ancient writers, bound him, whenever he went on a quest or strange adventure, never to lighten himself of his arms, except for the sake of repose at night. By the next he promised, whenever in pursuit of adventure, not to avoid perilous passes, nor to turn out of his way for fear of meeting powerful chevaliers, or from any dread of monsters, savage beasts, evil spirits, or any thing which could only harm, or might be resisted by the body of a man. Among other rules, similar to those already mentioned, for the conduct of his life, we also find, that, having undertaken to defend a lady, he was rather to die than desert her, or suffer her to be offended; that he should be punctual to the day and hour in which he had been engaged to contend with another cavalier; that on returning to court, after having been absent in quest of adventure, he

should give an exact account of all he had done or met with, even should his actions have been to his disgrace, his knighthood being the forfeit, should he disobey this ordinance; that, being taken prisoner at a tournay, he should, besides rendering up his arms and horses to the victor, not again contend without the special leave of the latter; and, lastly, that he should not, in company, fight against a solitary enemy, nor carry two swords, if he was not willing to contend with two opponents.

Such were the ceremonies and lessons which composed the solemn service used in introducing a new member to the honourable order of chivalry; and when they were concluded, he proudly mounted his richly caparisoned steed, caracoled him for an instant at the door of the church, and then proceeded through the principal streets of the city, that dames and demoisels, unwarlike clerks, and defenceless widows and orphans, might know that they had that day obtained a new and worthy champion. Almsgiving and costly feasts finished the day, and the knight was armed at all points, both spiritually and martially, for his high calling.

CHAPTER IV.

THE USES AND ABUSES OF KNIGHTHOOD—ITS OUTWARD PAGEANTS.

His admission to knighthood opened to the young and exulting chevalier a prospect in every way bright and promising. He might now be the companion, and was in some respects the equal, of princes. The character with which his profession had invested him, was theoretically a compound of every quality which could render him an object of love and veneration. He had the sanctity of a minister of religion, with the shining virtues of a soldier. Truth and purity were his sovereign guides; but he was clothed in all the graces of gallantry. As the defender of widows and orphans, he was the noble champion of the sex in general; and though it was his duty to endure all the hardships of a life of peril and wandering, he was known to be the best accomplished of men, in every art that could delight in hall or bower. Thus sure of respect, he went forth into the world, not to endure its ordinary troubles, but to contend with difficulties which it covered him with glory to dare. His path, though not beset by dragons, or rendered strange and beautiful by enchantment, wound con-

tinually through scenes to which novelty and the half wild spirit of the times lent a supernatural interest. The overstrained and unattainable refinement of principle which was the groundwork of chivalry, while it gave glory to the order, multiplied almost to infinity the occasions of private quarrels and personal triumphs. Every lady, by terming a knight discourteous, called against him the first of his compeers whom he might chance to meet; and if he resented her affront with good success, he was entitled to her smiles, and bore away with him some token of her affection. Nor was the glow of his feelings endangered by the weariness of a uniform course of action. The times of peace were employed in quest of adventures through countries or provinces that pleased him by their wildness, or tempted him by the magnificence of their rulers. In war, which he never need fear would be wanting, he fought in the presence of princes, shared in triumphs to which royalty lent its pomp and magnificence, heard his name shouted amid the proud blasts of clarions, and in the fiercest onset, felt his ardent spirit rejoicing in deeds, the fame of which, his gallant followers would publish through every quarter of the land.

The very requisites for knighthood ensured to those who obtained it the enjoyment of more than ordinary distinctions in society. Besides the brilliant education which bestowed so many graces upon the person of the cavalier, he was, according to the laws of the order, a gentleman of the purest blood, and able to trace his gentility through three generations on his father's side. Unless he could do this, his lord had the power of degrading him,

by cutting off his spurs on a dunghill. It was also requisite that he should possess a certain degree of wealth, and that, not only by the ancient custom which attached a certain portion of land to this dignity, but from the many necessary expenses it entailed upon the possessor.

If he received the honour without possessing these usual qualifications, he obtained it only by such a signal exertion of merit that he could not fail of immediately becoming an object of distinguished favour to his prince; and the respect which military fame secured, was a sufficient passport to popular regard. Frequently, also, the knights, who thus rose suddenly to the noble rank of chivalry, were presented at the time of their investiture with an estate, or received the grant of pensions, which might enable them to uphold their dignity with befitting splendour; and in this they were further aided, by the value of the trophies which sometimes crowned their victorious arms, and which it was no degradation to the knight, to convert into the means of increasing the grandeur of his appearance.

"In the dignity, honour, and renown of knighthood," says Ashmole,* "is included somewhat of magnificence, more excellent than nobility itself;" and it is worthy of remark, that Camden notes it as a name of dignity, which he does not do with regard to that of lord. A baron, it is said, till he had been expressly admitted to the order of chivalry, in subscribing any deed, wrote his name with the simple addition of Dominus; and in many ancient documents, the signatures of knights

* Order of the Garter.

are placed before those of barons. The honour, indeed, which it conferred, was of such a nature, that it seems to have been considered capable of giving a new character altogether to the persons who obtained it. Even a villain, if he had the good fortune to do something worthy of knighthood, became immediately enfranchised on receiving the order, and his base blood was accounted gentle.

There seems also to have been something mysterious implied in the manner by which the honour of chivalry was transmitted from one knight to another, and from one kingdom to another. The resemblance has been often and fondly traced between the admission of knights and churchmen to their respective functions; and a close resemblance really did exist in the different ceremonies employed on the two occasions. But perhaps the most singular circumstance of the whole, is the solemn necessity which in both cases is insisted upon as to the original fountain, and genuine transmission of the honour, or the sanctity to be conferred. The ordination of priests by bishops regularly succeeding each other, is not esteemed more necessary to the purity of the church, than was the investiture of knights by knights, to the propriety of chivalry. A few instances, it is true, are on record of the order being conferred by ecclesiastics, by free towns which possessed the sovereign power and dignity in themselves, and even by women, especially when queens of powerful kingdoms; but in all these cases there appears to have been a reference to the same original fountain of honour, and the same care was taken with regard to its solemn and lawful transmission. They were, however, of comparatively rare occurrence; and the history of chivalry presents

us with a vast body of men, who, through successive generations, derived their dignity from the supposed inviolable power of their immediate predecessors to confer it.

So strong was the idea which the candidates for knighthood had of this mysterious virtue, that they regarded their investiture, as connecting them by a sort of sonship with the prince, or chevalier who bestowed it. This was the opinion from the earliest institution of the order, and strikingly marks the refinement of feeling which it introduced by the value it gave to honour for its own sake. The custom of adoption, as anciently conferred, was connected with the rights and advantages of succession; but after the introduction of chivalry, the prince, in adopting the noble youth who was ambitious of his favour, bestowed only a sonship of glory on him; and with this he rested contented, deeming it the most valuable of the gifts which even a royal parent could confer. From the same principle, it was esteemed of the utmost consequence that the author of his chivalrous existence should have preserved the glorious treasure of his honour pure, and unmixed with any base or unworthy alloy; and for this reason, the aspirant for knighthood would frequently wait a considerable period before he received the dignity, in order to beg it at the hands of some undoubtedly worthy knight. Long journeys, and many and perilous difficulties, were sometimes patiently endured, to effect this desirable object; and next to his zeal in performing the duties of a lover, nothing could equal his perseverance in following the track of one fitted to endow him with the sanctity of his order.

To this circumstance is most probably to be attributed the desire which induced the greatest monarchs and princes, to seek their knighthood from foreign potentates. Thus, Henry II. received the honour from David, King of Scotland, who knighted him at Carlisle. Edward I. was sent, when fifteen years old, to Alphonso XI., King of Castile, and obtained from him the same dignity. Nor are our records without instances in which we find princes from other countries desiring knighthood from the hands of English sovereigns. Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Alexander, the son of William, King of the same country, were invested with the order of chivalry by John; and Henry III. is also recorded to have knighted Alexander III. at York, and Magnus, King of the Isle of Man. The most general opinion, however, appears to have been, that knighthood only was required in the person who bestowed it; that all his power and virtue was centered in his possession of the chivalrous character, and that no princely or imperial rank could do any more than add to the external splendour of the ceremony.

It would have been well if this could have continued to be the case. The free, grave, and noble attributes of chivalry might have perhaps retained some of their theoretical beauty, had they not been blended with the softening vices of courts and courtiers. There was an inspiring encouragement to the young chevalier in receiving his sacred order from the hands of one whom he met in the full career of glory, whose sword had perhaps been only an instant dry from the blood of some caitiff, some oppressor or

enemy of the fatherless and the widow; whose only greatness lay in the name he bore of Christian knight, and who, in that character, had the power of conferring the proudest distinction which a heart full of truth and noble aspirations could desire. But chivalry was, almost from its commencement, made to contribute to the strength of armies; and knights had authority to summon a certain number of followers, and command any body of men which did not amount to a thousand. The importance they thus acquired in the military force of a nation was necessarily considerable; and as the policy of rulers gained strength, it was found to be of all things most dangerous to leave the privilege of creating knights in the hands of private individuals. By multiplying his chivalrous followers, a factious noble acquired as bold an ally as treason herself would have been; and no authority on earth could be safe from aggression, while the greatest honour which could be bestowed, it was in the power of numbers to confer and multiply as they chose.

Another and very important inconvenience was also found to result from the unlimited privilege of conferring the order of knighthood. Almost every institution has a tendency to lose its original purity and value. Chivalry, had it been all we can conceive it capable of being, could not have long remained untainted by the introduction of some unworthy member into its ranks. That it was, in fact, in every period of its duration, subject to corruptions springing from this source, is amply evident in every record that remains, whether of its glory or decay. But the evil effects of this corruption were rendered incalculably dangerous,

when the creation of knights remained under no strict or well known rule. Private feuds were made doubly sanguinary, and ambitious orders in the state, even when not inclined to revolt, had too great a support in their views to keep them from aggression. It is more than probable, I think, that the reason why abbots were forbidden in this country to make knights, which power was taken from them by a synod held at Westminster, A. D. 1102, was the dangerous increase it gave to ecclesiastical influence. Nothing, however, could have more endangered either the security of property or the sanctity of domestic life, than the increase of an order like that of chivalry, while its ranks might be filled with men unworthy of the power which it conferred. The life of a knight-errant required only a slight relaxation in the refined laws of gallantry, or of truth, to be one of the most lawless and worthless that could be led. Nor is it to be supposed that all who entered it, did so from those lofty views and sentiments which properly belonged to this honourable calling. The truth is, a very large number of the knights, comprising the chivalry of every country where it flourished, were mere idle adventurers, bent only on the gratification of their own passions, and seeking to enjoy life in the easiest and best manner possible. Of this number we may suppose, were all those whose evil deeds appear in romances in such dark contrast with the generous and shining actions of the preux chevalier. The crimes which they committed under the colour of their knightly daring, were totally destructive of social order; and had the honours of chivalry remained as free to be disposed of by them as by knights in general, it

is not very difficult to understand, that the growth of civilization would have been materially injured by their influence.

It required little penetration to discover this tendency of an unrestricted chivalry,—of a chivalry such as it was likely to be when luxury and dissolute manners had destroyed its freshness and hardihood. It was therefore decided, that in general princes only should have the power of conferring the distinction and privilege of knighthood; and a provision was thus made for obviating the evils with which the institution began to threaten society. The higher and more dignified the rank which the person holds who confers any honour, the more likely is it that the honour will not be destroyed by too profuse a dispensation. The fountain, in its first spring, is sparing of its waters, and only pours out sufficient to nurture the few plants that grow fresh and greenly around its bed; but as it descends towards the plain, it becomes lavish of its strength, and fills every pool and ditch that it passes. The restraint which princes put upon the diffusion of chivalrous honour was in this respect the surest means of preserving the institution from the most rapid decay. As society and its laws became better understood, there was only one alternative left for such an order as knighthood, namely, either to resist the spirit of improvement, and assume a wild and totally licentious character, or yield to the same mild influences which were affecting every other human institution, and change a part of its force and original vigour for the polish and ornament which belonged to ameliorated manners. There were many things to make chivalry take the latter, ra-

ther than the former tendency. The greater number of its votaries were, as we have seen, prepared for a life of pleasure as well as difficulty. They were most of them in the highest ranks of society; and wealth could in no way be spent so ostentatiously as in adorning an order, which was fitted by the nature of the institution to captivate men's imagination.

In the trial, therefore, to which the progress of social improvement put the spirit of chivalry, it yielded to the influence of fashion and luxury. The rude and stern qualities which were once mixed up with the more attractive forms of the order were gradually softened down, and at length lost amid a host of ornamental additions and newly invented graces. At length it became so clothed in splendour, that had we not testimony to the contrary, we might believe it to have been cradled from its birth in gorgeous and luxurious chambers. It was reduced to the character of a court pageantry, and the lofty grandeur of its early displays became a mere bauble-show, an entertainment for splendour-loving dames, and men equally weak, and perhaps vainer. The life and strength of chivalry were thus crushed. It was literally nursed to death by its princely foster-fathers; and luxury and lofty patronage did for it what it would otherwise have cost society long and hazardous struggles to effect. But it was a considerable time before this was discovered to be the case, or that the bold chevalier could be led to suspect, that, while rejoicing in the smiles of his sovereign, the patronage he was enjoying would in the course of events destroy the pride and honour of his order. In the ages with which we are at present concern-

ed, chivalry flourished in courts and palaces, without feeling any diminution of its strength from the connection; and the young and noble chevalier might glory in the grandeur which surrounded him as the fit possession of his rank—that which belonged to him as the birth-right of a valiant knight.

But not to pause any longer on the dignity which thus belonged to the person of the chivalrous warrior, we will now turn our attention for a moment to one of the many inventions employed to give occupation and publicity to his accomplishments. Tournaments, while they were mimic representations of war, were also equally well adapted to call forth the gay and shining qualities of the chevalier. They required grace and strength of person, great boldness and address in the use of arms, and all those other endowments for which a knight of fair name and renown would hope to be distinguished. These celebrated games make a considerable figure in the later ages of the institution; and during the crusades, and immediately after, they served in a great measure to combine all the various and complicated rules of the order into a close and perfect system.

Many doubts are entertained as to the precise origin of these grand and chivalrous exhibitions. Classical tradition abounds in notices of military games and contests, instituted for the purpose of displaying in noble rivalship the valour and address of distinguished soldiers. But wide distinctions are found to exist between these and the tournaments of chivalry, and a totally new origin is, without much necessity, as it seems to me, sought for the latter. To bring their commencement nearer modern times, some writers have supposed

that they had their beginning in the spectacles and games which were instituted by Charles of Germany and Louis his brother, after the battle of Fontenai, on which occasion they became reconciled to each other, and spent some time together in making the most brilliant display of their mutual regard, and of their riches. This event occurred about the year 842; but the same objections are made to the exhibitions of the royal brothers, as to the ancient games; and we are referred to a still later period for the institution of the genuine chivalrous tournament. It is generally allowed, however, that it was first practised in France, and that at a very early period. England is mentioned as having been the earliest to follow her example, and after this country, Germany. Of the institution of tournaments in the latter nation, we have a very formal account; and a long list remains of all the exhibitions of a chivalrous kind which were made there, from their institution to the end of the thirteenth century. According to this account, Germany was earlier in the establishment of these knightly encounters, than she has usually credit for. The date assigned to the first tournament held there, is the year 934, when Henry, surnamed l'Oiseleur, at that time Duke of Saxony, and afterwards Emperor, introduced the chivalrous custom, by holding a solemn tournament at Magdebourg. The next was celebrated by Conrad, Duke of Franconia, and was held at Rotembourg in 942; and the third on the list took place at Constance in 948, and was observed on the shores of the Lake, Ludolph, the Duke of Suabia, being the lordly patron of the festival. The last, mentioned in this curious chro-

nology of tournaments, was celebrated by the French Orientals in 1296.

The pomp of chivalry was at no time more brilliantly displayed than when some splendid exhibition of this kind called together a troop of bold and ardent knights. The laws under which it was conducted were a repetition of the principal rules of the order itself; and in one or two of those which were promulgated by imperial authority, we trace a truth and propriety of morality, which would lead us to believe that the approach to a tournament was guarded by the sternest virtues. But, on the other hand, there are articles in these same ordinances, which render the character of men, to whom they could be addressed, not a little suspicious. Thus, we see among the other disqualifications which it was supposed might be found in the candidates for admission to the contest—the having murdered a wife, or pillaged widows, orphans, or churches. If it appeared that any of them had been guilty of these offences, or any of the others mentioned, he was to be beaten and chased from the lists.

The manner in which the tournament was proclaimed, gave an excellent occasion for the display of courtly magnificence. When a prince or great nobleman had determined upon holding one of these festivals, he sent a herald with two squires, carrying his shield emblazoned with his proper devices, to the other lord with whom he desired to try his prowess, or that of his knights, in friendly contest. The message was usually accompanied with many expressions of praise on the valour of the chevalier to whom it was sent; and it was generally answered by similar compliments. Sometimes the tournament was only proclaimed in the

court of the nobleman who gave it, and then squires were sent about to assemble as many chevaliers as could be found in the country. When this had been done, a place was chosen for the contest, and one was generally selected which had the city on one side and a forest on the other, the remaining sides being closed in by barriers and the booths erected for the accommodation of the court, the ladies, and other spectators. For some time before the festival, which usually occurred three weeks after it had been proclaimed, the prince opened his halls to the throng of gallant knights and squires who intended being present at the feast of arms, and who came to the city near which it was to be held, to complete their equipments. But as the appointed time approached, strict regulations forbad the presence of the party who accepted the challenge. If they wished to visit any friend or lady within the walls of the city, they were only permitted to do so in disguise, and even that was prohibited on the eve of the festival. The contest having been commenced by the squires, who, as we have seen, were on these occasions allowed to try their skill, the lists were shortly after filled by the nobler combatants, who, defended by helm, hauberk, and shield, and bearing a spear and sword, began their ambitious encounter. Fearful accidents frequently happened to mar the gaiety of the spectacle; and Henry II. of France received a death-wound while jousting with one of his knights. This melancholy accident contributed to the suppression of tournaments; and the church interposed the whole weight of its authority to do away with a spectacle which was so likely to prove of a sanguinary character.

When, the party who had the superior strength and skill had compelled their adversaries to yield, the latter are represented as usually quitting the scene of their humiliation, and hastening to the forest, to afford them the shelter of which appears to have been the reason for the particular disposition of the lists. The most successful of the knights, on the contrary, was received by the prince and the assembly with the greatest demonstrations of delight. He obtained from the hand of the noblest lady present some gracious token of her's and the prince's favour, and was placed in a conspicuous station during the remainder of the festival. After every chevalier had entered the lists, and the contest was concluded, they repaired to the banquet, and splendid feasts ended the day.

But it was not always in times of profound tranquillity that these exhibitions took place. They were frequently undertaken with a simple regard to the stern trial of warlike strength; and, in that case, were accompanied with less show than when instituted principally at the desire of the ladies.

The most faithful picture which can be given of such encounters, is to be found in Froisart; and though the events he describes belong to a much later period in the history of chivalry than the one on which we are at present occupied, I shall venture, in this instance, to make use of his picturesque narrative. "At the time," says he, "when Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator performed their combat before the Earl of Buckingham and the English Lords, certain knights and squires from France had come as spectators to Marche-

noir near Blois, when Sir Reginald de Thouars, Lord de Pousanges, a baron of Poitou, had some words with the Lord de Vertain, and said he would like to tilt with him three courses with the lance, and three courses with the battle-axe. The Lord de Vertain, wishing not to refuse, was eager to accommodate him immediately, whatever might be the event; but the Earl of Buckingham would not consent, and forbade the knight at that time to think of it.

"What had been said relative to this feat of arms, was not forgotten by the two knights. Similar words had passed that same day between a squire from Savoye, called the Bastard Clavius, and Edward Beauchamp, son of Sir Robert Beauchamp; and also between Sir Tristan de la Jaille and Sir John d'Ambreticourt, Sir John de Châtelmorant and Jannequin Clinton; and le Gallois d'Aunay and Sir William Clinton; between Sir Hoyan d'Araines and Sir William France; but these were all set aside like the first.

"During the time the English were quartered in the suburbs of Nantes, these French knights and squires were within the town. The Lord de Vertain and the others were requested by the French knights to deliver them from their engagements while they were before Nantes; but the governors in Nantes would not consent, and excused their friends by saying, they were in Nantes as soldiers, intrusted with the guard and defence of the town. Nothing more passed until the Earl of Buckingham's army were fixed in their quarters at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperle, and Quimpercorentin, when Sir Barrois des Barres, Sir Hoyan d'Araines, and many other knights and squires, came to Château

Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, where the Constable of France resided. The Count de la Manche, with several knights, were also there, who were very glad to see them, and received them handsomely. They informed the Constable of all that had passed, and that such and such persons had undertaken deeds of prowess against others of the English. The Constable heard this with pleasure, and said, 'Send to them: we will grant them passports, to perform these deeds of arms, if they be willing to come.'

"Le Gallois d'Aunay and Sir Hoyan d'Araines were the first to say they were ready to perform their engagement of three courses with the spear, on horseback. When Sir William Clinton and Sir William France heard they were called upon by the French to perform their challenges, they were much rejoiced, and took leave of the earl and barons of England to go thither. They were accompanied by many knights and squires. The English and French tilted very handsomely, and performed their deeds of arms as the rules required. Then Sir Regnaud de Thouars, Sir Tristan de la Jaille, Sir John de Châtelmorant, and the Bastard Clavius, summoned each of them his knight or squire; that is to say, the Lord de Vertain, Sir John d'Ambreticourt, Edward Beauchamp, and Jannequin Clinton. These four were so eager for the combat they wished to go to Château Josselin, on the passports of the Constable; but the Earl of Buckingham, hearing at Vannes the summons of the French, said aloud to the heralds, 'You will tell the Constable, from the Earl of Buckingham, that he is equally powerful to grant passports to the French, as he may be to grant

them to the English; and to all those who may wish to perform any deeds of arms with his knights, on their arrival at Vannes, he will, out of his affection to them, give passports, and to all who may choose to accompany them, both for their stay and for their return.'

"When the Constable heard this, he instantly perceived the Earl was in the right, and that he wanted to see those deeds of arms. It was but reasonable there should be as many performed at Vannes as had been before him at Château Josselin. The Constable therefore said, 'The Earl of Buckingham speaks like a valiant man and a king's son, and I will that what he says shall be believed: let me know those who may be desirous of accompanying the challengers, and we will send for a proper passport.' Thirty knights and squires immediately stepped forth: a herald came to Vannes for the passport, which was given to him, sealed by the Earl of Buckingham.

"The three knights who were to perform their deeds of arms, set out from Château Josselin, attended by the others, and came to Vannes, where they were lodged in the suburbs, and the English entertained them well. On the morrow, they made preparations for the combat, as it behoved them to do, and advanced to a handsome space, which was large and even, on the outside of the town. Afterwards came the Earl of Buckingham, the Earl of Stafford, the Earl of Devonshire, and other barons, with those who were to engage in this deed of arms: the Lord de Vertain against Sir Regnaud de Thouars, Lord de Pousanges; Sir John d'Ambreticant against Tristan de la Jaille; Edward Beaucamp against the Bastard Clavius de Savoye.

"The French took their places at one end of the lists, and the English at the other. Those who were to tilt were on foot, completely armed, with helmets, vizors, and provided with lances of good steel from Bourdeaux, with which they performed as follows:

"First, the Lord de Pousanges and the Lord de Vertain, two barons of high renown and great courage, advanced towards each other on foot, holding their sharp spears in their hands, with a good pace: they did not spare themselves, but struck their lances lustily against each other in pushing. The Lord de Vertain was hit without being wounded; but the Lord de Pousanges received such a stroke that it pierced through the mail and steel breast-plates, and every thing underneath, so that the blood gushed out, and it was a great wonder he was not more seriously wounded. They finished their three courses and their other deeds of arms, without further mischief, when they retired to repose themselves, and to be spectators of the actions of the others.

"Sir John d'Ambreticourt, who was from Hainault, and Sir Tristan de la Jaille, from Poitou, next advanced, and performed their courses very valiantly, without hurt to either, when they also retired.

"Then came the last, Edward Beauchamp, and Clavius de Savoye. This bastard was a hardy and strong squire, and much better formed in all his limbs than the Englishman. They ran at each other with a hearty good will: both struck their spears on their adversary's breast; but Edward was knocked down on the ground, which much vexed his countrymen. When he was raised up, he took

his spear, and they advanced again to the attack, but the Savoyard drove him backward to the earth, which more enraged the English. They said, Edward's strength was not a match for this Savoyard, and the devil was in him to make him think of tilting against one of such superior force. He was carried off among them, and declared he would not engage further.

"When Clavius saw this, wishing to finish his course of arms, he said: 'Gentlemen, you do not use me well: since Edward wishes not to go on, send me some one with whom I may complete my courses.'

"The Earl of Buckingham would know what Clavius had said, and, when it was told him, replied, that the Frenchman had spoken well and valiantly. An English squire then stepped forth, who was since knighted, and called Jannequin Finchley, and coming before the Earl, kneeled down, and entreated his permission to tilt with Clavius, to which the Earl assented.

"Jannequin very completely armed himself on the spot: then each, seizing his spear, made thrusts at the other, and with such violence their spears were shivered, that the stumps of them flew over their heads. They began their second attack, and their lances were again broken; so were they in the third. All their lances were broken, which was considered by the lords and spectators as decisive proofs of their gallantry. They then drew their swords, which were strong; and in six strokes, four of them were broken. They were desirous of fighting with battle-axes, but the Earl would not consent to more being done, saying that they had sufficiently shown their courage and abilities.

Upon this they both retired; when Sir John de Châtelmorant and Jannequin Clinton advanced. This Jannequin was squire of honour to the Earl of Buckingham, and the nearest about his person; but he was lightly made, and delicate in his form. The Earl was uneasy that he should have been matched with one so stout and renowed as John de Châtelmorant: notwithstanding, they were put to the trial, and attacked each other most vigorously; but the Englishman could not withstand his opponent, for, in pushing, he was very roughly struck to the ground; on which the Earl said, they were not fairly matched. Some of the Earl's people came to Jannequin, and said, 'Jannequin, you are not sufficiently strong to continue this combat; and my Lord of Buckingham is angry with you for having undertaken it: retire and repose yourself.' The Englishman having retired, John de Châtelmorant said, 'Gentlemen, it seems your squire is too weak: choose another, I beg of you, more to your liking, that I may accomplish the deeds of arms I have engaged to perform; for I shall be very disgracefully treated, if I depart hence without having completed them.'

"The Constable and Marshal of the army replied, 'You speak well, and you shall be gratified.' It was then told to the surrounding knights and squires, that one of them must deliver the Lord de Châtelmorant. On these words, Sir William Farrington immediately replied, 'Tell him he shall not depart without combating: let him go and repose himself a little in his chair, and he shall soon be delivered; for I will arm myself against him.' This answer was very pleasing to John Châtelmorant, who went to his seat to rest himself. The

English knight was soon ready, and in the field. They placed themselves opposite to each other, when, taking their lances, they began their course on foot to tilt with their spears within the four members; for it was esteemed disgraceful to hit any part but the body.

"They advanced to each other with great courage, completely armed, the vizor down, and helmet tightly fixed on. John de Châtelmorant gave the knight such a blow on the helmet, that Sir William Farrington staggered some little, on account of his foot slipping. He kept his spear stifly with both hands, and lowering it by the stumble he made, struck John de Châtelmorant on the thighs; he could not avoid it; and the spear-head passed through, and came out the length of one hand on the other side. John de Châtelmorant reeled with the blow, but did not fall.

"The English knights were much enraged at this, and said it was infamously done. The Englishman excused himself by saying, 'he was extremely sorry for it; and, if he had thought it would have so happened at the commencement of the combat, he would never have undertaken it; but that he could not help it, for his foot slipped from the violence of the blow he had received.

"Thus the matter passed over. The French, after taking leave of the Earl and other Lords, departed, carrying with them John de Châtelmorant in a litter to the Château Josselin, from whence they had come, and where he was in great danger of his life, from the effects of this wound." *

Tournaments were the connecting link between

* Chronicles, by Johnes, vol. ii. Chap. xxv.

the two states of a chevalier's life, war and peace. They served to keep alive the glow of his spirits, when tranquillity might have gradually subdued them; they furnished him with opportunities of comparing himself with the most celebrated of his companions; and, if he had unwillingly contracted the sin of pride, they often afforded him both a lesson and a remedy. Above all, they enabled the ladies to judge with their own eyes the respective merit of their suitors; to comprehend what their husbands or lovers meant when they told their chivalrous adventures, and to appreciate the value of their fame, acquired in the mortal encounters of which they had seen so striking an imitation.

CHAPTER V.

THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF CHIVALRY.—THE TRUTH, HONOUR, AND GALLANTRY OF KNIGHTHOOD.

THE morality of chivalry may be considered under the three heads of the religion, honour, and gallantry of the knight; and the short space which I can afford to this part of the subject, will be occupied in a few general remarks on these constituents of knightly morals. The nature of this work will not permit me more than briefly to allude to those deeply interesting subjects with which the history of chivalry is philosophically connected; but I cannot resist the temptation of intimating to the reader, that the bright and showy surface of the institution ought not solely to occupy his attention, but that he may gather from the subject many materials of thought, in furnishing objects for which the real value of this part of history mainly consists.

Every institution of society, whether it rise gradually and silently into existence, or be ingrafted by a sudden act on present forms and establishments, is the development of some active principle in the social body, of which it demonstrates the existence, in the same manner as the visible cloud does that of the small, dispersed, and invisible dew

of which it was formed. Political causes were sufficient to give birth to a species of soldiery like that of chivalry, but not to one so deeply imbued with the feelings and passions that belong to the innermost spirit of humanity. Feudal barons might have recruited for gallant retainers, princes might have offered ample rewards to those who knew best how to defend their thrones; and strength of limb and fearless courage might have been placed among the most valuable of manly endowments: but this would only have produced a large number of strong and valiant men; it might have given a certain splendour to warlike virtue, and have even occasioned the flower of the military force to assume that independence and adventurousness of character which belonged to knighthood; but here it would have stopped. An independent soldiery would have been established, but nothing more; and the military profession would have been the same as it was in the days of Greece and Rome, differing neither in its ruling maxims or principles, nor in the governing and master-spirit which kept it in action. That this would have been the case, had chivalry sprung from mere political causes, we may conclude from the circumstance, that as the predominant principles of society changed, and gave place to others of a different nature, the institution gradually decayed, perishing as a plant would, if any sudden effect of the elements had changed the character of the soil on which it grew.

I have already alluded to the influence which the desire of giving form and substance to the objects of thought generally exercises over a half-cultivated people. This principle, so strongly visible in the middle ages, tended in a very power-

ful manner to throw every active and ruling sentiment of society into some striking exhibition of its presence. It was favourable to the commencement of establishments, and the formation of institutions. The moral virtues, as well as the objects of intellectual veneration, seemed to require the support of something external to the heart or the spirit that governs it. If men were willing to be charitable, they built monasteries or magnificent churches; and this not, I apprehend, as is frequently supposed, from a vain love of display, but from the cause I have mentioned, the want which was in that age felt of something visible to demonstrate the power of unknown and confused principles. To the same circumstance chivalry owed its institution. The pomp of ecclesiastics and warriors, as they both at that period arrived at their greatest height, so had they their origin in similar causes. The same feeling which filled cathedrals with golden crucifixes, pictures and images, led to the formation of an order in which military virtue might be seen displayed in types and emblems befitting the splendour and brilliancy of its nature.

But the character of the times not only conduced to the establishment of chivalry as an institution, it coloured it with all the variety of tints which belonged to society itself. The religious principles of knighthood deserve, in this respect, the first consideration.

The religious state of the middle ages furnishes us with one of the most interesting subjects of reflection. The people were sunk in a gross ignorance of the pure and primitive loveliness of truth. The clergy were the lords of their consciences, and in

this capacity employed their influence, occasionally, to the positive subversion of good doctrine, but nearly always to the detriment of the clear and direct authority of honest virtue. But a distinction is always to be observed between the doubt or superstition, which springs from the dull inactivity of an ignorant people, and that which has its origin among the same people, when, though scarcely more enlightened, they wake up into some degree of intellectual existence. Though possessing little knowledge, and with a faith which had lost most of its primitive characteristics, the people of the middle ages were, to all intents and purposes, a religious people, not in the sense of the word, in which we should apply it when speaking of modern times, but in that by which it signifies, the presence of a strong devotional spirit,—the influence of awe, hope, and mysterious expectation on the minds of professing believers. In this light, the period of which we are speaking, was more distinguished for its religious character than any other of which the history of the world makes mention; and this feature, which belonged to society in general, was the property of almost all its individual members, imbuing the light love-strain of the minstrel with its deeper pathos, giving a soft and solemn beauty to many of the customs of domestic intercourse, and blending the soldier's dream of glory with one of immortality and paradise.

But the religion of chivalry cannot be expected to exhibit more of the primitive truth, or more consistency, than is to be found in the representations which are left us of its state in society or the church itself. No surprise, therefore, ought to be expressed at the almost appalling inconsistency

which is usually to be traced between the pretensions of a knight to the character of a devout man, and the general course of his life. The same startling contradictions were every day exhibited by churchmen as well as laymen; and if they could discover the method of reconciling the apparent discrepancy, an adventurous soldier was not the most unlikely person to take advantage of the invention. Nor does it seem to have entered into the minds of the venerable chroniclers who have recorded the deeds of their favourite knights, that they might possibly tarnish the brightness of their fame by telling the errors they committed. The same pride and seeming consciousness of noble truth, appear to have dictated the anecdotes of low licentiousness at which we blush, as those which incline us to admiration. The famous histories of the Knights of the Round Table, while they are glowing with the praises of devotion, record with the greatest particularity, and in the same tone, the violation of every principle of piety. While their heroes are sent in the most devout spirit to search for the *Sangreal*, or the phial filled with the blood of our Saviour, we find them recreating themselves from their toils by the most depraved pleasures; and the knights whose characters seem to have been drawn in the manner best calculated to fill us with respect, suddenly rise before us in the guise of the most base hypocrites.

It was not by the exercise of religious virtue, but by the display of religious devotion—two very different things, yet confounded in other ages besides those of chivalry—that the knight was to adorn his profession. He was ordered, it is true, to keep the commandments with all strictness, to

refrain from the seven mortal sins, and observe other pious precepts, as we have seen the Dame des Belles Cousines instructing her favourite squire. But it was not by the observance of these things that the valiant knight was assured of fame or reward; it was certainly not for strictly keeping them that the Petit Jehan secured the favour of the fair Dame, his patroness; and there is good reason to suppose, that had he kept all the instructions so properly given, he would soon have ceased to enjoy her smiles. The ceremonials of devotion could be attended to without any hinderance to the career of ambition and pleasure, which it was the knight's profession to pursue. In the observance of these, he was reminded of the authority from which he derived his most sacred privileges; and he seemed to acquire new dignity by a repetition of the vows which he uttered at his investiture. The solemn grandeur of the church, the awful impressiveness of its services, the affection with which its ministers regarded him as their true champion; these all contributed to fill him more deeply with the consciousness of his own honour; and he drew from every mass which he heard, and from the matins and vigils, new persuasions to follow the romantic path he had chosen. His professions, his habits of life, the excitement of imagination to which he was constantly subject, rendered him, of all other men, the most open to impressions from a religion adorned with grand and solemn exhibitions. The great mass of the people could neither feel so strongly its personal application, nor enter so thoroughly into the enjoyment of a pomp which had less relation to their condition. The ministers of re-

ligion, on the other hand, were too accustomed to the display, to be deeply impressed with its magnificence; and it therefore appears likely that the chevaliers were better fitted to become devout attendants on the services of religion, than any other class of men in those superstitious ages. We see in the modes of thought, in the contradiction between principle and practice, in the willingness to submit to the most painfnl ceremonial observances, and in the devotional gravity of the knight, the feeling and opinions which, with little variation, impressed all society in the middle ages with its principal features; and if, in this respect, we take chivalry for a mirror of the ages in which it began to flourish, we shall perhaps obtain the correctest notion of their character we are, at this distance of time, capable of forming.

From these remarks respecting the religion of chivalry, we naturally descend to the consideration of that second great distinction of the order—the truth and honour of its votaries. It requires no very profound faculty of observation to convince us, that when men mistake so grossly the simple duties which belong to the religion they venerate, as did the knights of old, the nature of honour, as depending on a strict regard to truth, will not stand a much better chance of being correctly understood. But, next to religion, the first principle with the chevalier was the punctilious respect for honour, and all the duties and requirements which are comprehended under that term. To keep his word, had it been pledged to a thing altogther destructive of his success or happiness, was inculcated as the most absolute of duties; to break it, whatever excuse any change of circum-

stances might have seemed to bring, was the greatest disgrace which the genius of chivalry could receive. The refinement to which the principle was carried, affords many interesting traits of the purest and most admirable regard to truth; and some of the histories of celebrated knights inspire us with delight at the pictures they occasionally present of this devotion to the foundation-principle of all that is great or good in our social nature.

But the same defects are observable in their supposed attachment to truth, as in their religious pretensions. The beauty of the virtue itself was lost sight of, under the specious colouring of ambitious fancy. It was not truth which obtained the praises of the chevalier, or which he sought to exhibit in his conduct, but the extravagant imitation of her effects. A few high and most noble spirits did, as we have said, possess both the virtue and the chivalrous imagination which gave brilliancy to its sober grandeur; but, for the most part, we see nothing but a violent straining after extravagant methods of exhibiting her graces, and a line of conduct resulting from this which merits little either of respect or admiration. Religion, when presented to the senses under the forms which a rich imagination has invented, though she lose much of her purity, and of her proper strength and authority, retains her dignity, and we still venerate her as divine; but if religion can thus be blended with the splendid workings of the imagination, without losing her hold upon the heart, it is rarely that morality can. The moment fancy takes the ordinary virtues of life into her keeping, they are either confounded with principles which the conscience cares not for, and so are rendered useless; or they

are carried out of their proper sphere of application, and cease to operate altogether, or are rendered ridiculous by affectation and extravagance. The example of Arthur's knights, who appear to have been the true models of chivalrous character, may again be appealed to as illustrating these observations. The blackest treason of which an individual can be guilty, was practised against him by one of his most renowned companions; yet this violator of the faith which he owed to Arthur, both as a sovereign and a man, was the very flower of chivalry, the model of every knight who sought the highest praise for excellence of character and conduct, and one from whom the noblest and most worthy squire in Christendom would have thought it a proud distinction to receive his sacred functions.

It may be observed, and the remark will apply to more cases than the present, that the worship of truth is comparatively easy, when the sacrifices we offer are all of our own invention, and made only at such times as may insure their reward, either in the increase of our reputation, or in some other advantage. The history of chivalry contains ample proofs that such was, with very few exceptions, the devotion which the knight paid to this angelic virtue. He never broke a vow—but both the making and observance of it contributed largely to raise his reputation. If it was an extraordinary one, and required particular labour and hazard to fulfil it, he had measured the difficulty beforehand; he had calculated how much admiration and praise he should receive when he had gone through the voluntary trial; and he bore with him, in the peril of the encounter, the pleasant feeling which always attaches to the consciousness of being watched

and admired while combating any danger. Nor must it be forgotten, that a large number of the vows which the knights made, and obtained the greatest praise for observing, had their origin not merely in personal vanity, but in the expectation of their aiding them in the most difficult of their love-adventures. To vow that he would perform some notable exploit in honour of his lady, was the noblest piece of gallantry which a knight could exhibit. It elevated him in the eyes of his brother-chevaliers, contributed to establish the reputation of the dame for the power of her charms, and thereby insured him her smiles, when every other expedient of the despairing lover had proved fruitless. When such a reward as this awaited him at the conclusion of his enterprise, it is possible that he might have undertaken it without any other consideration; and when we compare the number of instances which are on record of this kind with those in which truth seems to have been honoured and pursued for her own sake, we are compelled, however unwillingly, to regard the refined veracity of knights as possessed, in general, of no other quality but its refinement. That they had a very clear apprehension of the beauty of truth, either moral or religious, whatever we know of their habits or pursuits, tends greatly to disprove—that, if they did understand it, they were guilty of the coldest and most base hypocrisy ever practised, we have evidence in nearly every work which, either purposely or not, affords any description of chivalrous times.

The doubt which may thus be indulged, as to whether the genuine love of truth formed any part of the chevalier's real character, greatly lessens our

idea of these brilliant qualities of mind and disposition comprehended under the term Honour. There is reason to believe, that some of the sentiments at present current among the best classes of society, are derived from the high notions of personal respect introduced by Chivalry; but certain it is, that if we possessed no clearer notions of what is termed honour than did our military ancestors, society would have gained little by the existence of such a principle; for, so far as we see the effect of it in its genuine and unaltered mode of action, it is only productive of mad and sanguinary contests. The pure, the truly noble principle of honour which belongs to modern times, is derived, if it have any existence at all, from the clearer and juster views which prevail respecting the duties of man to man, and of one class of society to another. The honour of chivalrous ages and of the chivalrous character was wasted, like the other good principles which operated at that period, in a constant attempt to exhibit itself to the gaze of mankind; it was busy and loquacious, instead of calm, serious, and dignified; it could not exist without the excitements of public praise, nor act in places or in reference to objects which only required the exertion of its plain and steady counsels. I am here, of course, speaking only of the strictly moral, and practical influence of chivalrous honour. Considering it in the light of a quality, which was sufficiently perfect if it added grace to the name and bearing of a soldier, it merits a higher praise; for, never was its gay and shining attributes displayed to greater advantage; never was the etiquette or punctiliousness of pride rendered more worthy of attention, than when they be-

longed to the free and lofty bearing of the high-born chevalier.

The possession of this virtue in its greatest perfection was requisite to the knight in every degree of his profession. It was inculcated upon him in the elementary instructions which he received as a page; and when arrived at the rank of squire, he was expected to appear clad in its fair and shining garb, ready prepared for the defence of truth and the unblemished worth of the ladies. As a knight, honour was the universal patron-saint of his order; and she thus gave existence to a sort of brotherhood, even between those who fought under the hostile standards of the cross and the crescent. On the purity, moreover, with which this virtue was preserved, greatly depended the knight's power to perform the tasks to which he was put in the course of his career. We have many curious illustrations of this in some of the old romances. The following is one.

While Arthur was at the castle of Camelot, where were assembled a great number of his knights and gentlemen of arms, there came thither a demoiselle with a message from the great Lady Lylle of Anelyon. "And when she came before King Arthur, she told him from whom she came, and how she was sent on a message unto him for these causes. Then she let her mantle fall that was richly furred. And then was she girt with a noble sword, whereof the king had marvel, and said, Demoiselle, for what cause are ye girt with that sword? it beseemeth you not. Now, I shall tell you, said the Demoiselle. This sword that I am girt withal doth me great sorrow and cumberance, for I may not be delivered of this sword but by a knight;

but he must be a passing good man of his hands and of his deeds, without villany or treachery, and without treason. And if I may find such a knight that hath all these virtues, he may draw out this sword out of the sheath; for I have been at King Ryons; it was told me they were passing good knights, and he and all his knights have assayed it, and none can speed. This is a great marvel, said Arthur, if this he doth. I will myself assay to draw out the sword, not presuming upon myself that I am the best knight, but that I will begin to draw at your sword, in giving example to all the barons that they shall assay every one after other when I have assayed it. Then Arthur took the sword by the sheath, and by the girdle, and pulled at it eagerly, but the sword would not come out. Sir, said the Demoiselle, ye need not pull half so hard, for he that shall pull it out shall do it with little might. Ye say well, said Arthur. Now, assay ye all my barons, but beware ye be not defoyled with shame, treachery, nor guile. Then it will not avail, said the Demoiselle, for he must be a clean knight, without villany, and of a gentle strene of father side and mother side. First of all, the barons of the Round Table that were there at that time assayed all by rows, but they might none speed; wherefore the Demoiselle made great sorrow out of measure, and said, Alas! I wende in this court had been the best knights, without treachery or treason. By my faith, saith Arthur, here are good knights, as I deem, as any been in the world, but their grace is not to help you; wherefore I am displeased." *

* Morte d' Arthur, Book ii. Chap. i.

The conspicuous share which gallantry had in giving grace and brilliancy to the knight's character, has constituted it one of the primary features in the description of chivalry and its heroes. It is probable, I think, that we may have formed too harsh an opinion respecting the rank which women held in states of society that received no amelioration from any thing like chivalry or its institutions. There are many intimations in classical writers, that the female character in Greece and Rome was frequently elevated to the highest degree of purity and nobleness; that it had then the power to charm and influence by all the strength of love; and that the home, of which it became the glory and the light, was rendered sacred to man's heart, because it held this treasure. That women were less honoured and loved in those days, because custom rendered their lives more retired than now, is certainly an unjustifiable conclusion. The fire which burnt on the most sacred altar of Vesta, shone only in the deepest recesses of her penetralia.

But many of our impressions with regard to this subject, are derived from the comparison which has been instituted between the rank given to women in the Roman empire shortly previous to its fall, and that which they enjoyed in the northern nations about the same period. I apprehend, however, that the comparison does not discover a superiority in the rank or station of the German women over that of their classical cotemporaries; but only proves, that the manners of both sexes in Germany, were purer and more favourable to virtue than they were in Rome. The liberty which was given them of mixing with the men, and sometimes even of

making themselves heard in matters of moment, was consequent upon their rude mode of life, and the knowledge which every member of a small tribe must necessarily possess of the things which concern its safety. Their pure and hardy virtue was indeed well worthy of the admiration of the Roman historian, when he compared it with the luxury and licentiousness of his countrywomen; but it is scarcely an object of wonder, that the female character should be purer where it is strengthened by the nourishment of virtuous exercise and duty, and where it is exposed to no enervating fashions, than in the midst of luxurious cities, and where female loveliness has a value set upon it, independent of the accompaniments of female truth and virtue.

That the general condition of women is at present superior to what it formerly was, is beyond a doubt; but it is not true that the superiority is so extraordinary as has been asserted; nor can it be rightly traced to the infusion of Northern blood into their veins, which the taint of luxury would soon have corrupted; nor to the effects of any particular institution, but to the clearer distinctions which now prevail respecting virtue and vice—to the sanctions afforded to morality by a divine religion—to the worth which the same religion has given to whatever is mentally pure and lovely—to the community of hopes, and of the highest duties which it has introduced—and to the general diffusion of information and activity of thought. To these are owing the higher level at which female virtue now stands, and the sex's consequent superiority of rank; for, if knowledge be power to man, virtue is power to women.

I am not willing, therefore, to ascribe so high a merit to the institutions of chivalry, in this respect, as they have sometimes laid claim to. The personal gallantry, however, of knights was a gay and splendid quality, and in perfect keeping with the blazonry of his burnished helmet, towering plumes, and courtly bearing. To serve God and the ladies, an expression from which we shrink with a feeling that it borders near upon impiety, was the first maxim impressed upon the memory of the youthful chevalier. The manner in which the latter part of the precept was observed, did not differ very greatly from what we have seen to be the mode in which the former was attended to. The art of love, however, was in those days full of very recondite mysteries; and it was thought no mean mark of ability to possess the power of teaching it. One of the fullest descriptions of what a lover was expected to be, is found in the instructions given a young knight by the Signeur Arnaud de Marsan.

One morning in the month of October, when preparing, with other noble cavaliers, for a day of excellent sport, and just as the pages had brought out the falcons, the dogs and horses, and all was ready for setting forth, a young knight, of great beauty and lofty bearing, appeared at his castle, and, taking hold of his horse's bridle, begged him, with a most melancholy visage, to have pity on his distress. The generous chevalier hesitated not, but, ordering back his retinue, inquired of the young stranger the cause of his grief; and having found it to be the cruelty of a mistress, promised, on the next morning, to give him full instructions in the gentle science of love. The day was spent in

mirth and feasting; and the following morning, seating themselves under the shade of a laurel, the teacher and his mournful pupil began their discourse on the subject of their meeting. The former commenced, by saying, that he should speak neither of riches nor learning as the means of prospering in love, but that he should reduce the essential qualities of a lover to gaiety, politeness, and bravery. He then called to the recollection of his hearer the character of those celebrated heroes who had been most successful with the ladies, such as Paris, Sir Tristan, and King Arthur; and then began with giving him instructions on his personal appearance. His habits were to be of linen, fine and white, and his robe was to be of the same colour as his mantle, and of a proper length, and sufficiently full not to leave his breast uncovered. He was frequently to wash his hair, and to keep it rather short, as was to be the case with his mustachios and beard. Again, the eyes being the interpreters of amorous sentiments, and the hands the ministers of those constant services which faithful love is ever ready to render, he was directed to pay particular attention to their being always of proper keeping with the rest of his well-dressed person. With regard to his attendants, he was to have at least two squires, who were to be courteous, civil, and above all good speakers, that they might be able to give a good opinion of their master by the manner they delivered his messages. Rules are then given him for the exercise of hospitality in his house. He was to honour strangers; to provide generously for their wants; to instruct his domestics not to let any thing be wanting to the table, as, if they had to whisper him in

the ear during the repast, this would have the appearance of a low and paltry economy; and to make no spare of his provisions;—all which things were declared to be necessary to the knight who would preserve the reputation of being a brave lover, who never did any thing but what was noble.

Whenever he should go to any court, he is recommended to spare nothing in insuring the magnificence of his appearance. He is to have an hotel always open to all comers. Squires, pages, mendicants and *jongleurs*, are not to be driven away, come they in ever such crowds, but every thing is to be *à l'abandon*. When he quits the court, which he is never to do till the last, he is to pay faithfully and largely. In the directions given him as to the games he should play, he is forbidden to use the dice, as only fit for the vulgar or the covetous; and when he is engaged in play of a more honourable kind, he is particularly directed not to be sorry if he lose; or, if he cannot resist the feeling, not to show it, nor to change his place continually as a man that is agitated, nor twist his hands about as one in a passion; for the instant he should do this, or show any alteration in his countenance, he would be that moment degraded from all pretensions to gallantry.

Another essential point, if he would be happy in love, is, that he have a good horse, swift in the chase, adroit and tractable in combat, and that this courser should be always ready at hand, together with his lance, shield, and cuirass. His horse, also, is to be well harnessed, and to be adorned with a splendid poitrail. The housings, saddle, shield and lance, with its banderolle, are to be uniform in their

colour and devices. He must also have another horse to carry his double cuirass, his lance and shield, which arms are to be raised as high as possible, in order to make the more graceful and noble appearance. It is also essential that his squires be always ready to attend him on the instant, and that his arms may not have to be sought for when he is attacked; for it must needs be known, says his instructor, that a dame will never take for her lover a coward or a niggard, who hides himself when he is summoned to meet an enemy, or to appear with eclat at court. She desires that her lover should be continually receiving some new accession to his glory. Then, exhorting the young knight not to be weary with the number of his directions, the able professor continues his lesson, by desiring him, above all things, to love chivalry, which ought to be his sovereign good, and preferred to every kind of pleasure.

"Be always ready for the combat," repeats he; "let nothing make you fear. Be the first to strike, and the last to give over; you will thus fulfil the true duties of a lover." Then, directing him to be careful to have good armour, to have his horse adorned with little bells, the sound of which, he says, inspires the rider with courage, he once more repeats, that it is the duty of whoever follows the banner of love to be the first in the charge, and the last in the retreat; to fight till his arms one after the other fail him; and when he comes to his sword, "to strike his blows so hard and fierce, that the noise may rise to God, and that it may echo both through heaven and hell."

Then follows an account of the baron's own achievements in the court of love, as an exemplifi-

cation of the power of his maxims, and which seems to give as correct a notion of the true character of chivalrous love and gallantry as any thing which could be said on the subject. He reckons, that he had had from one of his vanquished fair two hundred kisses; but that he must die in a month's time, if he could not obtain one from another less gentle dame; and for a third mistress of his heart, he most devoutly desires a happy seat in paradise. He had many more, he said, but would not name them, as he had not their permission, which he had of the others, to make known the favours they had granted him. *

The life which the knight ordinarily led, and the sentiments common to his order, were favourable to his becoming the gay and accomplished suitor described in these instructions of the brave Baron de Marsau. But whether they were equally fitted to cherish the deep and glowing passion of love, as they were to inspire a taste for gallantry, is a matter of serious doubt. The greater part of the stories we read respecting the adventures of chevaliers, would lead us to believe that it was rarely they felt the pure and simple affection of a single overpowering affection. They bore with them, it is true, the tokens of their dame in the gayest hall and in the bloodiest battle-field; they would wage mortal fight with any one who dared refuse to allow that she was the most peerless lady in Christendom; and at her slightest command, they readily undertook the most perilous and unprofitable pursuits; but in all this, if we look with any care upon the subject, we shall trace scarcely the sha-

* MS. D'Urfé; Price, 946, as quoted by M. Sainte Palaye.

dow of love. In proportion to the pride, the boasting display and ornament of passion, we may properly doubt of its strength and permanency. The favour of a lady to whose love he might pretend, was as necessary to the knight's proper appearance among his compeers, either in the field or at court, as any part of his shining accoutrements. To love, consequently, was as much a condition of his knighthood as to be brave or honourable; and as the former is much less under our immediate power than the latter, it is not to be doubted that affectation frequently supplied the place of passion, and in many cases prevented its growth altogether.

Nor have we a better proof of the chevalier's passion for his lady, in the wild feats which he sometimes performed for her sake. To be frequently in bold and hardy combat, was the primary duty of his profession; but he could not wage battle without a pretext; and there was no pretext so reasonable or ready at hand as the defence of a lady's pretensions to superiority. The victory gained for her sake, and under her smiles, was not so much praised as a token of faithful affection, as of general homage to the power of beauty. Every fair damsel smiled warmly on the champion of her sex, and queens even stretched their jewelled hands to welcome his approach. The contest, thus waged, and thus rewarded, ought hardly to be taken for such a proof of love, as it might have been if undertaken in the plain simplicity of manly affection, seeking only the safety of its object, and deeming its success the more valuable, if unvalued and unknown by all the world beside.

Among no set of men does there appear to have

existed less of the direct unvarnished eloquence of this passion, than among its chivalrous votaries. Their love, like their religion, sought for emblems, external shows, and supports; and in like manner lost much of its power over the heart and spirit, and became a thing for men to admire in courts and palaces, and to cultivate like an accomplishment, instead of owning it as a part of nature; so that it was rendered to all, except the few noble beings who neither then nor now could be enslaved by forms, one of the baubles with which imagination sports, till sense and appetite give it a new value. There is no deep and lively passion of this nature which does not strongly tend to the production of domestic virtues, and to these the life and habits of the knight were little favourable. Had there been, therefore, no other circumstance likely to hinder the genuine growth of love, this would have always acted as a material hinderance to its influence on the heart of the chevalier. He had little to persuade him that he would enjoy more happiness in the privity of a home, than in the gay circles of which he formed the ornament. In every quest after adventure, he found something to dissipate his thoughts from a single object of affection; he was bound in duty to cherish a most truly Catholic regard for woman in every corner of the earth; and it was rarely he had the talent of nicely abstracting the idea of her excellent qualities, so as not to love in succession each individual who possessed them. He was thus, in as true a sense as ever the word was applied to modern instances, a general admirer; and in that character, gay, accomplished, ready to serve, and even die for, his mistress, shone in the full light of beauty and lady-love.

But the times of chivalry, were this single article only considered, could not have been happy. There were thousands of hearts, as there must always be, who wanted the security of peace, the calm and happy influences of home, to give gladness and strength to their affections; and these, to whichever sex they belonged, must, under the rule of chivalry, and the fashions it introduced, have felt dark and unsettled; failing in the hardy vigour of disposition which turned them abashed from rivalship, but suffering under a silent and consuming passion, for which they could not find utterance. Scarcely less fruitful in pain and disappointment, was the neglect which was frequently suffered by women, after they had become the wives of knights. The unsettled lives which their lords passed, left them frequently a prey to doubt and melancholy. Infidelity on both sides was the most ordinary consequence of these frequent separations; and the pictures left us of the state of matrimonial manners in the age of chivalry, convince us that, if any evil can result from their corruption, the condition of the people of that period must have been fruitful in misery. If we add to this, that it was in few instances that the victory in love was to any but those who could, according to the fashion of the times, heap up splendid presents in their lady's bower; that, to be successful, the lover must possess the graces which only flourish in scenes of pomp and gaiety; and that, to preserve him faithful, his mistress must employ all the arts of her sex, and then only hope to retain him as long as her bloom lasted, we shall not form a very striking notion of the power which love then had to render society not merely gay, but happy, and as

passionate as happy, which this great and universal principle must necessarily do, when acting by its right and free impulses.

We may, therefore, it seems, fairly believe, that the grand distinctions of the chivalrous character, in this respect, was gallantry, not love; the one being of a nature to refine manners, throw over the face of society a rich and golden veil, and help the fancy to many sparkling and seductive images; but producing few of those mighty and permanent impressions, either on individuals or communities, which love in the strength of its divinity is sent to effect. The former rises or disappears according to the accidents or prevailing fashions of different periods, but never affects but a small proportion of mankind; the latter is always visible in the world, has a strength which nothing diminishes, and acts with a power as universal as it is mighty. The former is developed in temporary fashions or institutions, and decays with them; the latter embodies itself in the imperishable brightness of poetry, making its presence everlastingly known by the beauty of the earth, the glow of the heavens, and the yearning after delight and peace, which the spirit of man ought to feel at all times and in all situations.

Enough has now been said respecting the institutions of chivalry and the general characteristics of knighthood, to enable the reader to form a tolerably accurate notion of this remarkable system. That it rose out of a set of circumstances, which had never before met together in the history of nations, is beyond doubt; that it continued to be modified in succeeding ages by the character of the times, is equally certain; but I should regard the

reflex influence which it had itself as less omnipotent on the progress of society than might be supposed, and that because it seems to have been a state of society produced by causes which were altogether exhausted in producing it, and which ceased to act with the production of this effect. It had not the life in it which was necessary either to its own permanent continuance, or to its acting like a new system of causes in the creation of other and similar states of society. Had it possessed this creative influence, the world would still have presented a fac-simile of the order of things which existed under its direction; but there does not appear sufficient reason to believe that we retain any strong impression of the existence of chivalry among us; for every system which prevails at the present day, both religious and political, may be traced to other origins, and accounted for in all their essential particularities, without our having recourse to the institutions of chivalry to explain their establishment.

But the whole force of this remarkable system found employment in the events we are about to relate. The crusades would have taken place, or at least have been attempted, had the order of knighthood never existed, nor military saintship been made a fashion. But for the furtherance of the design, chivalry found arms, experienced and enthusiastic soldiers. It was the pabulum of the deep and excited confidence with which men looked forward to their sacred conquest. It gave the ready means for making a mighty experiment, which must otherwise have been long deferred, or perished in the commencement; and, by uniting into one burning glow of enthusiasm, the ambition of

warriors with the zeal of churchmen and the earnest devotion of the faithful, it formed a vast, a grand and terrible thunder-cloud in the horizon of the moral world, which, had it been allowed to burst at once upon the earth, would have shaken it to its foundations.

In its commencement, therefore, when it first appeared among the yet unsettled forms of society, and in its connexion with the crusades, chivalry presents itself under the most striking points of view; and in the following pages, we shall have frequent reason to admire its grand and wonder-working qualities.

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CRUSADES. ESTABLISHMENT OF MAHOMETANISM.

THE sentiment which gave birth to the grandeur of ecclesiastical institutions, which set men upon searching for external modes of showing their faith, and embodying their feelings in processions, or under the forms to which they seemed to bear some dim resemblance, was the mainspring of those remarkable wars distinguished by the name of the Crusades. The same spirit is observable in all the means which were employed to develop the predominant sentiments of the time; and to its operations we may alike trace the impulse which reared the magnificent palaces of religion, and that which sent forth myriads of unknown believers to perish in the contest for the Holy Land. But the immediate cause of that devout passion, with which nearly the whole of Europe was pervaded, was a pure and natural one. Nothing which we do or love, is remembered in the mind without being associated with the circumstances to which our actions or our affections may in some measure be ascribed. That this should be the case with our religious feelings, is even still more probable; for the very nature of belief leads us

back into distant times, and gives to memory a new and sacred office. The weak, short-sighted philosophy of scepticism, is consistent with its avowed contempt of all that is not of the earth and earthly, when it scorns to receive a ray of light from the past, or when it is inclined to regard the relics of other ages as but the dry bones of a charnel-house. But unless a man's bosom be thus clad in the more than triple brass of such a chilling philosophy, he will value the remains of a past generation, and make use of them as links, connecting it with the one in which he lives—as fragments of a past reality, which have a more than imaginary value, because they fix, render more palpable, and give a greater permanency to our memory of the wise and good of other times. It is part of the religion of human nature thus to prize the remains of departed greatness, and treasure them for their power to act like talismans on the memory. Few men are free from this feeling under one form or the other. In the lover, in the poet, and in the religionist, it is equally strong; each seeks to recal the past as redolent of delight or holiness, and each feels he shall be more secure of the enjoyment; that it will be less doubtful and evanescent, if he possess something to remind him of it which time has not had power to destroy. Hence the value of the faded flowers which have been once pressed to the lips of those we love; of the sword of the patriot, and the remains of the martyr; and hence the zeal and determination with which men of great feeling and imagination will devote themselves to dry antiquarian researches, offering little other reward than the possession of some undeniably genuine relic of a renowned and antient place.

From the same principle that the relics of a past age are valued, the scenes of great actions, of events which affected the condition of mankind, are contemplated with a pleasing, but solemn veneration. A man of any warmth of feeling connects every circumstance of an exciting history so closely with the scene of its occurrence, that the latter becomes consecrated in the memory, set apart, and only especially valued, because of its connexion with the event. Marathon is never visited by the enthusiastic traveller, without the host of freemen rising before his eyes. Their deeds it is which give a thrilling interest to the scene; and it is never inquired what occurrence before, or since, is recorded as happening on the same spot. One great and striking event takes hold of the imagination as connected with the particular scene; and when the spot is visited, the spectator forgets its present appearance, and all its actual circumstances, and feels himself surrounded with the beings, the sacred, venerable objects, which have before seemed only the phantoms of his mind, without a local and particular habitation.

The more intensely interesting the occurrences on which the memory is thus employed, the deeper is the veneration with which the scenes they have distinguished are visited; and hence the awe, the deep, thrilling, overpowering awe with which the path is trodden, that the champions of religion have rendered sacred by their wanderings. Hence the passion, natural in its origin, and pure and sacred in its implied purpose, for visiting the spot in which the Divine Founder of Christianity performed his mighty acts, and offered up his myste-

rious sacrifice. There is in the simple records that have been left of the events which led to the establishment of our religion, much that favours the feelings we are describing. They are, if we may apply such a term without irreverence, very highly picturesque; setting before us, with incomparable distinctness, in a few simple sentences, the principal particulars of the scenes in which the heavenly teacher wrought his miracles, or delivered his discourses. Every portion, consequently, of the land of his sojourning, becomes sacred and familiar to the mind. The river Jordan is not, by accident, associated with our recollections of the descriptive narrative; it is remembered with a religious feeling, from the beautiful and impressive narrative of our Saviour's baptism. The Mount of Olives; the brook Cedron; the Lake of Gennesaret; and the awful Calvary:—all these are so distinctly brought before us in the different recitals of the Evangelists, and make Jerusalem and its environs so present to the thoughts at every remembrance of the human character of Christ, that it would be impossible for a person, accustomed to read the narrative of the Scriptures, to imagine the Son of God as teaching, performing his miracles, or dying amid other scenes. This is far less the case with regard to the accounts which have descended to our times of other great, but human masters of wisdom. The eloquent teachings of Plato may be read, without a moment's thought of his academy; those of Epicurus without any remembrance of his gardens; and the dying discourses of Socrates, with but a faint recollection of his prison. But who can read the discourses of the Saviour, without seeming to be present on the soli-

tary mountain, by the sea-side, or in the crowded courts of the temple? Who can hear of his raising the widow's son, of his conversation with the Samaritan woman, or of his restoring the brother of Martha and Mary to his sisters, and not forever after feel that the words which were uttered on each of these particular occasions, are associated with the distinct remembrance of a particular scene, and that they would come with less force to the mind, if it were made to believe that it was uncertain when or where certain parts of the discourses were delivered? Or, still farther, who can read the narrative of the crucifixion, and of the circumstances which preceded it, without the thoughts constantly recurring to the scenes amid which the fearful tragedy was performed?

There are few persons of whatever age, or even belief, they may be, who have made themselves familiar with the history of the founder of Christianity, without thus becoming habitually disposed to regard the different parts of the narrative with all the various appendages of the recital, the particular scene and objects, as each making a great and divine picture, fitted for a distinct contemplation, and claiming the peculiar homage of the thoughts. It is little to be wondered at, therefore, that through every period, but more especially in the earlier eras, of the church, multitudes of men have been found willing to undergo any hardships, and brave the greatest dangers, to visit the Holy Land. The most deeply devoted worshipper felt that his devotion would be fed with a new and stronger flame amid those sacred scenes of his Saviour's trial and suffering; and he who was still wavering in his mind, and felt the want of some-

thing present and visible, to confirm it in the belief of his brethren, was naturally led to the birthplace of all the astonishing events on which it was to be founded.

Jerusalem, though polluted and despoiled by the insulting hosts of pagan emperors, lost, at its downfal, none of the veneration in which it had been anciently held by the believers in sacred history. The divine record of the importance which it once possessed, continued to preserve the remembrance of its holiness constantly present to the mind. Though its citadels might be beaten down by the power of the adversary, the sanctity of its name must forever remain undiminished; and in the ruin and desolation which attended its abasement, the voice of its Great King was still thought to echo through its deserted streets. In most other respects the Christian and the Jew had little cause for sympathy in their feelings; but over Jerusalem both could join in lamentation, for to both was the remembrance of its past history equally full of deep and powerful interest. There the Lion of Judah had reigned in the might of Jehovah, and there the Lamb of God had conquered by suffering and death. In both instances, it was the scene which the Almighty had chosen for the manifestation of his greatest benevolence; and the believer in the doctrines which supplanted the religion of Israel, felt the same veneration for the sacred soil, as did its primitive inhabitants.

Having been made the centre of the infant church immediately after the ascension of our Lord, the Holy City became possessed of an importance proper to its new character as a metropolitan see. This it continued to retain, even after

no vestiges remained of what it had once been in power and magnificence; and the persecuted Christians bent their looks with veneration towards the city in which was commenced the establishment of a church, destined to spread its holy banners over the whole earth.

At the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to the faith of Christianity, the anxious hopes of the persecuted believers were amply fulfilled. That monarch, full of zeal for the honour of the religion he had embraced, sought, by every means in his power, to manifest the interest he took in the affairs of the church; and, among the first acts which he performed after his conversion, was the restoration of the Holy City to its former importance. To effect this, he directed the patriarch Makarius to repair the tomb in which our Lord had been buried, and which was said to be at the foot of Mount Golgotha. After this was done according to his order, he built over it a magnificent vault, and to the east of it a lofty and spacious temple. Both the outer and inner parts of this edifice were adorned with the most costly materials; and care was taken, by the number of its pillars, and the form of its different parts, to intimate the sacred mysteries it was designed to commemorate. Immediately after its construction, strangers from all countries flocked to worship in its splendid courts; and the celebrated Eusebius consecrated it to the service of the Saviour, by his most eloquent discourses. Constantine also built another church at Mamre, in commemoration of Abraham's conversation with the Lord; and his mother Helena, a woman deeply imbued with the most fervent piety, erected one at Bethlehem, near

the scene of Christ's nativity, and another on the hill from which he ascended.

Sufficient reasons had already existed to render the Holy Land an object of veneration to the Christian; but additional strength was given to this feeling by the honour which Constantine and his mother had put upon every spot which history or tradition had made worthy of remembrance. Pilgrims, consequently, from all parts of the world, flocked to increase the small bands of devout voyagers who, from the commencement of the religion, had at various intervals travelled to Jerusalem. The zeal which the bold and patient spirits of these wanderers evinced, was so grateful to the church, that it conferred upon them many of its most valuable favours; and pilgrimages were thus rendered an important part of a religious life.

To protect any of these holy travellers was, moreover, in itself a highly meritorious action; and the devout persons who were prevented, either by age, infirmity, or any other cause, from performing so arduous a duty as a pilgrimage, gratified themselves by providing the hard fare and simple necessaries of which the wayfaring stranger might have need, if he passed their doors. The richer among them carried their charity still farther, and built small hostleries in the most solitary and difficult parts of the pilgrim's route; while the princes of Christendom passed laws to insure him protection and comfort in his hour of weariness.

It is a singular circumstance, and serves well to prove how greatly pilgrimages were valued in those days, that notwithstanding the bloody contests which were waged between the different tribes

that invaded the falling empire, the visitors to the Holy Land continued their wanderings uninterrupted. The difficulties with which they had to contend, therefore, were principally such as resulted from the length of the journey, and the danger which must necessarily attend a lonely stranger travelling on foot through many and various countries. But several of these were removed, as we have seen, by the hospitable care of pious Christians; others were diminished by the publication of an Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem, in which was contained an account of all the places through which the pilgrim ought to pass, with their distances from each other, and such information as might be of service to him on his way. When he arrived at Jerusalem, he had to dread the want neither of money nor friends. An extensive and excellent hospital received him into the company of other faithful worshippers of the Saviour; and, secure of protection and support, he was able immediately, and without care, to resign himself to the sacred business of his journey.

Prayers and religious ceremonies had accompanied the pilgrim as he set forth from his home to traverse the distant and unknown regions in which lay the adored objects of his search. If he returned in safety, he was regarded as one of the most venerable of men, as having been favoured by the singular protection of God, and as gifted with a degree of holiness which could not be acquired by any less perilous enterprise. Prayers were publicly offered up in thanksgiving for his safety; and he presented a palm branch, which was laid upon the altar, as a solemn token of his having performed the pilgrimage.

But another circumstance contributed to augment both the passion for, and the value of, these journies. With the veneration for the Holy Land, there also existed a similar feeling of regard for whatever relics remained of the venerated men who had spent their lives in the establishment of the faith; and, above all, for those which were supposed to exist of the Saviour himself. Such was the honour rendered to these relics, that oaths taken upon them were supposed to be doubly binding. The most solemn preparation of mind and heart was thought necessary when they were inspected; and if they were rightly approached and contemplated with befitting adoration, the beholder was believed to receive a fresh addition of divine grace. Nor was their power much less than that which belonged to the living subject. Miracles of the most extraordinary nature were wrought by the touch of a piece of raiment, or by the influence of a thread of hair, or of the parings of a nail; and in the traditionary marvels related of Charlemagne, we find even the opening of the casket, which contained the relics, attended with the divinest manifestations of their miraculous powers.

The collecting of these sacred memorials of the great and holy became at last one of the most fruitful sources of fraud ever employed by men professing religion. But at first, there is little doubt, they were sought for, and valued as the best boons of heaven; the fainting wanderer laid the treasure to his bosom; felt secure, and considered his labour amply repaid, however long had been his toils, if he bore it safely with him to his home. As long as this feeling remained, there was no particular danger attending the respect with

which a relic was regarded;—he who had borne every toil and peril to visit a distant land, might well be allowed to bring back some memento of his journey, and to contemplate it with a renewal of the feelings which had attended him in his wanderings. But it was not long before an evil custom was introduced, of buying and selling these precious remains of past ages and of their holy children; and then began that system of fraud which so long disgraced the church. The ministers of religion, and especially the superiors of monasteries, supposed that objects, so fitted to inspire veneration, might be made serviceable to their spiritual influence. Relics, therefore, were sought for, and pilgrims were almost the only persons from whom it was possible to obtain any article of the kind. They were accordingly instituted in their new profession of barter; and in the open markets of Europe found ample opportunity of selling whatever articles they might have the good fortune to collect. The supposed discovery of the true cross, and of other objects of the same kind, gave rise to hundreds of impostures; and almost every church in Christendom was graced with some pretended relic of the Redeemer or his apostles.

With this tinge of deceit and credulity, the custom of pilgrimages continued to gain strength every day; nor was the duty considered less sacred, or the person of the traveller less venerable, because a fraud was occasionally practised, of which there was little opportunity or inclination to discover the extent. But, about the year 610, when Heraclius was emperor of the Greeks, and after the enjoyment of a peace which was said to exist nowhere beside, Jerusalem fell under the power of

the Persians. Thirty-six thousand Christians are said, by William of Tyre, to have perished on the occasion; while those who survived wept at the pollution of the Cross, which had been borne away with the other trophies of the victor, and waited with gloomy and afflicted minds some change in the Divine counsels, which might restore them to their privileges, and again raise it triumphantly in the Holy City.

This event at length arrived. The prayers of the faithful were heard, and the Christians saw the brave Emperor first conquer their enemy and oppressor, and then, even in the glow of victory, take up the Cross, and bear it, with naked feet, to the top of Calvary!

But hitherto no power had existed sufficiently strong to disturb the Christians in a permanent manner. For the first three centuries of our era, the church had suffered the most appalling persesutions; but the three subsequent ones were marked by events of a different character, not calculated, perhaps, to strengthen the cause of truth, but well fitted to promote the growth of ecclesiastical power, and to give importance to the rites and observances which it instituted. It was not destined, however, that the Christian church should be exposed to the perils only of her growing superstitions. An enemy, who had his birth in the mysterious dispensations of Providence, was preparing to hurl himself, like a flaming minister of wrath, on her weak and trembling people. He stood with the sword drawn, which had been sharpened in the lightnings of the Almighty; and he only waited for the signal to drive it irresistibly through innumerable ranks of Christian victims.

The establishment of Mahometanism in the seventh century, affected, more than any other event which has ever occurred, the condition of the church. The genius and splendid enthusiasm of Mahomet were second only to inspiration, and the progress which his religion made in subduing men's minds to its authority, inferior only to the divine and miraculous publication of the Gospel. As if it were esteemed necessary by Providence, that a spiritual religion approaching to corruption, should be opposed by one which, of all impostures, was the least idolatrous, Mahometanism, rose with a strength and sternness of character, which soon rendered it formidable to Christendom.

The slow success which attended the first efforts of Mahomet, would have discouraged a less powerful and fervent mind. His original converts were his wife, his cousin Ali, Abubeker, a man of wealth and influence, and his slave. Three years passed before he could number fourteen believers in his prophetic mission, and ten before he could openly contend with the hostile factions of his native city. At last, being obliged to seek safety in flight, he obtained the alliance of some of the inhabitants of Medina, and, strengthened by their support, was enabled to defend his claims to veneration and authority. No longer doubtful as to the measures he was to pursue, he boldly marshalled his followers in warlike array; and, inspiring them with the confidence which belongs to an unshrinking faith in immortality, led them forth as the apostles of his faith. For some time his enterprises were confined to incursions against the neighbouring tribes; and, by seizing on the wealth which the caravans were transporting across the de-

sert, he was enabled to supply his increasing force with the necessary provisions. Thus aided, he successively subdued all his former enemies; and declaring, with admirable policy, if not religious enthusiasm, that the true faith should alone exist in the country of his birth, he proceeded to crush the different sects into which the inhabitants were divided. Of these the Jews were by no means the most mercifully treated; and no less than seven hundred of that ill-fated people were at one time buried alive by the order of the prophet. *

The conquests of this astonishing chief now increased in importance, and Arabia was entirely subjected to his sway. After his death in the year 632, his successors continued to follow the path he had pointed out to them; and Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, felt the weight of the conqueror's invincible arm. Had it not been for the valour and abilities of Charles Martel, not only Spain, but Gaul would have fallen a prey to the victorious caliph, and all Europe would probably have experienced the fate which attended the countries of the East. But it was by the invasion of Syria, undertaken by Abubeker, the immediate successor of the prophet, that the power of the Moslem was brought most directly in contact with that of the Christian. That earliest friend and disciple of Mahomet, possessed with the utmost veneration for the name of his predecessor, a steady and intrepid character, which, if it wanted the deep and burning enthusiasm of a prophet, was admirably fitted to the cares and important enterprises which demanded its energies. Having

* Gibbon.

committed the direction of the army to Abu Obadah, the fall of Bosra and Damascus, two of the most important cities of Syria, established the glory of his short caliphate. This success was followed, in the reign of Omar, by the capture of Heliopolis and other places of consequence; and in the tremendous battle of Yermuk, the Christian force received a defeat which left the country at the mercy of the conqueror. The siege of Jerusalem, was then immediately determined upon by the caliph and his lieutenants; and the exulting army of the crescent moved forwards to beset the Holy City.

A. D. 637. Many circumstances contributed to render Jerusalem venerable in the eyes of the Moslem. The descent of Mahomet was traced from the patriarch Abraham; and the wild race to which he belonged, claimed brotherhood with the more favoured children of their common father. They had not inherited the sacred soil; but they refused not to give it honour as the abiding place of holy prophets, and as highly blessed by God in many of his memorable ministrations. To these reasons, for the veneration in which the disciples of Mahomet held the city of David, was added the example of the prophet himself. His religion, which was derived from the Jewish and Christian scriptures, rather than from the sources of his own invention, recognised the holiness of almost every object which was dear to the hearts of purer believers. Jerusalem, accordingly, had been made the scene of one of his most extraordinary prophetic visions. He had been carried thither, says the tradition, from the temple of Mecca, on an animal of a strange nature, called the borack,

and in company with the angel Gabriel. From the temple of the Holy City he passed through the seven heavens, and was strengthened by the salutations of angels, and of the most renowned fathers of the antient church.

Excited by these recollections, the Moslem, on coming within sight of the sacred spot, repeated aloud the words of the Koran: "Let us enter into the Holy Land which God has promised us," and the victorious army began its work of destruction.

The imminent danger to which they now found themselves exposed, animated the Christians to the most resolute exertions. The name of Mahomet was an object of bitter hatred to the disciples of the cross, and the triumphs which had attended the fierce and rapid progress of his followers, filled them with apprehension. For four months did they desperately defend the Holy City of their Saviour. But neither their enthusiasm, nor the strength of the citadel, was proof against the valour of the besiegers; and the patriarch Sofronius was at length obliged to sue for peace.

The sacredness of the place obtained for its inhabitants a much more favourable treatment than had been enjoyed by other vanquished towns. Their independence, it is true, was lost, and they were thenceforward to be subject to the capricious will of a conqueror and fanatical enemy; but pillage and slaughter had, in other instances, attended the approach of the Mahometan forces, and the Christians had reason to congratulate themselves on their good fortune. The principal articles of the capitulation were, that they should have the liberty of observing their religious rites in all the churches already built, but that they should erect

no new ones; that they should place no crosses upon their churches, nor bear them or the Gospels about in procession; that their bells should not ring, only as they served for clocks; and that in dress, names, and customs, they should keep themselves distinct from the Mussulmans, whom they were bound to honour by every means in their power. To prevent the evils, which, notwithstanding the proposed capitulation, the patriarch dreaded might attend the surrender of the town, he made it a condition of his submission, that the Caliph Omar himself should come to Jerusalem and sign the treaty. No greater praise was ever given to a victorious sovereign than that which was implied in this request; and we may justly form the highest respect for the truth and moderation of the Mahometan chief.

The journey of Omar is described as that of a stern Arab, despising the luxuries of the world, but exhibiting, in the simplicity of his deportment, the grave and noble virtues of an exalted soul. Habited in the simplest garb, and mounted on a red camel, he entered the city, and was received by Sofronius. They then proceeded together to the church of the sepulchre, the object most dear and venerable to the sorrowful Christians. Here, unable to suppress his grief, which was heightened by the lamentations of his people, the patriarch exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart, that the prophet's "abomination of desolation" was now indeed at hand. The forbearance of the conqueror, however great, could not save the vanquished from the most afflicting spectacles. He had the generosity to set an example to his followers, not to disturb the worship of the Christians, and prayed

only on the steps of the church, while Sofronius was performing his devotions within. But a lofty mosque soon rose conspicuously on Mount Moriah, and on the spot where Jacob was said to have slept when he saw his memorable vision. Crowds of Moslems filled the spacious temple; the sound of the false worship mingled with insulting scoffs to bewilder the trembling Christians; and every where was to be seen some token of the triumph which had been gained by the base faith, while their own holy religion was deprived of all the glory with which its disciples had sought to honour it. Worn down with grief at this melancholy condition of his beloved city, the venerable patriarch did not long survive the calamity, but died, it is said, of a broken heart.

While Omar lived, no greater evils appear to have been suffered by the Christians, than were the necessary consequence of their living under the rule of men who had conquered them in battle, and were ardent believers in a different faith. But when the moderating hand of this just and benevolent Caliph was removed, they began to experience far more heavily the misfortunes of their condition. Neither their churches nor their houses were safe from the rude intrusion of the Moslem, and insult and death were his most frequent attendants. New restrictions were added to those which had formed the articles of the capitulation, and fresh taxes imposed as the price of the meanest privileges. But neither the cruelty nor the avarice of their oppressors, was so bitterly felt as the cold policy with which they attacked their religious freedom. The greatest degradation to which a church can be subjected, is the loss of its power

to determine the qualifications of its ministers. The Mahometan rulers, well aware of this, proceeded to attack the Christians in the strongest defences of their purity as a religious body. They took from them the right of electing a patriarch without their intervention, and by this regulation completed the prostration of their afflicted subjects. The leathern thong with which they compelled them constantly to appear, might be borne unrepiningly, where even the Lord himself had suffered contumely and grief; but to see the power of an infidel and impostor thus destroying the freedom of the church, was not a sorrow for which Christian resignation was a remedy.

The progress of Mahometanism was not less marked by the contentions of rival chiefs than it was by the slaughter and ruin which attended their arms. The rise of new dynasties followed almost as a necessary consequence upon the vast accessions which were every year made to the dominions of the Prophet. The race of the Ommiades ceased to exist with the fourteenth Caliph of that house, and the Abassides obtained the superiority. Bagdad, the seat of their splendid rule, became, if we may credit tradition, a vast palace, adorned with all the wonders of magnificence which the riches of an empire can procure. But it was under the reign of the celebrated Harun Al Raschid, that the Mahometan power began to promote the cause of learning and philosophy. Not less politic in his counsels, than brave in the field, that able monarch pursued a line of liberal conduct, which has obtained him the universal praises of posterity.

The Christians of Jerusalem, during the changes to which the rivalries of their masters had given

birth, were kept in a state of alternate despair and hope. Sometimes they suffered the most cruel persecutions from the pride which inflamed the conqueror, and at others were secure in the doubts with which he was harassed by his ambition. But their distresses were, in no slight degree, alleviated by the commiseration with which they were regarded by the Christians of the West. By their benevolence, their wants were relieved, the burden of their oppressive tribute rendered lighter, and encouragement given them to rest assured of the prayers and affectionate sympathy of their happier brethren. The passion for pilgrimages had also continued undiminished; and it was further strengthened by the establishment of a yearly fair at Jerusalem, in which the most valuable articles of Eastern commerce were purchased by the strangers, who were enabled thereby to unite a profitable commerce with the duties of devotion.

But at the time when Harun established the splendid empire of the Abassides over the East, Europe was astonished with the victories and power of Charlemagne. Never were two monarchs more fitted to be cotemporaries. Each was possessed of territories which, if added by either valour or policy to those of the other, would have rendered him a universal monarch; but to each had been awarded as noble a courage, and as profound a wisdom. The grandeur of their reigns was equal. The stern and frugal Frank had too much dignity to make an Oriental palace necessary to his glory, and the renowned Caliph had too great a nature to lose the splendour of his worth in the pomp of his court.

Convinced of each other's merit, these cele-

brated princes formed an alliance which both history and romance have loved to describe in the most glowing language. In nothing, however, was the benefit of the peace which existed between them more conspicuous than in the alleviation it afforded the Christians of Jerusalem. Among the precious gifts by which Harun manifested his respect for Charlemagne, and which the latter returned by presents equally magnificent, was the most valuable offering which the Caliph could make to the pride or devotion of the Emperor. This was no less than the keys of the Holy City, and of the sepulchre. There might be policy, as it has been alleged, in this procedure of Harun; but if there was, it was the policy of a great mind, not less cautious perhaps of flinging away dominion than an inferior one, but daring to pursue a nobler course of action, because it could better trust in itself to repair the mischief, if it produced any.

The protection which the Church in the East obtained through these circumstances, gave it rest from the miseries it had so long suffered; and the growing commerce of Europe and Asia became every year a greater object of attention. The rich spices and splendid silks of the East were sought for as necessary luxuries; and the maritime cities of Italy shortly owed both their wealth and their independence to the success with which they entered upon the profitable traffic. The mild rule of Harun was continued by his immediate successors; and hopes might have been entertained by the Christians that their misery was cut short, and that the light of freedom and prosperity would again shine upon them in all its brightness.

It may be doubted whether, if this had indeed been the case, the strength and purity of their faith would not have been put to a severer trial than it experienced under the violent yoke of its enemies. But they were not to be long exposed to the enervating effects of a treacherous tranquillity. The resemblance which existed between the characters of the great Charles and Harun Al Raschid, was unfortunately continued in the fate of their descendants. The magnificence which surrounds a conqueror, and is the reward of his toils, is generally destined to be the ruin of his successors. The prudence which has gained wealth is seldom corrupted in its possession; and the luxury of courts only begins its work of ruin when the valour or wisdom, or whatever it may be which established them, ceases to be active.

The magnificence and splendour in which the Caliphs lived at Bagdad, speedily annihilated the gradually decaying spirit of their warlike virtue. The most disastrous disputes contributed still farther to weaken the authority of the royal house; and in a short time the Turkish Emirs, to whom they had delegated the power which they were unable to wield themselves, dared to answer their demand of assistance, by a bold refusal. This was followed by an open revolt; and they erected independent sovereignties at the foot of their master's throne. The princes of Christendom were not inattentive to these convulsions in the empire of their redoubtable enemy, and conceived it to be a favourable time for their attempting his total destruction. The Greek Emperor Nicephorus, therefore, and after him, his successor Ximisces, advanced with a powerful army into the territory of the

Caliph. The successes of the former were stopped by the indisposition which his clergy manifested to promise him or his army the honours of military martyrdom; and his principal conquest, the capture of Antioch, was dearly paid for by the sacrifice which the Saracens made of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to their revengeful rage. Ximisces obtained more important advantages. The mercantile Venetians, the Christians of Syria and Armenia, loudly applauded the resolution he had taken to humble the Moslem, and promised him their aid in his undertaking. With a rapidity that almost rivalled the proudest conquests of the crescent, he compelled the Caliph of Bagdad to the humiliating conditions of a tributary, obtained possession of all the cities of Judea, and, in an equally rapid manner, passed in triumphant battle through the whole of Syria and Egypt. But the progress of the conqueror was stopped by death, and the fruits of his rapid career perished as rapidly as they had been obtained.

The course of events in the fortunes of Mahometanism returned, therefore, into its old channels, as if it had never been interrupted. At length a great part of Africa, together with Syria and Egypt, fell under the dominion of princes of the house of Fatima. The new sovereigns fixed their royal seat in Egypt, and for some time the Christians of Jesusalem had no cause to complain of the change of masters. They continued to enjoy about the same degree of religious liberty as under the reign of the Abassides; and the commerce, which was kept up by their means, was too profitable to their rulers to be in any danger of destructive restrictions. Both parties, indeed, seem

to have been as well contented with each other, as could be the case in the relation which the conquered hold to the conquering; and peace and prosperity again dawned on the sacred city.

This cheering prospect continued till Hakem, the third of the Fatimite Caliphs, ascended the throne, when the Christians were amazed at finding themselves under the yoke of a tyrant, whose cruelty was only equalled by his caprice. History has not a more remarkable or a more repulsive character than Hakem. He was possessed of a wild and visionary mind; and, instead of seeking food for his imagination in the books of the Koran, nourished it with the dreams of his own pride. Casting off the faith of his fathers, and disdaining to be only a king, or the descendant of a prophet, he assumed to himself the attributes of a divine person, and in that character demanded the adoration of his subjects. The disciples of Christ and Mahomet were alike hateful to the mind of this aspirant after the honours of an earthly god. He could not endure to see the worship paid to the names of these his rivals in divinity, and he used the resources which his dominions afforded him to prove himself possessed of as much power as he considered necessary to demonstrate his superiority.

In his conduct towards the disciples of Mahomet, he was obliged, however unwillingly, to restrain his self-adoration within the limits of safe policy; but no considerations of this kind bound him to spare the Christians under his sway. With a fury which burnt like the wild fire of a fresh volcano, he burst upon their Holy City, converted the noble church of the resurrection into a heap

of ruins, and strove, with impotent rage, to destroy even the traces of the sepulchre itself. A frightful depravity was added to these deeds by the circumstance, that the mother of Hakem was a Christian, and his uncle the Patriarch of Jerusalem. But neither superstition, fanaticism, nor persecution, recognises the divinity of nature, or the duties and sympathies which she inculcates. When they stop in their destructive career, it is generally because they have exhausted the spirits of the oppressor, not that he has learnt to hate his oppression. With almost as little appearance of reason for the change as for his former actions, the Caliph suddenly altered his conduct towards the Christians, became for a short time more humane in his treatment, and then again let loose his vengeance, to their terror and destruction.

The rooted hatred of the Moslem to the faithful, failed not to take advantage of the freedom which was given it by the conduct of Hakem. The assistance which the Christians seemed capable of obtaining from their brethren in the West, had instilled a sort of fear into the minds of their enemies, which made them watchful of every occasion to tighten the yoke of subjection. The persecutions, therefore, which they originally suffered at the hands of the Caliph, were multiplied to infinity by the animosity of their fellow-subjects. To the sorrow which they experienced at seeing their churches destroyed or converted to some base purpose, their religious rites interdicted, and themselves treated with the bitterest scorn, was added that of being continually at the mercy of men, who thought it a merit, by the basest treachery or falsehood, to accelerate their down-

fal. A story is told by the historians of the time, which illustrates the miserable condition of incessant peril to which this circumstance reduced them. The Moslem yielded not to the most devout Christian in his veneration for the temples of religion. The sanctity of his mosque was to be preserved by every means in his power, and could not be invaded without the direst punishment being inflicted on the sacrilegious offender. To their great horror, therefore, the Christians heard one morning, during the season of persecution, that a dead dog had been found in a mosque; and that the enraged worshippers had only quitted the temple to fill the streets with curses on them, as the supposed authors of the crime. To plead their innocence, or to prove that the circumstance was the invention of a bitter enemy to complete their ruin, they knew was vain; and, in the deepest consternation, they assembled, to await the dreadful storm, which they saw ready to burst upon their heads. While thus paralyzed by fear, a young man of their company came forth, and with a courage, in which piety and the love of his companions had an equal part, declared himself ready to die, and, by the sacrifice of his single life, obtain the safety of thousands. The only reward he begged for his self-devotion was, that he might be remembered by his fellow-believers, and that they might regard his family with respect. With unshrinking fortitude, he immediately presented himself before the enraged Moslems, declared that he was the sole author of the crime which had been committed, and instantly fell a sacrifice to their fury. The remembrance which the young and heroic Christian prayed for, has been preserved through many suc-

ceeding generations; and Tasso, who made his noble action the foundation of the second book of the Jerusalem Delivered, has crowned it with the greenest laurels of the muse.

The distresses of the persecuted Christians awoke a feeling not uncommon in any age to a state of national affliction. They conceived themselves the subjects of awful elemental phenomena. An extraordinary winter of storm and gloom, and the terrible ravages of an earthquake, contributed to fix the idea in their minds, that some tremendous change was at hand; and vast numbers of people believed that the end of the world had arrived. A new importance, was given to the Holy Land by these circumstances. The princes of Europe were unwilling to engage in war with its powerful masters; but the faithful disciples of the church derived fresh inducements for the performance of pilgrimages, from the danger with which they were attended. Believers of every rank, from the most obscure individuals to the proud baron and the venerable bishop and abbot, thronged to the sacred scene of their Saviour's humiliation and triumph; and the successors of the persecuting Caliph pursued the policy of their predecessors, granting the Christians the power of exercising their religion, and of rebuilding the churches which had been destroyed during the reign of Hakem. The most usual time for the arrival of the pilgrims in the Holy City was Easter, a period marked by the annual miracle of the sacred fire which then descended from heaven, and lit the lamps which burnt in the sepulchre. The regular tribute which was exacted of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was two pieces of gold. Having paid

this price for their safety, they were permitted to possess a particular quarter of the city; to establish places for the reception of their foreign brethren, of a size proportionable to their increasing numbers; and to hold, in consequence, an almost uninterrupted intercourse with the European governments. The state of the Byzantine Emperors was seldom such as to make them fit to be protectors; and the other Christian powers were either at too great a distance, or too oppressed by internal contests, to be regarded in that light. The course of events, therefore, was necessarily left to itself, so far as human assistance was concerned; and Jerusalem had to witness prosperity or affliction, hope or despair, as dominion fluctuated between the several possessors of Mahometan authority.

CHAPTER VII.

PILGRIMAGES.

THE rise of the Turkish power was marked with many grand and interesting events. The character of several of the chieftains was that of stern and noble men; and they established themselves on the ruined thrones of their masters, with all the vigour of a proud ambition, seeking new objects for the trial of their bravery. The names of Togrul Beg, Alp Arslan, Malek Shah, and others, are familiar to the students of history; and if the most splendid virtues of soldiers and conquerors merit the regard of nations, they deserve to be placed on the first line of the heroic catalogue. From a rude tribe, inhabiting the country beyond the Oxus and Iscartes, they became the conquerors and masters of Asia, carried their forces against the boundaries of the empire, and made the monarchs of Constantinople tremble on their thrones, and all Europe look with dismay on the impending ruin.

A.D. 1076. After having undergone almost every evil which was to be expected from their situation, the Christians of Jerusalem became subject to this

fierce and warlike race. The capture of the city by the lieutenant of Malek Shah, was marked by none of the moderation which had, some centuries before, distinguished the conquest of the just and moderate Omar. Despising both Christians and Mussulmans, the impatient victors entered the town, and instantly deluged it with the blood of the inhabitants. Nor was the condition of the sufferers much improved, when the first savage thirst of the conqueror had been assuaged. Oppressions, which had not been thought of by their former masters, were employed to drive them to despair, and no hope seemed to remain for them but that of death. When they attempted to worship in the churches, of which the sanctity had been respected by all the Caliphs except Hakem, they were persecuted by an infuriated rabble of their enemies, who, with shouts and threatening clamours, drowned the voice of their prayers. Nor was this all. It was one of the greatest pleasures which a Christian could possess, to see the professors of his faith coming, after a long and perilous journey, to enjoy the rich reward of their toils in the peace and divine sanctity of the Holy City. Every sympathy of his soul was awakened at the spectacle of thousands of these pious travellers joining with him in his worship of the Saviour. They reminded him of the country of his birth, frequently brought him intelligence of his distant home, and, in the brotherhood of affection and faith, made him feel more deeply his union with the universal family of the faithful. It was with the most afflicting emotions, therefore, that the Christians of Jerusalem not only saw themselves deprived of their privileges, their churches

polluted, and their lives every hour in danger, but many of their brethren, weary and fainting with long journeyings, prohibited from entering the city. Nothing could more distinctly prove the barbarity and ignorance of their oppressors than this conduct towards the pilgrims. By their frequent concourse, Jerusalem enjoyed a prosperity of which its sovereigns obtained the principal advantage; and to load them with additional exactions, was to endanger the profitable commerce which was principally carried on by their means. But the Turks were as blind to any suggestions of policy, as they were to those of humanity; and preferred closing the gates of the city against all who should not pay a piece of gold, to admitting the useful but despised travellers.

Having exhausted all their stores in the way, many of the pilgrims, when they reached the walls of Jerusalem, were in a state of complete destitution. Their garments torn, their limbs stiff and trembling, and their spirits exhausted with the long endurance of hardship and peril, they had only the hopes of obtaining aid from the charity of their brethren, to support them in the last stages of their journey. Nor had their expectations till now been disappointed. Both public and private hospitality had been employed in solacing them after their fatigues; and to see Jerusalem, was to know, that at least the bodily hardships which belonged to their undertaking would be for a time removed. It was with horror and despair, therefore, that the pilgrims who arrived after the Turks had obtained possession of the city, found themselves shut out from their long-expected place of repose. Unable to pay the tribute demanded,

they were obliged to remain in the open country, and, without food or shelter, numbers of them perished by want, or by diseases brought on through fatigue and exposure to the elements. Evils such as these filled the minds of the Eastern Christians with far greater dismay than the fiery and imperious fanaticism of Hakem. Their churches, it is true, were torn to the ground by his command, and many of their most pious brethren had perished under his sword; but their sufferings, at that time, were the work of a single man, whose cruelty was the mainspring of all the evils they endured from his inferior ministers. The persecutions, on the contrary, which they were now doomed to bear, rose from the wild hatred and contempt of a new race of oppressors. There was no hope that, on the death of one chief, another might obtain the rule more favourable to their safety; the whole multitude of their conquerors was imbued with the same cruel and vindictive spirit, and seemed to rejoice in the despair of its degraded subjects.

It was the misfortune of the Christians, that they had fallen under the authority of those barbarous tribes of the Turks, who had partaken in none of the humanizing improvements of civilization. The military power of the victorious chiefs whose names we have mentioned, was tempered with the desire of diffusing knowledge among their subjects, and with many of those shining qualities of a magnificent generosity, and nobleness of demeanour, in which conquerors sometimes fortunately delight, to the safety and happiness of their subjects. But, after Toucush, the brother of the celebrated Malek Shah, had

taken possession of Jerusalem, he resigned the command of it to an Emir, who, with his tribe, partook neither of the virtues nor of the improvements of the more powerful races. They had been bred up to find enjoyment in no other pursuit than war; and warriors, in their proper and original nature, know of no other gratification than cruelty while in action, and oppression while in repose. By an artful stroke of policy, the Caliph of Bagdad had contrived to inflame the religious feelings of these barbarians. He represented the hostile families of the Mahometan dynasty as the enemies of God as well as themselves; and wherever the Turkmans conquered, the children of Ali fell victims to their twofold animosity. The settlement, therefore, of a people thus barbarous, and opposed to both classes of the inhabitants, could not but throw the subject city into the most deplorable state of confusion. Nor was the distress confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The rapid conquests of the Turks had made them masters of every avenue by which the pious pilgrims could approach the sacred territory. Scarcely had the traveller lost sight of Constantinople, when his eye met the boasting trophies of the barbarian. Every step he set was thenceforward in sight of enemies, to whom the holiness of his character was a source of the bitterest hate. He could turn nowhere for refuge; for not merely the dark passes of the mountains, or the wide and unpopulated plains, were the dwellings of his lawless foes, but the noble cities in which his brethren had been wont to repose on their way. Nice had received the triumphant Soliman after his victories, and become the capital of his new dominions.

Iconium, Tarsus and Edessa, were each a powerful seat of Turkman authority; and the fall of Antioch only preceded that of the cities of the Seven Churches, which, next to Jerusalem, held the most sacred place in the Christian's memory.

Had the evils which were thus introduced been confined to the Christians of a few Eastern towns, or had the hosts of strangers who traversed the dangerous roads of Syria been composed entirely of obscure believers, whose enthusiasm was their only claim to regard, the degraded condition of the Holy Land might have continued longer before it excited the attention of the spiritual and temporal rulers of Europe. But in the early part of the eleventh century, most of the penances of the church were commuted into pilgrimages; and as this species of religious punishment was much better in accordance with the feeling of the times than any other, penitents of the highest rank were frequently the leaders of bands of pilgrims. The proudest warrior did not disdain to appear in this character; and princes were not averse to expeditions which, holy though they were, were fitted to employ the most adventurous spirits.

The catalogue of the principal personages who, during this and the previous century, travelled to the Holy Land, affords ample proof of the interest which, independent of any political considerations, either ecclesiastical or national, the most influential men of the period took in the affairs of the East. But the good which was effected by making every circumstance connected with the fate of Jerusalem generally known, was of the utmost consequence at a time when, to be interested in any cause, men wanted the excitements of strong

personal feeling, and those reasons for action which exist in the deep sympathies of the heart. Among the recitals which the pilgrims gave on their return from Syria, of the hardships and hairbreadth escapes which they had undergone, there were many which afforded their cotemporaries a complete view both of the scenes through which they had passed, and of the adventures which had chequered their wanderings. The Itineraire de Bourdeaux à Jérusalem, already alluded to, led them stage by stage the whole extent of their long journey; and we are still amused by the details it affords of the ancient provinces through which it directed them. But the most interesting account of the dangers of a pilgrimage in the early part of the eleventh century, is found in the narrative of Lietbert's unsuccessful journey to the Holy Land.

That famous pilgrim was Bishop of Cambray, and set out at the head of no less than three thousand persons, attracted by the reputation of his sanctity. His clergy and all his friends had endeavoured to dissuade him from an undertaking fraught with so much danger, and requiring a strength of body which he did not possess. But their suggestions having been rejected, they accompanied him, with all the population of the city, three leagues on the road, and then, with many tears, and other demonstrations of affection, besought his blessing; while those who had relations among the pilgrims embraced them, and repeated their solemn farewells. Having passed through many various provinces, they arrived in the country of the Huns, and then crossing the Danube, to abridge the length of the way, entered Pomerania. The king of that land, it appears, was of a cha-

racter which caused the pilgrims to dread some violence at his hands; but to their great consolation, on the Bishop's being admitted to his presence, the venerable aspect of the prelate so moved the heart of the barbarian, that he permitted Lietbert to be seated in his presence, and then inquired the reason of his journey. On being told the motive which had brought the pilgrims into the country, he expressed his wonder that so infirm a man as the Bishop should have undertaken such an enterprise; and, somewhat inconsistently supposing, that though too infirm for a pilgrim, he might be hardy enough for a spy or a traitor, he gave orders to his people to watch both the prelate and his companions, lest they might be engaged in some dangerous project. But the manner in which the strangers passed their time—their prayers, mortifications and abstinence—convinced the king that they were no impostors; and he ordered that their wants should be supplied. On leaving his dominion, this army of the Lord, as it is called in the history, entered the gloomy forests and deserts of Bulgaria. The inhabitants of this wild district are represented as the rudest savages, and as passing a life which was scarcely better than that of beasts. They had no dwelling places, no religion, nor any means of support but pillage. In traversing the country of these uncivilized people, the courage of some of the crusaders began to fail, and they announced to the Bishop their intention to return home. "And wherefore," said he, "this sudden resolution?" "Alas," they replied, "we have encountered these barbarians, these robbers; our brethren have been strangled; and as for us, we have only been saved by flight. This is the rea-

son why we know not what to do, nor which way to turn our steps! The Bishop, who always, it is said, went on foot, made a sign of the cross with his right hand, in the direction he meant to take, and, accompanying the usual psalms and supplications with an exhortation to patience and perseverance, his companions were inspired with new courage, and resolutely followed his steps.

For seven days their progress was uninterrupted by any accident; but on the eighth, they observed, amid the tangles of a thick wood, some men mounted on horses and camels, which were adorned with gay plumes and bandelettes. Their only clothing was a large mantle and sandals; in their hands they held a bow, and a quiver full of long arrows hung on their shoulders. The generality of the pilgrims felt a violent dread at the sight of these strange personages; but the Bishop, on the contrary, expressed his ardent joy, trusting, he said, that the accomplishment of his wish was now at hand, and that he should obtain that most desirable of all blessings—death, or at least captivity, from the enemies, and for the sake, of Christ. But, as in the case of the barbarian monarch, the robbers, for such they were, on beholding the venerable prelate, felt their ferocious dispositions suddenly softened, and the meek aspect of the pilgrims wholly disarmed them. Instead, therefore, of using any violence, the chief of the bandits advanced towards the prelate, and benevolently pointed with his hand the way they were to go. After this the pilgrims directed their course to Laodicea, which they reached in safety; but learnt, on their arrival, that the church of the holy sepulchre was forever closed to the Christians, by the Sultan of Cairo.

On receiving the intelligence, neither the example nor the exhortation of the Bishop was sufficient to retain the multitude which had accompanied him; they gradually dispersed; and he was left with the few of his more devoted followers, whose zeal equalled his own. This small remnant of the army of the Lord determined upon immediately hastening to Jerusalem; and, on hearing that the route by land was filled with hostile paynims, they resolved on making the rest of their journey by sea. Another hinderance, however, to their departure, prevented their putting this resolution into execution. One of the Bishop's companions fell dangerously sick, and it was necessary that the prelate should wait and see what would be the issue of the malady. It being in a short time declared that the patient could not recover, Lietbert considered that his further delay would be useless; and before he set sail, the sick man had a miraculous vision of the Holy Virgin, and suddenly recovered. A tempest forced them upon the Island of Cyprus; they re-embarked, nothing discouraged by their misfortunes, and again sailed for Jerusalem; but, as if their own fears were not sufficient, they were subjected to those of the mariners, who, dreading the Turks, instead of proceeding on their course, brought them back to Laodicea. The Bishop of that city, on finding them returned, strongly advised his brother prelate not to persist in an undertaking, which was every day becoming more perilous. Lietbert hearkened unwillingly to the advice, and sorrowfully returned to his diocess. *

* Bollandiste.

The enthusiasm and courage which induced the faithful to make these perilous journies, were not confined to the stronger sex. Women often formed part of a company of pilgrims, their tenderness and affection for some relation or friend mixing with their religious feelings to encourage them in the enterprise. Of this, an interesting example remains on record in the history of Raymond, a young man of Plaisance, who, having been early impressed with a veneration for the pious pilgrims who passed through his native town, fell into a profound melancholy, of which no one could discover the cause. At last, persuaded into a confession by the bitter grief of his affectionate mother, he told her that his sorrow originated in his earnest desire to visit the Holy Land. He had withheld the communication till now, from the fear of afflicting her; but instead of her being grieved as he expected, she regarded him for a time with silent joy, and then embraced him, saying, "I am a widow, and I may imitate the example of Saint Anne, who, in her widowhood, quitted not the temple of Jerusalem, neither day nor night." Having then promised her son that she would accompany him in his sacred journey, they immediately made their preparations. One of the first things for the pilgrim to do, previous to his departure, was to obtain the blessing of his bishop. This was conferred on the pious mother and her son with great affection, by the holy prelate of Plaisance. He also placed a red cross upon their breasts, begged them to remember their country in their meritorious undertaking, and pray that it might be preserved in the calamities with which it seemed threatened by signs from Heaven. They

then took their staff and scrip, and proceeded, accompanied a short distance by their friends and neighbours, on their journey. Nothing remarkable happened on the way; but when they came within sight of Jerusalem, they are described as weeping at the remembrance of the awful blindness of the Jews, which had enabled them to deliver up the Lord of life to an ignominous punishment. Their feelings, on approaching the sepulchre, were still more vividly excited; and as they knelt, pouring out their souls at the foot of the cross, they passionately desired that they might die there, where the Saviour himself had poured out his blood. Having visited the other sacred objects in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, they set sail for their native land. But scarcely were they embarked, when Raymond fell sick of a dangerous malady, and it required all the exertions of his mother to prevent the superstitious sailors from casting him into the sea. Fortunately her entreaties were aided by his swift recovery, and they arrived safely at land. But no sooner were they thus near the completion of their long journey, when the fond mother was seized with a fatal illness, and expired in the arms of her son, spending her last breath in blessing him, and exhorting him to pursue a life of virtue and piety.—I know of nothing in the whole history of the crusades, or of the period to which they relate, so redolent of pure and sweet humanity, as this record of the widow and her son.

But the most remarkable of the expeditions undertaken by men of power and authority, was that of which the three powerful Bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, were the leaders. This

celebrated pilgrimage took place between twenty and thirty years before the crusades, and has been generally regarded as a sort of prophetic forerunner of those expeditions. No fewer than seven thousand persons composed the formidable company, and among them were to be found many of the bravest warriors of France. They commenced their journey in autumn, and, having made their way with difficulty through the intervening territories, arrived at Constantinople, where they met with a gracious reception from the Emperor Ducas. The costume of the vast assemblage bore little resemblance, it seems, to the simple and lowly apparel of ordinary pilgrims. Both the bishops and the others of the party were clad in vestments of the most splendid kind; and the party had more the appearance of a magnificent cavalcade, proceeding to grace the triumph of some conqueror, than of a company of humble Christian pilgrims, journeying to adore their Saviour in the scene of his sufferings.

The imprudence of their conduct was easier proved to them, it is probable, than their inconsistency. They had no sooner entered the confines of the Saracen dominions, than the fierce Arabs, whom the report of their approach had previously reached, rushed upon them from all sides, as if afraid of not securing a prey which was likely to tempt so many of their countrymen. On the eve of Easter, and about a league from Ramala, a troop of these robber-soldiers attacked the company with great fury. At first, the Christians were doubtful whether they should repel them with their swords or not, but they suffered terribly by their indecision. Many of them were

covered with wounds, and having been deprived of their garments, were left naked on the sand. Even the Bishop of Utrecht was thus treated by the barbarians, who recognised no distinction of persons, but as it guided them to the richest booty. Some of the pilgrims armed themselves with huge stones which they found scattered about; but they only succeeded in saving themselves from death, and shared both the peril and the wounds of their companions. At length, the discomfited pilgrims retreated among the ruins of an ancient building, which was situated in the middle of a wide plain; but the walls of this dilapidated retreat were in such a decayed condition, that the smallest force seemed sufficient to throw them down. As no other defence was near, it was necessary to make the best use of that which was thus provided them, however insufficient to perfect safety. The Bishops, therefore, of Mayence and Bamberg, with their clergy, took possession of a chamber which they found in the building, the other bishops remaining below with the people, who formed a guard round the edifice. The barbarians were not long in preparing for the attack; their arrows flew about in all directions; but the pilgrims, emboldened by despair, and seeming to catch some of the fury which inspired their enemies, darted out upon them, and wrenched away their arms, with which they made such successful assaults, that for a short time they gained the advantage. For three days did the Christians sustain the defence of their tottering citadel against the attacks of the barbarians, till the utter want of provisions began at last to subdue their resolution. In this emergency a priest exclaimed, "Your courage is broken

by suffering; let us put our trust in God, and in our arms; let us yield ourselves to the enemy, for we stand in need of food; let us not doubt but God will make his mercy shine upon us. The barbarians who attack us are greedy of obtaining our gold rather than our persons; when they have obtained that, they will send us away in safety, and even direct us on our route."

No alternative appearing to present itself but to surrender or die of famine, the advice of the priest was taken, and a messenger sent to the Arab chief to offer terms. The latter, instead of sending a reply, proceeded himself to the fortification, accompanied by fifteen of his officers; and received from the Bishop of Mayence, who is described as having the most dignified aspect, although the youngest of the pontiffs, the proposal of his companions, to deliver up all their wealth, in consideration of being permitted to depart in safety. But the venerable aspect of the Bishop had not, in this instance, as in those before related, the power of subduing the barbarian. The rude Arab, on hearing the proposal, replied, that it was not for the conqueror to receive laws from the vanquished, and that his companions had promised to themselves the satisfaction of eating the flesh, and drinking the blood, of the Christians; saying which, he took off his turban, and, untwisting its numerous folds, cast it round the neck of the Bishop, who, feeling all his humility forsake him at such an insult, struck the barbarian such a blow with his fist that he rolled him in the dust, the pontiff exclaiming, at the same time, that it was thus he punished the wretch who had dared to lay his impious hands on a priest of Jesus Christ! They then, without

delay, bound the arms of the fallen chief, which they did so securely, that the blood, says the history, ran out at the ends of his fingers. This example was followed with his companions; and the Christians, thus beyond their expectations successful, immediately invoked the aid of God, and impetuously attacked the rest of their foes. But the Arabs, thinking their chief slain by treachery, received them with the most desperate determination to avenge his loss; and the Christians, enfeebled by hunger and constant fatigue, soon found themselves unable to resist their fury. In this extremity, they bethought themselves of a plan, not uncommon in the stratagems of war, which they trusted would in some measure supply their want of strength. They led the Arab chiefs to the part of the building where the attack was the most desperate; and there a bowman, holding a naked sword in his hand, called loudly to the barbarians, that if they continued the combat, the Christians would no longer fight with weapons, but with the heads of their prisoners.

The wretched men, in the meantime, who were suffering intolerable anguish from the manner in which they were bound, and seeing death so near, besought their soldiers to suspend the contest; and the son of the chief ran through the ranks exhorting them to refrain from blows, which struck their prince and his father. The combat ceased; and a pilgrim who had, during the night, fled to Ramla, succeeded in obtaining the assistance of the Emir of that town, who was a Saracen, but a bitter enemy of the tribe which had assaulted the Christians. The report that this auxiliary was approaching to the assistance of the pilgrims, speedily spread

through the Arab ranks; and discomfited, and no longer having any hope of recovering their superiority, they made a precipitate retreat. At first, when the Emir entered the fortification, which had been freely opened to him, the Bishops and their companions were a little doubtful whether they had not fallen into a snare; but their doubts were immediately removed, on the Emir's exclaiming, when he saw the captive Arabs, "You have delivered us from our greatest enemies!" A treaty was then entered into, and with a guard given them by the friendly Saracen, they proceeded again on their route towards Jerusalem.

Sophronius was at that time Patriarch of the Holy City, and was a man of venerable age and appearance. By the light of torches, and with cymbals and the most delicious music, they made their entry, and were conducted by their brethren to all the places deserving of their contemplation. But the church of the sepulchre, which had been destroyed by Hakem, was still in ruins, and desolation marked almost every spot, both within the walls and in the environs of the city, which had been dear to Christian piety. Nor had they only to weep over the destruction of holy monuments. They were denied the pleasure of bathing in the sacred waters of the Jordan, or gathering the emblems of their pilgrimage from the palm-trees of Jericho. While a cruel and suspicious enemy ruled within, the wild and robber Arab watched for his prey without; and being obliged, therefore, to rest satisfied with having merely visited Jerusalem, they took advantage of a Genoese fleet, and in the spring returned to Europe.

Pilgrimages were undertaken for a variety of

reasons; and it seems to have been often the case, that the leader of a large band of pilgrims had one motive for undertaking the pious journey, while each of his companions had another. The prince or the prelate would sometimes, as an example of humility and devotion, assume the palmer's habit; while those of their people who felt themselves burdened with particular sins, would take advantage of their intention, and enlist themselves under their banners. The piety of the chief was considered to give superior sanctity to the undertaking; and hence, most probably, the eagerness with which such numbers of the faithful flocked to the pious call of Bishop Leitbert, and of the prelates of Germany. It not unfrequently happened, however, that the conscience of some deep and appalling guilt was the impelling cause for undertaking a pilgrimage among the great and the powerful. The church had, as it has been said, introduced the custom of assigning a journey to the Holy Land as one of the most efficacious penances which could be inflicted; and, supposing that any bodily infliction or service could blot out the memory of guilt, or atone for its commission, no penance, perhaps, could be so reasonably recommended as that of pilgrimages. I know of nothing so likely to bow down a proud spirit, and soften it into deep and purifying thought, as a long distant journey. There is no heart proof against the solemn influences of solitude among strange and impressive scenes. The confidence which it has in itself, and in which its contempt for the future was intrenched, gradually gives way among them. The new forms under which Nature presents herself, are so many proofs that there is an existence

and a power, of which, in the thoughtless uniformity of the past, it had received no idea, and with that new consciousness rushes in a train of feelings, which, if not the same, are nearer than most others to those inspired by religion. For this effect of the long and often perilous journey which he prescribed, the priest might look with some degree of confidence; and no doubt experience taught him, that the hardiest of his penitents was not likely to come back from Syria with a mind unimpressed with the sentiments he wished to inspire. Other advantages also presented themselves in favour of this kind of penance. To the natural influence of the journey through wild and distant countries, was added that of the example of many devout and enthusiastic wanderers. At every stage of his route, the traveller was sure to meet one or more of these humble palmers, either hastening to, or returning from, the Holy City. Their humility, self-denial, and constant prayer, were powerful appeals to the haughty soul of the unwilling pilgrim. Generally also he was, by the nature of his expedition, far separated from his former companions. His proud knights and splendid retinue no longer followed him as a gay and gallant noble; and if they accompanied him, it was to be worshippers, like himself, at the Saviour's sepulchre. He was thus led to form associations which materially aided the purposes for which the penance was imposed; and the priest knew, that his instructions and exhortations to repentance would be repeated as many times as there were leagues between his parish and the sacred walls of Jerusalem. Nor are reasons of another kind wanted to justify the preference of pilgrim-

ages over other penances. What could be more proper than to send him, who had broken the laws of Christ, to contemplate the scenes which had been hallowed by his sufferings? What could better persuade to repentance, than the sight of objects which recalled to mind all he had done for the sake of mankind, and to bring them under the dominion of love and peace? The guilty violator of divine laws could not tread the streets of the Holy City, without feeling as if the very stones cried out against him; and as he turned his eyes towards the stern heights of Calvary, he shrunk terrified away; for he remembered that he had "crucified the Son of God afresh."

Among the most remarkable of the pilgrimages undertaken as penances, of which we have any record, is that of the Count of Anjou, or Foulque de Nerva. This nobleman, who had resigned himself to the violent passions which not uncommonly, in that age, produced the most terrible catastrophes, was accused of having, among other deeds of blood, murdered his wife. The public abhorrence, the torment of his conscience, which, in men of his character, is generally of the same strength as their passions, and the fearful visions which his terrified imagination conjured up, conspired to render his existence a torment. No longer able to endure the agony of his remorse, and see himself surrounded with luxury, he bade adieu to his estates, and, assuming the habit of a pilgrim, set out for the Holy Land. The storms of the sea reminded him that he was still an object of Divine anger; and, crushed under the harrowing sense of his iniquity, when he arrived in Jerusalem, he suffered not himself to indulge in the calm exer-

cises of devotion, but, with a cord round his neck, and scourged by his attendants, rushed through the streets, exclaiming, " Lord, have pity on a faithless and perjured Christian, on a sinner wandered far from his own country! "

It was not without some degree of art that the unfortunate Count obtained permission of the Saracens to worship in the holy sepulchre; but when he did, his tears and lamentations were expressive of the most violent remorse; and the chroniclers of his life have not failed to add a miracle to that which may be regarded as the natural effect of his grief. So acceptable was his repentance, they report, that the stone of the sepulchre, which was hard and solid, became, as he kissed it, as soft and flexible as wax warmed at the fire. But this was the least part of the prodigy; for the " Count bit into it, and carried away a great piece in his mouth, without the Infidels knowing any thing of it; and he thenceforth visited all the other holy places at his ease."

Having received this testimony to the fulfilment of all that was necessary to his pardon, or, to drop the miracle, having satisfied his conscience by the completion of his pilgrimage, the Count performed certain acts of charity to the poor brethren, and then returned to Europe. Soon after his arrival, he built a church in imitation of that of the holy sepulchre, and led a very devout life; but his conscience still harassed him with the sense of guilt, and he determined upon performing a second pilgrimage, which he did with the same fervent attention to devotion and charity as on the former occasion. But on his return, he was enabled to add tenfold to the merit of the expedition, by aid-

ing the Pope in a dangerous difficulty with which he was assailed. For this he received as a reward the total absolution of his sins, and he reached his territory loaded with relics and papal benedictions. Still, however, he felt a weight upon his heart, which his pious pilgrimages, and all his devout observances had not succeeded in removing. He looked in vain for the only relief which could have been effectual, that of a purer and more spiritual faith; and he was, therefore, again impelled to try the efficacy of a visit to the sacred shrine. To his own earnest prayers for pardon were added those of the brethren; and he once more returned to Europe, hoping that he might now enjoy his home with a satisfied and peaceful conscience; but before he reached it, he was seized with a fatal malady, and died at Mentz, where a mausoleum was raised to his memory.

The most remarkable circumstance in this narrative, is the utter want of success which appears to have attended the experiments of the miserable penitent. He omitted nothing necessary to the perfection of his profession as a pilgrim. Many of his acts of devotion were, according to the opinion of the times, attended with singular marks of Divine favour, and the supreme head of the church pronounced the absolution of all his offences; and yet he received only a momentary respite from his sufferings. His soul remained in the same condition of convulsive agony; and in that state he died, worn out with the fruitless search after peace, where it was not to be found. The account of his life is, perhaps, the best explanation which could be given of the true nature and exact influence of penances, and such observances on the heart and conscience.

Among the noble personages whose names appear conspicuous on the list of pilgrims, Robert Duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, may be regarded as the most celebrated, both on account of his illustrious descendant, and from the strictness with which he performed his devout duties. As in the instance of the Count Folque de Nerva, a great and terrible crime is commonly supposed to have been the origin of Duke Robert's undertaking. He poisoned, or ordered to be poisoned, it is said, his brother Richard; and, to silence the cries of remorse, he determined upon proceeding to Palestine. Clad in sackcloth, with his feet naked, and a staff and scrip in his hand, he set forth, having no token of his dignity but that he was followed by a large number of knights and barons. It was his delight, as he proceeded on the way, to expose himself to all the inconveniences which were likely to assail an ordinary pilgrim; and thus, on once passing through the gate of a citadel, he received a hearty stroke on the back from the angry porter. His followers would have resented the affront, but he repressed their intention, observing, "a pilgrim must suffer every thing for the love of God; and this blow is dearer to me than the best city of my dutchy." On his arrival at Rome, he received the cross, which was presented him by the Pope; and proceeding to Constantinople, he was received by the Emperor with many demonstrations of respect; but he rejected every invitation to partake of any luxury, or even comfort. Some time before he reached Jerusalem, he was seized by a dangerous illness, and was obliged to be carried in a litter, which was borne by Saracens. It chanced that some tra-

veller from Normandy met him while thus journeying, and demanded if he had any intelligence which he wished to send to Europe. "Tell my people," said he, "that you met me while I was carried by devils into paradise." As he approached the gates of Jerusalem, he beheld numbers of the poor pilgrims who were unable to gain admission, for want of the piece of gold which was demanded in tribute. To each of them he immediately gave the necessary sum: and not only they, but the Mussulmans themselves, are represented as expressing their wondering applause at such magnificent generosity. His charity shone equally conspicuous during his stay in the Holy City, where he employed himself incessantly in prayer and the collecting of relics, of which he amassed a large number. On his return, he was taken ill, and died at Nice in Bithynia.

Important consequences resulted from this devotion of so many great and powerful men. Pilgrimages gradually assumed the character of expeditions; and it was no longer the safety of merely a few religious and humble individuals, but of large and important bodies, that the enemies of Christendom attacked. Every monarch in Europe had some of his best knights, and many of his most valuable subjects, engaged in these undertakings; and their progress and adventures were recorded, and made a theme of public interest, because it was generally then felt that they went forth against an enemy, and that their success or discomfiture awakened nearly the same sentiments of rage or triumph, as those which followed the fortunes of military armaments. This state of things, however, could not long exist. It was impossible

that pilgrimages should become the fashion among the great and the wealthy, and attract large assemblies of men by the renown which they conferred, without losing the simple character of devotional acts. They shared in fact the general fate of all severe religious observances in which human invention is concerned. At first they occupied the attention of those only whose meek and devout natures bowed them willingly to the infliction of trial or pain, and who gladly sought, in the solitudes of their route, time for long and solemn meditation. Then came a new set of devotees, who were necessitated, either by the stern commands of the church, or the wild agony of an evil conscience, to undertake a task which was to benefit them, by the violent rein it put upon their dispositions. Pilgrimages were then associated with new feelings and duties. The pious, contemplative traveller, whose heart, constantly under the influence of meek and humble thoughts, was yet full of peace and comfort, now met on his way the pale, conscience-stricken penitent; heard the dark confession which had been wrung from the soul of the murderer, or the oppressor of orphans; and found himself journeying with men who, instead of looking like him with a deep and solemn joy on the scenes which surrounded them, were tortured every step they set with some dreadful apprehension of Divine vengeance.

But that which was deemed of sufficient merit to purge away a deadly sin, could not but be regarded as a powerful demonstration of holiness, if undertaken without any command or necessity. Numberless individuals, therefore, who neither had the simple hearts of the primitive palmers, nor were

driven to Palestine by the commands of their spiritual fathers, assumed the rude dress, the staff and scrip of the pilgrim. They travelled in large companies,—allowed the bare performance of the journey to satisfy them,—acquired a fame for holiness which served for the remainder of their lives; and thus, at length, converted the severe duty they had imposed upon themselves, into as useless and unimpressive an observance, as the multifarious rites of their church. When this became the case, pilgrimages required the influence of great names, principal assemblages, and all the pomp and splendour which wealth and exalted rank could give them, to prevent their falling entirely into disuse. And this was the fate which would have attended them, shortly after the period of which we are speaking, had not circumstances existed which opened a new and wider channel for the enthusiasm of the people. The devotion of believers had gradually lost somewhat of its deep and retired character. The same influence which had begun to bind men together in corporations and associations for trade, and which had, in fact, created a public, was stripping individuals of their saintly garb, to divide it piecemeal among many; and thus the ardent spirit which was excited by the events of the time, was popular and universal, and required the food which is necessary to support a popular passion. The extraordinary undertakings which we are about to see occupying the attention of all Europe, were first the result of this popular excitement, then its nourishment, and, in the wide, impetuous burst of devotion with which the Crusades commenced, the thousand currents of religious feeling were all blended together,

and rolled onward, a great and mighty stream, everywhere destroying the old landmarks of private and even national feeling, and still increasing till the fountains of the moral universe were all broken up to supply its resistless force.

CHAPTER VIII.

PETER THE HERMIT—THE SUCCESS WHICH ATTENDED HIS EXERTIONS.

While the minds of men were kept in a state of the most feverish irritation, by tidings daily brought from the East respecting the barbarous tyranny of the Saracens, a thoughtful and austere recluse was meditating upon them with the fervency of an excited, but strong and daring mind. In a solitary retreat, in the most unfrequented part of the south of France, Peter the Hermit had sought a refuge, both from his own sorrows, and from the vices and calamities of the world. Prayer and contemplation offered him the solace which he had not been able to discover in any other occupation; and his restless and afflicted spirit soon buried its sufferings in constant and impassioned devotion.

The origin of this singular man has not been undisputed. The most probable account is, that he was descended from a family of noble rank; that he was born at Amiens, and derived his title of Hermit from Regnant l'Hermite, his father, who enjoyed an estate which conferred that name upon the possessor. The first years of his life were spent in the pursuit of learning; and he not

only studied in the most celebrated of the Italian academies, but passed over into Greece, in order to enjoy the advantages which that country still offered the inquirer. Having completed his education, and shown the most admirable capacity for learning, he was received into the house of his relative, the Bishop of Paris, who regarded him with parental affection, and promised to reward his industry and talents with the best preferments of the church. But the mind of Peter was too active to allow of his remaining contented with the retired life to which that prelate wished to devote him; and he requested permission to give up his prospects of ecclesiastical honours for those of a military career. It was a considerable time before his desire was assented to; but, at length, seeing his resolution remain unaltered, the Bishop was obliged to allow his departure, and he sent him to his brother, Eustache, Count of Boulogne. That nobleman immediately perceived the value and extent of his accomplishments, and made him tutor to his sons; in which capacity he devoted a large portion of his time to martial exercises, and at last became entirely engaged in the duties of his new profession. A war with Flanders afforded him many opportunities of distinguishing himself, and obtaining the notice of his superiors in arms; but an unfortunate accident exposed him too closely to the enemy, and he was taken prisoner.

While suffering under the restraints and privations of captivity, his thoughts began to be employed on subjects more in unison with the natural tone of his mind than those which had lately occupied it. The glowing dreams of military renown gave place to solemn reflections on the con-

dition of his soul; and the stirring impulses of courage, and the love of adventure, were lost in the stronger and more passionate feelings of devotion. But shortly after the above events had occurred, Peter resigned his hopes of advancement, either as a priest or a soldier, to the desire of domestic retirement, and married. His happiness in this state appears to have been complete. In his beloved Beatrice he found an object on whom his heart could pour out all its tenderness; and the peace and privity of his home, enabled him to nurture, undisturbed, the holy sentiments which had cheered him in his captivity. But as if he was to be prepared for the work he had to perform, by many sufferings as well as changes, after he had for three years enjoyed this felicity, he lost his Beatrice, and, with her, vanished all his hopes and enjoyments.

No longer able to endure a world in which he now seemed to have no right to happiness, he immediately determined on burying himself altogether in solitude. The three children, therefore, which had been born to him, he sent to his relations to be educated and provided for; and then, after devoting himself to God, by taking the vows of priesthood, he retired to an obscure and solitary habitation, in which he resided till his active mind again roused him to exertion.

Peter submitted, in his lonely dwelling, to the hardships which had distinguished the lives of the ancient Anchorites, and passed his time in the exercise of the most rigid devotion. But this was not sufficient to complete the holiness of his character. The strictest fasting, the severest labours, the most watchful and unceasing prayers, could

not avail to satisfy the conscience, while some stronger manifestation of faithfulness remained to be given; and a pilgrimage was, in the eyes of the world at that period, the most powerful of all evidences that a pretension to sanctity was not unfounded. The hermit's own inclination was in close alliance with this opinion; his natural activity and love of strong excitement gave him additional reasons for undertaking an enterprise to which his conscience had already irresistibly urged him; and he therefore set forth, full of religious fervour and devout anticipations, for the sepulchre of the Saviour.

Nothing remarkable occurred in his journey. When he arrived at the gate of the Holy City, he paid the piece of gold which was demanded of him, and proceeded to the house of one of the faithful, with whom he intended to take up his lodging. The awe and delight with which he was moved, on finding himself within the sacred walls of Jerusalem, were unbounded. "Who can describe the joy," says his biographer, "which this servant of God perceived in his soul, when he saw the walls of the Holy City? With what a flame was his heart burnt, when he felt himself to be present on scenes of which so many glorious things were said, and amid which so many wonderful miracles were wrought? Who can number the drops of blood, and the sighs, which demonstrated his emotion, when he approached the Mount of Olives, now the place of his scourging, once the Prætorium of Pilate? How did his spirit represent to him the anguish which his good master had there endured for him; and with what a strain of love, regret, shame and fear, was his poor

heart beaten and agitated!" These feelings, however, are described as not to be compared with those which oppressed him at the sight of Calvary. He was there torn with an anguish mysterious and insupportable. His bosom was too narrow to contain the torrent of misery which rushed into it. He gasped for breath, and the words he strove to utter remained fixed to his lips. In vain he sought for relief by supressing the agony of his soul. The fountain of his tears was dried up by the intolerable fever that raged within him; and he bowed himself to the earth, and passionately desired to die.

On returning to his lodging, he entered into conversation with his host respecting the reports he had heard of the contumely which the miseries of the cross heaped upon the sacred objects of his contemplation, and of the oppression which the Christians endured beneath their yoke. The answers which he received to his inquiries gave tenfold strength to his holy indignation; and, full of sorrow and noble zeal for the honour of his faith, he repaired to Simeon, the Patriarch of the city. From him he received the same intelligence as his host had communicated; and he then inquired if no plan of relief had been devised, or if the Patriarch did not think that something might be done to deliver the church from oppressors? To these questions Simeon answered, that the cause of their present sufferings was the sinful conduct of believers; but that if any thing was to be done by human arms, it must be by the devotion of Western princes and warriors to the cause, for that the Emperor had sufficient to do in keeping the Saracens from the gates of Constantinople. Peter

heard this reply with attention; and assured the Patriarch in return, that he placed the strongest reliance on the Pope's reverence for the Holy City, and that he believed if a letter were sent to him by the Patriarch, soliciting assistance, he would immediately render the required help.

Simeon lent a careful ear to the counsel of the hermit; and many conferences took place between them and the principal Christians of Jerusalem. At length it was agreed that Peter should be the bearer of a letter to the Pope, beseeching him, with all earnestness, to look upon the afflicted condition of the suffering church in the East, to send it help in this time of its awful adversity, and awaken a spirit of compassion for their distresses, in the rich and powerful monarchs who owed him obedience. Peter promised not only to bear this letter to the Pope, and accompany it with many persuasions of his own, but to proceed without delay through every country and province, exhorting the inhabitants and their governors to aid them in their pious enterprise.

The time of his departure for Europe being settled, he entered the Church of the Resurrection, to pray for strength and ability to perform his important and difficult undertaking. Weary with constant exertion, and the agitation of long and fervent devotion, he fell into a deep sleep, and in a dream Christ appeared to him, and said, "Arise, Peter, execute with fortitude what thou hast undertaken; I will be with thee, for now is the time I have appointed for the purifying of my Holy City from the pollution of the Turks, and for the relief of my disciples." At these words Peter awoke, and having again repeated his pray-

ers, went to the Patriarch, and told him how he had had a vision of the Redeemer, and been exhorted by him to persevere in their enterprise. He then proceeded to Antioch, where he found a ship about to sail for Italy, in which he embarked, and arrived safely on the shores of Apulia. From thence he hastened with all possible speed to Rome, where he presented the letter of the Patriarch to Urban II., who then filled the pontifical chair, and from whose assistance he expected such beneficial results to his suffering brethren in Jerusalem.

But we must turn for a moment to the circumstances which were affecting men's minds, when the hermit made his appeal to Rome in favour of the Eastern Church. The principal of these, as regards our subject, was the extension of the Saracens' conquests, which threatened to embrace in a short time the sacred territories of the Pope himself. This increasing power of the Moslem could not be contemplated without horror. Even had no religious feeling been connected with the apprehension, it must have been one which would fill men's hearts with fear and indignation. To become the slaves of barbarians, whose names they had been taught from infancy to hold in abhorrence,—to be subjected to the frightful treatment which they had heard was suffered by their unfortunate brethren, and see their cities and their paternal inheritances occupied, as those of the afflicted Spaniards were, by men that would respect neither their laws nor customs,—the most distant possibility of such events could not be reflected upon, without exciting in every bosom the most bitter hatred against the Saracens, and

making every one desire to resist their progress by all the means in his power. The condition of the Greek empire was such, that it could no longer be regarded as a barrier to the encroachments of the enemy. The grossest superstition prevailed, and affected every department of the state. While in Europe the influence of religion was employed to add new force to military courage, it was used in the East to destroy it altogether, both cases perhaps manifesting an equal ignorance of the truth; but the latter, as things then stood, being the much more dangerous error of the two. Revolutions were incessantly taking place to the destruction of all stability in the government; and, from the number of Emperors who were murdered in their own palaces, ended their days in monasteries, or were otherwise disposed of, we may easily form a conception of the complete state of anarchy which prevailed through every rank of society. It was only from the kingdoms of Europe, therefore, that relief could be sought for with any prospect of success. Diogenes Romanus had made an attack upon the Turks, which at first promised the happiest results, but in the sequel proved his destruction. His successor, the weak and pusillanimous Michael Ducas, despairing of safety from his own subjects or resources, sought the aid of Gregory VII., and that ambitious and talented man called upon the faithful to unite against the enemy; and, it is probable, would have anticipated the crusades, but for the confused state of his domestic affairs. With a pride which thirsted for universal dominion, he assumed the right of a liege lord over the nations which owned his spiritual dignity; and his con-

test with the German Emperor Henry, who resisted his power, was long and desperate. His mind was thus drawn off from an undertaking admirably adapted to secure the interest of his bold imagination; and his successor, Victor III., rendered himself more useful to the Christian cause, by favouring an expedition in which the maritime cities of Italy united, and which obtained, in its first advances, great temporary success. But it was reserved for Urban II. to carry into execution the designs of his church and people. That pontiff possessed a large share both of the talents and ambition of Gregory VII.; and his situation at the time of Peter's application was not unfavourable to his embarking in such an enterprise. A rival Pope, Guibert of Ravenna, had occupied part of Rome, and considerably weakened the authority of Urban among his Italian subjects. The Emperor Henry IV. persisted in claiming the privileges which had been so long contended for by his predecessor; and Philip the First of France had been made the mortal enemy of Urban by a threat of excommunication. But these drawbacks to the influence of his authority were amply made up for, by the determination with which resistance inspired his ambitious mind, and still more by the popularity which they secured him among a large body of his clergy. No fewer than four thousand priests, and two hundred bishops, attended his call to the Council of Placentia; and his influence was still more conspicuous in the following one of Clermont.

The private projects of the Popes had hitherto been favoured by the reverence in which their names were held by the great mass of the people.

It was beyond a doubt, therefore, that Urban would obtain their warmest concurrence in a scheme so adapted to gratify the ruling passions of the age. Chivalry had, by this time, acquired root in every European state, and had thoroughly imbued the soldiery with ideas of subjection to the church. The noble ranks of steel-clad barons, knights and squires, whom religion had contributed so greatly to honour, seemed only to wait for some sufficient opportunity to signalize themselves in her service. The love of war was universal, except in the commercial states of Italy; and the brighter the flame burnt, the more glorious was he deemed whom it inspired. This military spirit, united with the religious sentiments which prevailed over every consideration of mere temporal interest, still wanted some sufficiently extensive field to exhibit itself in its full activity. Cabinets had not yet framed their studied schemes of policy, which divide the world into only two parts, and bring almost myriads of men, year after year, to dispute a single question in the battle-field. The wars which were then waged all partook of the character of domestic contests, and derived their origin from some dispute which began in the breach of a feudal principle. They were generally soon terminated by the want of forces or wealth to carry them on, and seldom roused the attention of the people, but as they gave rise to great actions among the individuals whom they were taught to regard. Thus, the chieftains wanted some remarkable occasion for the exercise of their valour, which should bring together the warriors of many nations in proud emulation; and the people, inspired with the admiration of military virtue, re-

quired an opportunity for obtaining that praise for bravery and self-devotion, which, to the mass of soldiers, can only be the consequence of extraordinary situations. The crusades were, in both these respects, calculated to rouse attention. Princes, knights and barons, found themselves called upon to form part of an armament which would embrace all the most renowned captains of the age, and which would have to contend with one that obeyed the summons, not of a monarch who fought with his vassals or a churchman, but of a potent chief to whom the whole East had bowed in terror. The people who enlisted under their banners no longer appeared as soldiers, who had as little claim to praise for following their masters to the field in warlike array, as they had for tilling the field when the war was over. They acquired, in their character of crusaders, a right to the same praise as their leaders. Their free consent was as meritorious, their devotion as sacred, their expectation of reward as freely allowed. Their bravery had thus a career opened for it, which gave it a dignity that had never before been allowed it, except in a few rare instances .As soldiers of the Cross, they were blessed by the church; the arms they bore were consecrated to its safety. If they fell, and their names were left unrecorded as heroes, they were assured of higher honours in the future world; and with feelings wrought upon as theirs were by so many different excitements, nothing was easier than to confound their success, as soldiers, with their hopes as saints.

To these circumstances, so favourable to the supply of that energy and daring enthusiasm, which were the first requisites in the design of

delivering the Holy City, is to be added one of a different character. It appears to be an almost absolute certainty, that where a monarchical and aristocratical power exist together, there must sooner or later be produced a third power—that of the people. The struggles which the Emperors found themselves continually obliged to sustain against their haughty nobles, induced them, as in the case with other monarchs, to favour the independence of different towns in which the germs of industry had been successfully planted. Lombardy and Tuscany had both begun to evince a spirit of freedom and commercial enterprise; and before the commencement of the crusades, Amalphi, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, and other towns, had found the advantages of trade and industry, and were more than half emancipated from the slavery of war and feudalism.* Had such a circumstance extended to more than a few small states, the crusades would never have been undertaken. Commerce, and the opinions and manners which result from its extension, are averse to enthusiasm of all kinds; and superstition stands almost as little chance among a trading people, who only step out of their ordinary and regular course, when their well calculated interests seem in danger of interruption. But it was of the most important use to the promoters of the crusades, that there existed a set of people like the maritime Italians. By their means, they were made sure of being provided with ships, and other necessaries, for the furtherance of their design; and if there was any thing which could give a prospect of solid success to the enterprise, it was this alliance with

* Robertson.

states whose habits of trade rendered them fit supporters of an army of ardent but unthinking devotees. How greatly the crusades helped, in return, the commercial towns which had contributed to their first successes, remains to be mentioned in a future part of the work; but certainly they could not have been undertaken at a period when they were more likely to do good to mankind, by fostering the new and yet uncertain system of trading enterprise.

Urban, like many of the supreme pontiffs both before and after his time, had the talents of a politician in a very eminent degree. Reports are not wanting, * which allege Peter to have been a mere creature of the Pope's, a cloak-father for his plots; but however this be, Urban received him in the most gracious manner, saw with a glance the advantages offered for the undertaking, and the good which would result, both to the See of Rome and to Christendom in general, if it proved successful; and immediately signified his warm approval of the application, and of the zeal and piety of the hermit. He then gave him a license to preach in favour of the persecuted Christians of the East; and promised that he would second his exertions, by calling a general council.

After this successful interview, Peter set off on his laborious mission, and with a patience and persevering diligence so exactly in conformity with the enthusiasm he had already evinced, as to render it far more probable that he was a sincere devotee, than the cunning agent of a scheming politician. His appearance was singularly mean and repulsive; and he is represented as "one of a con-

* Fuller's Holy War.

temptible person, his silly looks carrying in them a despair of any worth." * Even his panegyrists give no better account of his exterior; but his deficiency in stature, and in the form of his features, was made up for by the clear and penetrating glance of his eye, and by a deep-stirring and subduing eloquence, which astonished men, and bowed them to his purpose. Clad in the coarsest raiment, with his head and feet bare, and carrying a crucifix of great size and weight, he traversed the mountain-passes of Italy, rousing the inhabitants of every town and valley to which he came with his awful eloquence. Thence he passed into France; and thousands of people flocked from all quarters, to listen to appeals which filled their hearts with astonishment and holy indignation. They saw in the midst of them a being who, worn to the bone with long travel and suffering, had wept, it was said, tears of blood at the tomb of the Redeemer. He had journeyed thousands of miles to bring the message of their suffering brethren to the Church; he had seen visions that seemed to hold his spirit in mysterious subjection; and there he stood, pouring out his denunciations against the enemies of the cross with the voice of a spirit, and having so little of earthliness about him, that he was beheld with a feeling of fear as well as veneration.

The effects of Peter's eloquence could not fail of being prodigious. The most signal success attended him wherever he lifted up his voice. Every heart was inspired with the most enthusiastic wishes to share in the holy triumph for which the way seemed opening. All ordinary pursuits lost their interest. Even private rivalships and domestic

* Fuller.—Oultremain.

animosities were forgotten in the new excitement of devotion; and prayers were put up by all orders of men, that means might be immediately resorted to for commencing the sacred enterprise.

A. D. 1095. Urban, convinced by the results of Peter's mission that the time was come for undertaking his mighty project, assented to the desires of the people, and called a general council at Placentia. The immense number of the clergy who attended on the occasion has been already mentioned, and they were accompanied by thirty thousand laymen. With the most eager expectation every ear was open, and every heart ready, to receive the exhortations of the holy father. While this feeling was at its height, ambassadors, who had lately arrived from the Emperor Alexis, were introduced to the assembly. They had brought intelligence from their master that Constantinople was hourly threatened by the Saracens, and that, unless speedy assistance were rendered him by the knights and barons of the West, his capital must fall into the hands of the barbarians, with all its magnificence, and the treasures it possessed. The pontiff gave them a gracious reply, and promised prompt assistance to the distressed Emperor; after which, he reverted to other objects connected with the meeting, and dissolved it with the intimation that he would hold another in the autumn.

The power of the Popes in Italy was, from very early ages of the church, less respected than in other parts of Europe.* The pontificate of Urban had been disturbed by many disastrous circumstances; and from these, and the dislike with which

* See Dr M'Crie's interesting "History of the Reformation in Italy."

he was regarded for his personal character, together with the opposition which was raised to his authority by Guibert, the Ecclesiastical States were the least likely of all others to aid him with good-will or sincerity. He, therefore, determined to hold his next council as far as he conveniently could from the influence of his rival's machinations, and fixed on Clermont, in Auvergne, for the meeting of the assembly. The same anxiety to be present at this memorable council was evinced as had been the case with that of Placentia. Princes and prelates, ambassadors from various states, hosts of the inferior clergy, and untold multitudes of laymen, flocked to the city, which at length became so crowded that a sort of camp was formed in the neighbourhood, where the greatest personages endured the severities of November, rather than be absent on the occasion.

The business of the meeting was commenced by no less an act of power than the excommunication of the King of France, in whose territories it was held. The reason for this sentence was the adulterous nature of that monarch's late marriage; and had the pride and power which enabled the Pope so to hurl his defiance against a licentious monarch been the right weapons of his spiritual warfare, his conduct would have deserved the praises of the world and of posterity. But sin is never put down or corrected by such means; and an illegitimate authority, exercised in pretended reformations of public morals, is sure to produce far more evil than good. The next decree of the council established what was termed the Truce of Peace, which menaced with excommunication all disturbers of the public tranquillity, and a provi-

sion was also made for the defence of widows and orphans; acts which deserve great praise, and which must have been in no slight degree serviceable to the nations which received them. But had the great moral engine which the Pontiff held in his hands been fairly and honestly worked—had he been content to exhort men as a Christian bishop, instead of sitting on a throne to pass laws like a monarch—he might have reformed a world, while it is doubtful whether, by his councils, he prevented a single crime.

After these preliminary affairs had been settled, the meeting turned its attention to the object which alone interested the minds of the majority. On the tenth day of the council, the Pope, accompanied by his cardinals and an immense crowd of the people, proceeded to the market-place. A throne had been there provided for him, and he took his seat, the princely ecclesiastics ranging themselves around, and the Hermit, in his rude apparel, and with the stern and solemn expression of his severe devotion, placing himself by the Pontiff's side. Urban then directed him to address the meeting on the subject which they had met to consider; and he obeyed, painting in the most vivid colours the miseries he had seen the Christians suffer, who had sought peace and safety in the Holy City; and the impieties which were daily practised by the infidels against their persons, and the objects of their most devout regard. He had seen, he said, the services of their brethren disturbed by the constant intrusion of the impious Moslem, and ministers not unfrequently carried, from performing their holy offices, to an ignominious death. With the most passionate prayers he im-

plored them to deliver the city of their Saviour from these profanations—to send help to their perishing fellow-believers—and to recover from the hands of disbelievers so many objects dear to the souls of the faithful.

When Peter had finished speaking, Urban himself addressed the excited multitude. He represented to them the awful spectacle of a city so beloved by God as Jerusalem, and rendered venerable by so many wonderful events, lying under the power of a base and cruel infidel. "A people without God," exclaimed he, "the son of the Egyptian slave, occupies by force the cradle of our salvation—the country of our Lord. The city of the King of Kings, from which the precepts of faith are transmitted to other lands, is herself the servant of superstitious paganism; that miraculous tomb which had not power to retain its victim—that tomb, the foundation of eternal life, and from which ascended the sun of the resurrection, is polluted by those who will only rise themselves to suffer the pains of eternal fire. The conquering impiety has spread its darkness over the wealthiest countries of Asia: Antioch, Ephesus, Nice, are become Mussulman cities; the barbarous tribes of the Turks have planted their standards on the shores of the Hellespont, from whence they menace all Christendom. If God himself, arming against them his children, arrests not their triumphant march, what nation, what kingdom, will be able to close the doors of the East?" Then, addressing himself to the warriors of the different states, and especially the French, from whom he expected succour, he continued in the same vehement style to rouse the feelings of

his auditors by a repetition of the accounts which had been received from Peter and other pilgrims. "The people," said he, "who merit our homage, and who are the blessed of God, mourn and perish under the weight of the most grievous outrages and impositions. The race of the Elect perish beneath horrible persecutions. The impious rage of the Saracens respects neither the virgins of the Lord, nor the royal college of priests. They have loaded the limbs of the aged and infirm with irons. Infants snatched from their mother's breasts forget, among the barbarians, the name of the true God: the hostels which were built for the entertainment of the poor travellers on their journey to the Holy Land, are filled with profane infidels; and the temple of the Lord has been treated like a reprobate man, and the ornaments of the temple have been taken away like captives. What shall I say more? In the midst of so many evils, who could have retained in their desolated habitations the dwellers in Jerusalem, the guardians of Calvary, the servants and fellow-citizens of the *Mangod*, if they had not imposed upon themselves a law to receive and succour the pilgrims? if they had not feared to leave without priests, without altars, without religious ceremonies, a land still every where covered with the blood of Jesus Christ?

"Miserable are we, my children and my brethren, that we live in times so calamitous. Were we born in this age, so hateful to God, to see the desolation of the Holy City, and to remain quiet, while she is delivered into the hand of her enemies? Is it not far better to die in war than longer support this miserable spectacle? Let us weep together over the sins which have armed against us the Divine wrath; let us weep, but let not our

tears be as seed sown in the sand; let the holy war take light from the fire of our repentance; let the love of our brethren animate us to the combat; and let it be stronger than death against the enemies of the Christian people. Warriors! ye who hear me, ye who search without ceasing for some vain pretext for war, rejoice now, for here is a legitimate cause for war. The moment is come in which to prove if you are animated with a true courage; the moment is come in which to expiate so many violences committed in the bosom of peace,—so many victories disgraced by injustice. You, who have been so long the terror of your fellow-citizens, and who sell for a vile salary your arms to gratify the fury of another—go! armed with the glaves of the Maccabees, and defend the house of Israel, which is the vine of the Lord of Hosts. Ye are no longer to take vengeance for the injuries done against men, but for those committed against the Divinity. Ye are no longer to be employed in the attack of a city or a castle, but in the conquest of sacred places. If you triumph, the benedictions of Heaven and of the kingdoms of Asia will be your reward. If you fall, you will have the glory of dying on the same spot as Jesus Christ, and God will not forget that he saw you in his holy warfare. Let no base affections, let no profane sentiments, repress your zeal. Soldiers of the living God! hear no sound but the lamentations of Zion; burst asunder all human ties, and remember what the Lord has said, "He who loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; whosoever shall forsake his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife or children, or heritage, for my name's sake, shall be reward-

ed a hundred fold, and shall possess eternal life."

Already warmly excited by the preaching of Peter, and the solemn spectacle of so many princes and venerable ecclesiastics united together in such a sacred cause, the people could no longer restrain their emotions; and with one mighty voice, which seemed to rise by the impulse of a sudden inspiration, exclaimed, "'Tis the will of God, 'tis the will of God!"* "Yes," replied the Pontiff, "'tis indeed the will of God. You to-day see the accomplishment of the Saviour's promise, to be in the midst of those who believe in his name; it is he who has dictated the words which I hear. Let them be your war-cry, and let them every where announce the presence of the armies of God." Then, presenting to the gaze of the awe-struck assembly a cross, he continued, "It is Jesus Christ himself who comes from his tomb, and presents to you his cross: it shall be a sign elevated among the nations which will gather togther the dispersed of Israel. Carry it on your shoulder, or on your breast; let it shine on your arms and on your standards; it will become to you the gage of victory, or the palm of the martyr; it will unceasingly remind you that Jesus Christ died for you, and that you ought to die for him!"

But it was not without offers of present good that the supreme pontiff sought to engage the co-operation of his auditors. He declared to them, that a full remission of sins should be granted to all who volunteered into the holy army of the cross; that all penances should be deemed fulfilled by their assuming the badge which was to dis-

* *Diew li volt!* or, *Diex le volt!*

tinguish the faithful warriors of God; that they were thenceforth under the immediate protection of the church and of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul; that their property should be regarded as under the same sacred guardianship; and that they should be preserved in inviolable security from all temporal cares and disturbances; for which purpose it was ordered, that no creditor should disturb a debtor who had taken the cross, under pain of the severest anathemas of the church. Even the ministers of the church itself were prohibited from exercising their authority to the disturbance of any of the crusaders, and they were threatened with immediate suspension if they inflicted a penance, or any other species of punishment, on those devoted servants of the Saviour. The wives and children also of the crusaders were provided for by the same protecting clause, and were recommended to the particular care of priests and bishops. But one article of the covenant between the church and its soldiers was specially directed to ensure the fulfilment of the design. Whoever fell back from the vow he had taken to fight in the cause of Jerusalem, was to be punished with excommunication. A general confession was then made by the assembly, and the Cardinal who read the formulary pronounced an absolution, which freed all present from the burden of their offences, and prepared them for receiving the badge of their profession.

The first person on whom the Pontiff conferred the sacred sign was Adhemaz, Bishop of Puy; after him several other prelates were endowed with the same badge of the undertaking, and their example was followed by the greater part of the multitude. The cross was most commonly

worn on the shoulder, and was made of silk or cloth, sometimes of gold. At first red was the only colour used, as that which was most typical of the passion of the Redeemer. But in the following crusades others were introduced, as representative of some quality or virtue belonging to the faithful. *

The principal preliminaries of the enterprise having been thus settled, the departure of the crusaders was fixed for the fifteenth of August in the following year. The Pope, it was ardently expected, would himself proceed at the head of the host; but the disturbed state of his pontificate was a sufficient reason to oblige his remaining at Rome. The command, therefore, of the army was deputed to Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who, though not present at the council, had expressed, by means of his ambassadors, his warm concurrence in the design; and Adhemar, the Bishop of Puy, was made legate, and appointed to accompany the forces as the representative of the Pontiff.

* Ducange.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.—SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF NICE.

THE undertaking had no sooner been thus authorized by the decree of the council, than the nobles and ecclesiastics, who had devoted themselves to the cause of their suffering brethren, began to prepare the necessary means for carrying the design into execution. The prelates who had been present at Clermont followed the example of Urban, and employed all their eloquence to engage the attention of their several cougregations. Those who could not render aid by personal exertions, were exhorted to contribute their alms; and so successfully, it is said, did they sow the word of life throughout their parishes, that not one grain fell to the earth fruitless. No human tye or interest, it is said, * was able to withhold the believers from following the call of duty. It seemed, indeed, that the words of Jesus Christ were now really fulfilled, for not peace but a sword attended the preaching of the gospel. Husbands tore themselves from their wives, children from their parents,

* William of Tyre.

brothers from their sisters. Not even the vows of religion were left unbroken. Monks and hermits forsook the cells in which they had determined to pass their days, and came forth again into the world to fight under the banner of the Lord. It was not, however, only those sincere and devoted enthusiasts who flocked to the summons. The freedom which the assumption of the cross afforded to debtors, brought a large number of distressed individuals who preferred the respect and protection of the church with many hazards and sufferings, to a life of disgrace and anxiety. A similar reason impelled into the service of the crusades a host of persons lying under the ban of the pontiff or his prelates, and who could see no other means of restoring themselves to favour, or of escaping the heavy and destructive penances to which they were subjected.

But it was not to the casual excitement of this multitude that Urban trusted the success of his mighty enterprise. France was at this time filled with chevaliers of noble courage, and many of them had extensive possessions. These were eager for means of distinguishing themselves, were pious and enthusiastic; and among them he hoped to find bold and constant supporters; nor was he disappointed. The best and bravest knights received his exhortations with reverent delight, and instantly assumed the cross. Their zeal was evinced still further by the unreserved devotion, not only of their personal ease, but of their estates to the holy cause. Regarding the call which they heard as divine, they scrupled not to sell or mortgage their property to provide the means of raising followers, or fitting themselves out with due splen-

dour for the expedition. Many of the clergy were not less ready to prove the sincerity of their zeal, and prepared to leave the security and wealth of their benefices to pursue the arduous task of their noble champions. All orders of men, in fact, were roused by the same passion, and showed an equal disposition to resign their former occupations, and all private feelings to the one great and preeminent object of attention. From France the impulse was transmitted to England and Germany, and Europe appeared, almost in an instant, to have prepared itself for the sacred enterprise.

With the most eager anticipations, the crusaders looked forward to the appointed season of departure. The whole fabric of society was lifted up from its basis, and seemed waiting to be placed on a new foundation. Men could no longer content themselves at home, nor employ their minds on subjects which regarded interests so inferior to those which now engaged them. Natural feelings were exaggerated or destroyed by the excitement; and the world was thrown into a state of wild confusion and awful suspense, similar, it may be imagined, to what would be the case, if a revelation were suddenly made of an approaching day of judgment.

A belief, indeed, that the world was near its end, formed one of the principal features in the vulgar theology of the times. This idea, so common to periods of violent agitation, was the faithful mother of a thousand dark and mysterious prodigies. The gloom of midnight was filled with terrific objects, whose presence was indicated by lambent fires in the sky. Stars rushed from heaven as if its hosts were all about to be destroyed for ever,

and fell in such multitudes that they might have been taken for hail, had it not been for their lustre. * A comet of great magnitude and wrathful appearance was seen in the south; and a priest proclaimed, that he had beheld in the sky, about the ninth hour of the day, two horsemen engaged in combat, and that one of them who was armed with a cross slew the other, after a long and terrible conflict. Another priest, walking with some companions through a wood, saw a great sword displayed in the air. A herdsman beheld a city in the same manner. Children were born of monstrous form, or endowed with miraculous powers of speech; and nature was made to change her course, to suit the temper of the popular mind.

The army of the crusaders was every day increased by new recruits, and thousands assumed the cross, at the entreaties of friends who had already devoted themselves to the cause, or at the supplication of aged parents or relations, who thought they could receive no higher blessing than having a child or kinsman fighting for the redemption of the Holy City. Others were induced to join them, from the influence which the reports they every where heard of signs and miracles had upon their minds; and they tremblingly sought a refuge from the coming destruction under the banner of the Lord. From one end of Europe to another, prayers and benedictions rose to strengthen the hearts of the faithful warriors. They received their swords and armour, blessed in the name of the Trinity; and were assured of triumphing, because they fought for the glory of

* Orderic Vital.

God against the enemies of his truth. In many districts whole towns and villages were depopulated. Men with their wives and families prepared to accompany the army in the certain expectation of finding in Palestine a safe and holy home; and multitudes, forsaking their dwelling under this idea, formed stations in the open country, and converted it into a vast encampment. Among these rude assemblies, the most enthusiastic of the missionaries published the exciting promise of triumphs and everlasting rewards; pilgrims told again the story of their wanderings and distresses; and the baron, leaving his lordly retinues, sought among them to increase the number of his followers.

The impatience of the multitude, rendered every day less governable, at length broke through all the restraints of prudence or discipline. The day fixed for their departure, under the regular leaders of the armament, seemed far distant for an undertaking so sanctioned by Divine command; and too strict an attention to the common rules of action in temporal warfare, was deemed a want of confidence in the expected support of Providence. Peter the Hermit, had been indefatigable in his labours to support the cause which had so prospered under his hands. His success filled him with still greater zeal; and as he proceeded on his way, thousands answered to his call, and offered to devote their lives to him in whatever manner he directed. The veneration in which he was held gave him in the eyes of the people far greater right and ability to lead them to conquest than any prince or noble could possess; and induced, by this feeling, and their desire to set forth, they entreated him to become their Captain, and instantly con-

duct them to Palestine. It was not in the Hermit's nature to resist the sentiments of enthusiasm, or refuse to undertake an enterprise which favoured both the pride, to which enthusiasm is generally closely allied, and the devotion of his heart. He, therefore, consented to accept the proposal of his uninformed and ill-fated followers; and above sixty thousand persons, many of them women, prepared to follow his command. Mounted on a mule, and habited in a linen garment, with sandals on his feet, he led his undisciplined army towards Germany, its numbers increasing in every province through which he passed. Finding it impossible to preserve order by his single attention, he devolved part of his authority on Walter, surnamed, from his poverty, the Pennyless, an experienced and courageous soldier, but who had such unpromising power under his command, that he could number only eight horsemen as his cavalry. From Germany Peter was followed by a monk named Godescal, whose preaching had gathered round him near twenty thousand of the peasantry, equally devoted and enthusiastic in their expectations of delivering Jerusalem from the power of the Moslems. Still greater masses flocked together as the crusaders proceeded; and their army at last consisted of a loose and undisciplined rabble of three hundred thousand persons, among whom were to be found not only women, but young children, old and infirm men scarcely able to support themselves, and not a few sick of dangerous diseases. But such a multitude, moving as it did without any law or subordination, except that which arose from the wildest enthusiasm, was a fit hotbed for the most licentious pas-

sions; and almost every species of debauchery is said to have been committed by these rude devotees. They passed, however, safely through Germany; and imagined they had obtained an earnest of their greater triumphs by the evils they had inflicted on thousands of Jews, whom they despoiled of their property and lives.

Europe was at that period still only partially civilized, and the wide, bleak plains of the North, were possessed by hordes of fierce and untameable barbarians. After leaving the confines of Austria, the traveller plunged into a dreary wilderness, where he lost almost every vestige of improvement, and found himself surrounded with gloomy forests, stopped in his progress by impassable rivers, or threatened by the surprisals of the half-christianized inhabitants. It was upon this tract that the army of Peter now entered; and in a short time it began to experience all the evils which were to be expected as the attendants of such an ill-assorted armament. Hunger and every craving of want pressed hard upon the patience and fervour of his followers; and, no longer able to refrain from seeking relief, they began to pillage the country wherever they came; and the flocks and herds of the Hungarians fell a frequent sacrifice to their need or rapacity. A free passage had been granted them by the king, and their commander had made application for permission to purchase provisions. But it was not without reason that the progress of such an army was watched with suspicion, and the request was refused. Belgrade was, in consequence, immediately surrounded by the crusaders, who no longer placed any bounds to their passions. They seized whatever could be

put to their immediate use, and destroyed the rest. Not only the cattle, but the wives and children of the wretched inhabitants, were made the spoil of the infuriated rabble, who seemed to have lost all sense of either justice or mercy.

The Bulgarians, roused by the imminent destruction with which they were menaced, lost no time in assembling an army to oppose their enemies; whom they attacked while still exulting in victory, and laden with booty. Large numbers fell at the first onset; and a hundred and forty perished at once, in a church which was set fire to on their entering it as a sanctuary. Walter, perceiving the perilous situation in which the indiscretion of his followers had placed him, endeavoured to repair the mischief by rapid marches across the barren and trackless country to Nissa, which he at length reached, and obtained the assistance and protection of the governor. From thence they passed through Philopopolis and Adrianople; and having sincerely repented of their licentiousness, to which they attributed their late discomfiture, they arrived in safety at Constantinople. There they were graciously received by the Emperor Alexis, who allowed them to take up their quarters in the neighbourhood of the city, and promised them his protection till the remainder of the army should arrive with Peter the Hermit.

As that bold enthusiast approached the scene of his lieutenant's defeat, rumours reached him of the calamity; and at Semlin he was fully convinced of the disgrace which had been inflicted on the sacred armament, by perceiving the remains of sixteen of his disciples displayed in triumph on the walls of that city. He had not yet undergone any defeat. The pride of his heart was at its height; and he

had formed no idea but of victory. Without delay he summoned his followers to arms. Thousands obeying the call, precipitated themselves on the surprised citizens, and raised a shout of triumph as they saw them to the amount of four thousand, either bleeding under their swords, or perishing in the waters of the Danube. The King of Hungary lost no time in hastening to revenge the ruin of his subjects, and Peter fled precipitously to Nissa; where his army remained encamped for a short time, without any thing occurring to break the peace which existed between them and the inhabitants. This tranquillity, however, was at last destroyed by the intemperate conduct of some German crusaders, who, to revenge a private quarrel, called down the vengeance of the people upon the whole army. Thinking of nothing but revenge, the inhabitants rushed upon the crusaders with such force, that they took, in the attack, besides an immense number of prisoners, no less than two thousand chariots, while the ground was covered with slain wherever they directed their steps. Peter now began to repent of his imprudence, and would have entered into a treaty with the governor; but his applications, though backed by all the pleas which he made of sanctity, proved abortive; and before he could repeat them, his followers had again begun their mad and ruinous attempts. These were attended with the same fate as the former; and when he retired at night to a mountain in the neighbourhood, only five hundred of his people could be mustered out of the thousands which had attended his steps. As he proceeded on his march, however, the fugitives returned in large bodies to

his ranks; and he reached the Thracian mountains with an army, which, after all its losses, amounted to thirty thousand men. To his great joy, however, he was here met by deputies from the Emperor Alexis, who conducted the armament to Constantinople.

It might be supposed, that the miseries which had already been suffered by the crusaders would have taught them in some degree the necessity of discipline; but neither experience, nor the feeling of duty, which ought to have bound them to respect the laws of a foreign prince and protector, was sufficient to prevent their committing the most violent acts of aggression. Their outrages at length obliged the Emperor to seek his own safety, and that of his subjects, by hastening the departure of his dangerous visitors. By neither himself nor his people had their presence been at any time regarded with pleasure. He had implored the assistance of the Western princes in his difficulties, and had made use of all his influence with the great head of the church, to obtain their prompt and effectual alliance; but, instead of finding his capital filled with the flower of European chivalry, it was assailed by a rude and rapacious multitude, who even stole the lead from the roofs of the churches;* and the army, which should have been able to conquer the brave and haughty Saracen, was a concourse of weak and undisciplined men, who had been exposed to constant disgraces in their journey, and had shewn themselves to be totally incapable of even defending their own lives or property.

To free himself, therefore, of an ally from whom

* Robertus Monachus.

so little was to be expected, Alexis persuaded the leaders of the crusaders to fix their camp on the other side of the Bosphorus,—an advice as fatal to them, as it was calculated to secure his repose. Two or three other bands had been collected under different leaders, and hastened to Constantinople to join the army of Peter. The monk Godescal, another ecclesiastic named Volkmar, and Count Emicon, had assembled a number of followers, who might fairly vie with those of the Hermit in zeal and superstition. Not deigning to be led by any thing which could only aspire to the dignity of humanity, they put at the head of their forces a goose and a goat, which it was believed were filled with the Divine spirit, and were types of the most holy objects of faith. *

Whatever was the cause, whether enthusiasm, impatience, or the love of rapine, or all these together, the crusaders speedily quitted the situation which Alexis had pointed out for their camp. Quarrels rose without intermission between the different divisions of the army; and at last a large body separated from the rest of the assembly, and marched forward under the conduct of Rainard towards Nice, the capital of Bithynia. On approaching this city, they made themselves masters of a fortress in the neighbourhood, and prepared to resist the attacks of the Sultan's forces. But they were not long in possession of their hold, before they began to experience the dangers of their situation. They had few stores, and, what was worse, were unprovided with water. Day after day they had to endure the most dreadful suffer-

* Albert Aquensis.

ings from this cause; and their thirst at length became so intolerable, that they opened the veins of the horses, and other animals that were with them, and drank their blood as it streamed warm from the wounds. At other times they dug the earth, and applied their parched mouths to catch the slightest moisture which might exhale from its surface; and when these expedients failed them, drank their own urine to assuage their burning fever. *

The misery which was thus endured by these unfortunate people was only put an end to by their death. Rainard made a base alliance with the Turks, and left his fellow-soldiers to destruction. The troops under the command of Walter, Peter being still at Constantinople, upon receiving intelligence of this event, compelled him to lead them against the enemy. He advanced accordingly, but with great unwillingness, towards Nice. The Sultan was fully prepared for his arrival; and in a desperate battle, which was fought on the plains near the city, Walter and his whole army, with the exception of three thousand men, fell victims to the conquering Moslem. The ill-fated leader is generally represented as a brave and skilful soldier; and Robert the Monk finishes his lament at the fall of so bold and pious a man, with the reflection, that he sanctified his death by the blood of many Turks. The consequences of the battle were most important to Nice; and the victors spared none of the unhappy Christians who fell into their hands. Even a priest, who was at the time of the battle officiating in the camp, was seized in the act of performing his duties, and car-

* Robertus Monachus.

ried away to instant execution. Scarcely less pleasure was felt by Alexis and his subjects, than by the Saracens, at the news of the crusaders' defeat. The Emperor dreaded them, and his people hated them, for their rapacity; and the impression which was made on their minds, by the first bad specimen of the European armanent, continued long after the worst causes of disgust were removed. The character of Alexis has been held up to contempt by all the old writers on the crusades. By one he is termed the most fraudulent and deceitful of men; by another a fool and madman; and so on through the whole line of vituperative epithets. That he acted with duplicity, there is no question; that, in the after events of the crusades, he failed in prudence as a shrewd and foreseeing politician, is equally certain; but so far as he could at present judge of the effects which the Holy War was likely to have on his empire, he was not unjustified in regarding it as dangerous to his safety.

Hitherto we have seen only an undisciplined rabble engaged in the undertaking which had excited the attention of almost all the nobility of Europe. A different aspect was now to be given to the affair. The West was preparing, according to the language of the eloquent monk, to shine upon the East, and new stars had arisen to dispel the darkness with which it was oppressed. The most distinguished heroes were ready to set forth for Jerusalem; and the same sentiment inspired all breasts,—"To die, or conquer; because to die, they believed, was no loss of life, and to conquer was a herald of Divine protection." In the place of Peter, who was now sinking fast into insignificance, of Walter the Pennyless, and the other less

respectable captains of the licentious multitude, of which three hundred thousand had perished, we have now to contemplate men whose characters were distinguished by the highest of chivalrous virtues, and who were descended from a long line of noble warriors.

The circumstances in which the three greatest European monarchs were placed at the commencement of the crusades prevented either of them from heading the armament. * Henry the Fourth of Germany was engaged in constant hostility with the Pope; William Rufus had to cope with difficulties which still attended the late establishment of his father's dominion in England; and Philip the First of France was too devoted to pleasure to be roused by the call of a pontiff, who fulminated excommunications against the violators of morality. Spain was contending with its Moorish invaders; but had it been free from these enemies, it was in too divided a state for its rulers to take a part in such an expensive enterprise; and, above all, it was freer than any other country from the influence of the Roman court. The command, consequently, of the immense army, which was on the eve of marching to Palestine, was committed, not to a king, but to the noblest knights that could be found among those who had taken the cross. The first of these was the celebrated Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Basse-Lorrain. He derived his origin from a family long distinguished by illustrious actions, and had himself acquired the reputation of being one of the bravest warriors of his age. The Emperor, during his contest with

* Gibbon.

the Pope, owed many of his successes to the prowess of Godfrey. Rodolph, who had been set up by the Pontiff as claimant to the Imperial crown, fell beneath his hand; and when Rome was besieged, he was the first who entered it. He was, however, as devout as he was brave; and his conscience was, shortly after this event, forcibly struck with the sacrilegious conduct of which he had been guilty. Thenceforward his thoughts were anxiously bent on discovering some method for expiating his guilt; and he at last found relief to his burdened mind, by making a vow to fight for the delivery of Palestine. He is described as possessing every endowment which could adorn a nobleman and a knight. His countenance was elegant, his person tall and graceful, and his speech and address so sweet and gentle, that he would have been taken for an ecclesiastic rather than a soldier, by those who were unacquainted with him. But in battle, or at the approach of any danger, his bosom swelled with the most daring courage; like a raging lion, nothing could oppose his progress; and shields and armour were useless against his attack. An army of eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse assembled under the banner of this accomplished captain; and he numbered among the warriors who accompanied him, his two brothers, Eustache, Count of Boulogne, and Baldwin, and also his cousin Baldwin du Bourg.

Hugh, Count of Vermandois; Robert, Duke of Normandy, and eldest son of William the Conqueror, who mortgaged his duchy to obtain money for the enterprise; Robert, Count of Flanders, surnamed the Sword and Lance of the Crusaders; and Stephen, Count of Chartres, distinguished as

well for his eloquence as his wealth, are celebrated as the chief captains of the French, the Normans, and the English. Adhemar, already mentioned as the Pope's legate; Raymond, Count of Thoulouse; Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and his cousin Tancred, are also named as the principal leaders of different portions of the forces.* A host of noblemen and chevaliers gave weight and dignity to the armament, which presented a spectacle never before exhibited to the astonished world; the nobles of almost every nation and province in Europe forsaking, and in many instances alienating their possessions, to fight together against one common enemy.

It was agreed by the different chieftains, that their rendezvous should be at Constantinople, to which point of union they were to conduct their several divisions by the routes which should seem most convenient. Godfrey took the road with his well-disciplined army, which had a short time before been traversed by the Hermit and his tumultuous followers. His progress was watched with suspicion by the people through whose territories he passed; but the strict order which he preserved among his soldiers, soon obtained him their respect, and he was furnished with provisions, and treated with attention, by the very people who had expected him as their worst enemy. After suffering some dificulties from the wildness of the country which he had to pass, and the desultory attacks of the Greeks, who seem scarcely to have known whether they were to act as allies or enemies, he reached Constantinople, and was followed by the

* Gibbon.

other leaders, who were all assembled, there, nine months after they began their progress towards the East. On arriving in Thrace, Godfrey learnt that the Count of Vermandois had been made prisoner by the Governor of Durazzo, and sent to Constantinople by the order of Alexis. He immediately desired that his noble ally should be set at liberty without delay; and, not receiving a satisfactory answer to his demand, he gave up the country to be pillaged by his soldiers. This brought the Emperor to his reason; who flattered his captive so well, that he consented to take oaths of submission, and shortly after appeared in the camp of Godfrey to tell his disgrace. A vain attempt was now made by the Count to persuade his indignant friend to follow his example, but it was met by a determination instantly to resist by force the insidious arts of Alexis; and for several days the Latins gave themselves up to rapine and the most violent resentment. This disposition of the forces under Godfrey was strongly encouraged by Bohemond, who sent messengers, begging him to attack and take possession of Constantinople itself. When intelligence of this occurrence reached the Emperor, he became more anxious than ever to provide some safeguard against the violence of the crusaders and their chiefs; and by a profusion of promises, and the exhibition of the most sincere desire for peace, he succeeded in bringing the latter over to his views; and they, one after the other, took the oath of allegiance, and declared that they would do nothing to endanger either the laws of the empire, or the safety of its ruler. The proudest of Latin chiefs submitted to this acknowledgment

of Alexis as their liege lord; and he gladly rewarded their submission by supplying them with large stores of provisions, and with all the luxuries which his wealthy capital afforded.

But Alexis had still cause for anxiety, so long as he was exposed to the capricious changes of such a formidable armament as that which occupied the very avenues to his palace. At length, however, he was relieved from his terrors by its passage over the Bosphorus, and its speedy occupation with the immediate objects of its pursuit. Nothing could be more splendid than the appearance of the forces, which now began their march through the rich provinces of Bithynia. No less than a hundred thousand warriors, completely armed and mounted, formed its cavalry, while the bulk of the army is considered, even by the cautious Gibbon, to have been greater than the mighty hosts of Darius or Xerxes.

A. D. 1097, June. Nice, the capital of the kingdom of Roum, was the point towards which the attention of this immense array was first directed. The Sultan Soliman, in order to prepare for the overwhelming attack which he daily expected, had collected his forces, secured his family and possessions within this strongly fortified city, and then hastened to intercept, if possible, the advance of the enemy. Nice, besides its strength, was important from its situation on the Turkish frontier, and was guarded, consequently, with the greatest vigilance. Three hundred and seventy towers surmounted its double walls, which were sufficiently thick to allow of a car being driven along their top. High mountains defended it on one side; and on the other, the Lake Ascanius afforded the

means of introducing succours in case of an assault; and the best warriors that could be found were selected for its garrison.

Around the almost impregnable fortifications of this important place, the crusaders now saw the flower of their army take its stand. The arrangement and situation of their camp was in harmony with the character of their undertaking. Within the vast area which it occupied, the soldiers of nineteen nations are said to have been collected, retaining the languages and manners of their respective countries. The divisions of the far-stretching encampment were marked by walls or palisades; and when wood and stones were not to be found for the purpose of forming the intrenchments, they employed those piles of bones which were all that remained of the myriads who had perished in the former attempts on Nice. Magnificent tents appeared in different quarters of the camp, which were employed as places of worship; and the unceasing clamours of the enthusiastic champions, the frequent war-cry, and the sound of horns and drums, gave a striking effect to the pomp of the warlike array.

No particular advantages, during the first days of the siege, were gained on either side; but the most admirable displays of valour convinced both the besieged and the besiegers of their mutual determinations to carry their design or perish. Soliman, or, according to his family appellation, Killidge Arslan, summoned fresh forces to his aid, and, striking across the mountains, came rushing with sixty thousand warriors upon the Christian camp. From morning till night the battle raged with undiminished fury; and when the crusaders

saw themselves masters of the field, they found they had paid for their triumph by the loss of ten thousand of their companions, while that of the enemy was only four thousand. We read with disgust, that these Christian soldiers amused themselves, after the victory, with cutting off the heads of their victims, and flinging them into the city, and that they sent many of them in sacks to Constantinople, as a present to the Emperor.

The siege, after this event, was continued with increased vigour. Battering rams, and every other species of military engine, were applied to the walls; and the city was assaulted by showers of stones hurled from machines raised sufficiently high to command its interior. Others were constructed to defend parties of men who laboured incessantly at undermining the foundations of the ramparts. But the resolution of the besieged increased with the courage of their assailants. They poured boiling oil, pitch, and other inflammable matters, from the walls, and displayed on the tops of their spears the heads of the Christians they had taken in battle. At length one of the boldest, whose stature was equal to that of the heroes of old, performed such prodigies of valour by his single arm, that the besiegers began to shrink with terror from his destructive force. Hurling huge stones upon their heads, he repelled every party which dared approach near enough to attack him; and even when covered with wounds, he flung away his shield, and, with an utter contempt of his assailants, continued to deal death from his stand on the ramparts. The valiant Godfrey could no longer endure to see the discomfiture of the Christians caused by the arm of this single Sa-

racen, and, in the true spirit of chivalry, approached with two of his squires to the encounter. Pierced by an arrow, the monster fell beneath the hand of the noble chieftain. The Christians, sending up a shout of triumph, proceeded at once to the assault of the town; and the besieged, disheartened by the loss of their champion, saw their defences rapidly destroyed.

During the night, however, they recovered from their panic, and, having repaired the breaches, defied their enemies by a patience and courage which considerably diminished their hopes of success. By means of the Lake Ascanius, which bathed two sides of the city, it was amply supplied with provisions; and the crusaders, ignorant of the circumstance, made no attempt, till seven weeks had been passed in unavailing attacks on the contrary quarters, to destroy the communication. At the end of that time, they discovered the necessity of commencing an assault from the lake. Vessels were immediately applied for, and without delay brought over the narrow land which divides the lake from the sea. This project was performed during the night; and at the dawn of day the besieged beheld with consternation the protecting waves covered with barks, each of which bore a band of determined combatants. The assault was now pressed with redoubled violence. The wife of the Sultan, seeing no hope of any longer finding safety in the city, attempted to make her escape, but fell into the hands of the enemy. The crusaders, assured by this event of their approaching triumph, expected every moment to rush in and secure their prize; but all at once they beheld, to their astonishment, the imperial standard of Ale-

xis floating on the walls and towns of the reduced city. Unable to account for the strange circumstance, the soldiers gathered round their chiefs, and demanded an explanation; and it then appeared that the place had surrendered to two generals of the Emperor, who had anticipated the leaders of the crusaders, and secured the possession of the prize for their master. The politic monarch, it seems, had sent a small force to co-operate with the pilgrim army, and give him a title to its conquests, if any should be made. The strongest dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the Christian camp, but it was of no avail; and Alexis, by the promise of yielding up the booty which might be found in the city, * succeeded in obtaining peaceable possession of the important prize.

It is easy to see, from the circumstances which attended the siege and capture of Nice, how much evil was suffered by the crusaders from the want of one all-powerful chief, who might have controlled the operations of the army, so as to secure their uniformity, and, by his authority, have been able to treat even-handed with the Emperor. Had any of the Western monarchs been at the head of the undertaking, an empire, it is probable, would have been early established in the East, which might have defied both the Greek and the Moslem. Nice would have been a corner-stone which neither of them could have shaken; conquests would have been secured before Soliman could sufficiently rally his forces to make the Christians tremble at his activity; and the weakness of Alexis was a safeguard against any assault from Constantinople.

* Raimond de Agiles.

The capital of Bithynia having been reduced, the crusaders, after a short repose, proceeded towards Dorylæum; the Sultan, infuriated by his late disaster, pursuing their march with an army which is said to have amounted to more than two hundred thousand horse. By an imprudent measure, but one to which they were probably compelled, from the difficulty of finding provisions, the Christian chiefs were induced to divide their forces, and pursue different routes. The Duke of Normandy, Tancred and Bohemond, were at the head of the smaller division, and directed their march through a valley called by the Latins *Gorgoni*, and by the Greeks *Ozellis*. When they had approached within a few miles of Dorylæum, of which the surrounding country delighted them by its fertility, and persuaded them to repose, they were astonished by a sudden cry that the enemy was at hand, and pouring down from the mountains in masses which could not be numbered for the clouds of dust which rose under their horses. A hasty disposition of the forces was made by Bohemond, who was appointed chief; and the battle began with a fire of arrows from the Saracens, which threw the Christians into confusion, by killing and wounding the horses of the knights. In vain the boldest of these warriors rushed against the enemy for closer combat. The archers fled before them, but continued their fire. William, brother to the noble Tancred, and Robert of Paris, were killed; and Tancred himself was with difficulty saved by the Prince of Tarentum.

In the midst of the battle, and while the crusaders were rapidly falling under the arrows of his soldiers, Soliman, at the head of a select band, fell

upon the Christian camp. The most indiscriminate slaughter followed the surprise; but the maidens who had accompanied the army, losing their devotion for the moment, saved their lives, by taking care to habit themselves in their most becoming dresses, and freely resigning themselves to the power of the victors. A bold attempt was made by Robert of Normandy, Tancred and other chiefs, to recover the camp; but they were repulsed, and despair everywhere prevailed. But at this crisis, Godfrey, who had received intelligence of the event, approached with his troops. The contest was instantly recommenced; and the priests, encouraged to try the effect of their exhortations, ran up and down the ranks, repeating the animating war-cry, "'Tis the will of God! 'tis the will of God!" The Saracens, attacked in their strong position on the mountains, were unable to resist the fury with which the combined bands assailed them. Several Emirs, three thousand officers, and above twenty thousand soldiers, fell beneath their lances. The victory was complete; and the triumphant crusaders took possession of the enemy's camp, rejoicing themselves that day and the next in the rich spoil which it afforded.

The kingdom of Roum was shaken to its foundations by this victory, and the crusaders celebrated their success with the loudest exultations, ascribing it to the aid of Saint George and Saint Demetrius who, it was asserted, had fought in their ranks. On resuming its march, the whole army went forward in an undivided body; but, notwithstanding its late triumph, it was assailed by every species of distress. Few horses remained to the knights after the battle of Dorylæum; and

the baggage was either left on the road, or piled on the backs of oxen, asses, and even goats. In the burning tracks of Isauria, the want of water produced the effects of a plague. Hundreds of the stoutest soldiers perished in a single day, maddened by the fever of thirst. Pregnant women were seized with untimely labour, and lost, in the extremity of their sufferings, the modesty of their sex. Even the falcons which the knights had brought with them, perished in insufferable anguish, and every living thing seemed devoted to a silent and terrible destruction. At last water was found; and in a phrenzy of delight, multitudes followed the dogs, to whose sagacity, it is said, the discovery was owing.* Three hundred of the miserable beings fell dead almost immediately after satisfying their want; and it was not till they arrived at Antioch, the capital of Pisidia, that the crusaders obtained a relief from the sufferings which had assailed them.

The joy which they experienced on reaching a place that offered a prospect of security, was not diminished by the discovery, that they might take possession of it without the endurance of any farther fatigue. Soliman, despairing of being able to resist their force, had fled rapidly before them, summoning to his aid all who professed the faith of Mahomet, and destroying every vestige of cultivation which lay in their path. But the miseries they had suffered were now to be replaced by rest, and the enjoyments of a wealthy city. During the short time they remained there, they gave themselves up entirely to pleasure; and it seemed

* Michaud.

as if they had forgotten all their dangers in its brief possession. Their tranquillity, however, was threatened by the sickness of Raymond, one of their best leaders, and the danger into which the life of Godfrey was thrown by the wounds he had received, in contending with a huge bear, to which one of his soldiers had nearly fallen a victim. The former, it was believed, was restored by the prayers of the Bishop of Orange, and the latter by the tears and supplications of the whole army. But the effects of their illness remained for several weeks; and when the troops resumed their march, they were obliged to be borne in litters.

A circumstance occurred about this time, which served to demonstrate the different feelings which prevailed among the chiefs. Tancred was distinguished for his bravery and noble disposition. He had performed deeds of valour which rendered him one of the most celebrated of warriors, and was the last of the Christian knights who could be persuaded to vow allegiance to the Emperor Alexis. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, was a bold and distinguished soldier, but was more ambitious than pious, and had been, from the commencement of the enterprise, intent rather on his own aggrandizement, than on the delivery of Palestine. It being deemed necessary that a survey should be taken of the country, and an attempt made to disperse the straggling hordes of Turks which infested the track the crusaders intended to pursue, these knights were chosen for that purpose, and proceeded to Iconium in Lycaonia; Tancred heading a body of five hundred men at arms, and Baldwin one of seven hundred. From Iconium they marched towards Tarsus, no enemy opposing their

progress; and Tancred, who first arrived under the walls of that city, obtained possession of it almost as soon as he demanded it. His companion, however, on discovering the success which had attended him, was filled with an unworthy jealousy, and in an unknightly manner demanded the surrender of the city to his superior forces. An appeal was made to the inhabitants, who, without hesitation, professed their desire to receive Tancred, rather than Baldwin, for their master. But this answer was not sufficient to satisfy the angry chief; and by threats and promises he obtained an entrance into the town, and the standard of the brave Tancred was hurled from the walls. The prudence and moderation of that knight, who seems to have been endowed with a degree of Christian virtue not possessed by his associates, saved his followers and those of Baldwin from a bloody contest, and, reminding the former of the object for which they had left their homes, he led them from the scene of contention to seek conquests elsewhere. A party, in the meantime, of three hundred crusaders, sent by Bohemond to recruit the forces of the rival chiefs, arrived at Tarsus and desired admittance. It was refused, and they were massacred by the Turks. The soldiers of Baldwin were horror-struck at the occurrence. They had employed their most earnest entreaties to obtain the admission of their Christian brethren, but in vain; and they now gave signs of a strong inclination to revenge their death on the barbarous knight. He sought protection from their fury by concealing himself in a tower; but in a short time, ventured to return, and, appealing to their hatred of the Turks, obtained their consent

to lead them against the enemy. The assault which they made was successful; and, a short time after, a little fleet of Flemish Corsairs entered the port of Tarsus; and its adventurous captain forming a league with Baldwin, gave new importance to his conquest, and increased his ambitious hopes.

Tancred, while these proceedings were taking place, had obtained possession of Malmistra; but had scarcely secured his conquest, when it was announced that Baldwin had encamped in the neighbourhood. The fiery disposition of Tancred's companions were now too violent to be controlled. They declared that he was bound by the honour of a knight to inflict signal vengeance on his foe, and urged him to lead them without delay against such a base violator of Christian faith. The advice was listened to. A furious battle ensued, in which Baldwin had the superiority; but the next day a reconciliation took place between the rival chiefs. They embraced in the sight of all their followers, and, swearing to forget the past, ascribed their unfortunate quarrel to the inspiration of Satan.

But the ambition of Baldwin was still unsatisfied; and the reproof he received from Godfrey, on returning to the main army, contributed to fix him in the determination of pursuing his fortunes as an independent adventurer. An Armenian prince, Pancratius, who had fled from a dungeon into which he had been thrown by Alexis for treasonable practices, and had joined the crusaders at Nice, exhorted him in the most lofty terms to establish a kingdom among the rich territories of the East, and put himself at the head of those numerous Christians, who, especially in

Mesopotamia, hated alike the Turks and the Greeks. *

Already prepared for any enterprise which might promise a chance of success, Baldwin listened to these persuasions with the most eager attention. The death of his wife, who was revered for her piety, broke the last tie which bound him to his brethren; and he immediately began to collect a party of followers as adventurous as himself. Only fifteen or sixteen hundred, however, expressed themselves willing to share his fortunes, and of these only two hundred were gentlemen. With this little band he was obliged to leave the camp in secrecy; his departure having been prohibited by Godfrey and the other chiefs, as contrary to the vows they had taken on leaving Europe.

The agreement between Baldwin and the Armenian remained but a short time unbroken. The first towns which they took gave occasion for quarrel, and the Latin compelled his obsequious ally to pursue a different route to the one he had chosen. On being freed from a companion, who, having his own fortune to make, was likely to prove troublesome to him, Baldwin crossed the Euphrates, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Edessa, the capital of Mesopotamia. Filled with the hope of obtaining their delivery from the Saracens, the inhabitants, on hearing of the approach of the crusaders, sent a deputation, headed by their bishop, to implore the aid of the enterprising chief. His whole force was only a hundred knights, the rest of his little army being engaged in defending the towns which he had taken in his pro-

* William of Tyre.

gress. But the distressed people believed he was capable of performing every thing by his prowess, and offered him any treasure in their power to bestow, if he would undertake their defence. He proudly intimated, that if Edessa had been his own city, he would have fought to protect it from the Moslem, but that he employed not his arms in the defence of states governed by other chiefs. Néither the entreaties nor offers of the Edessenes could move him from his determination; till at length the prince, who had no heir, agreed to adopt him as his son and successor; and he was declared his legal heir by a strict performance of all the ceremonies employed by the Greeks on such occasions. But the unfortunate Thoros soon experienced the evil of having introduced into the city such a pretender to his authority. An insurrection took place, in which the inhabitants, enraged by some real or supposed injury, threatened to destroy both himself and his partisans. He fled to the citadel, which was immediately beset by the rebels, and from thence offered to resign his dominion and retire to Melitene, on a promise being given that his life and person should be respected. The offer was accepted; and he came from his place of refuge in the full confidence of security. But the next day the tumult was renewed; fresh causes of discontent were alleged by the rulers of the mob—and suspicion has fallen upon Baldwin, that he was not altogether innocent of the occurrence. The death of the unfortunate Thoros was furiously demanded by the insurgents. The citadel in which he had secured himself was forced, and in an instant he was precipitated from its walls. Baldwin, proclaimed his successor, resist-

ed for a short time the importunities of the people; but at length ascended the throne of the murdered Greek, and pursued the career which fortune had opened to his ambition. With a bold hand he repressed the spirit of faction to which he had owed his elevation; obtained possession of the neighbouring city of Samosata; and, having married an Armenian princess, extended his authority to Mount Taurus, and over a large part of the provinces which formed the antient empire of Assyria.

CHAPTER X.

DISASTERS OF THE CRUSADERS.—SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF ANTIOCH.

1097–1098. WHILE Baldwin was occupied in establishing himself in his new kingdom, the rest of the crusaders were pursuing their painful march through the wild passes of Mount Taurus. Warned by their former sufferings, they had taken care to provide themselves with water; but the burning heat of the sun, the steepness of the precipices, and the weight of their armour, rendered their progress so difficult, that great numbers of them fainted under the fatigue. At length the rich plains of Syria burst upon their view; and they saw, as they descended the last of the terrific ridges over which they had been toiling, Antioch and the rapid Orontes, which bathed its walls, smiling amid green and shady hills that were fertilized by a hundred fountains.

This noble city, the most splendid of fourteen which bore the same name, was celebrated in ancient times for the groves in its neighbourhood consecrated to the voluptuous worship of Daphne. The magnificence of its buildings, its wealth and situation, made Josephus term it "the third city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman

empire, both in magnitude and other marks of prosperity." * The Jews had enjoyed in it the right of citizenship; and it was venerated by Christians, as having first heard the holy name of the Saviour applied as a term of brotherhood. The distinction which it possessed as the capital of the Roman empire in the East, it continued to enjoy as one of the most splendid seats of Turkish power; and when the crusaders approached its walls, they found it defended by fortifications which seemed to defy attack. It had, it was true, fallen more than once into the hands of the enemy; but its three hundred and sixty towers, its immense ramparts, which embraced a circuit of three leagues, and the rocks and marshes by which it was further defended, gave it an appearance of strength, which made the Christians hesitate before they undertook to besiege it. It was still farther doubted whether it would be prudent to commence such an enterprise, when they had already suffered so much from exposure to the climate, which would probably be rendered doubly destructive to them as the winter was approaching, and they were unprovided with succours. At least, the more timid of them said, it would be more prudent to wait till the spring, when assistance might be expected from Alexis, and the attack commenced with less danger from pestilential rains, and other terrors of the climate. But this advice was speedily overruled by the enthusiasm of others; and it was determined that the siege should be at once commenced.

The governor of Antioch, at this time, was

* Wars, B. III. C. 2.

Baghisian, an Emir of celebrity. His forces consisted of seven thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, while the population of the city was considerably increased by the influx of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, who fled thither for refuge against the invaders. The forces of the crusaders are said to have amounted to three hundred thousand warriors, who were followed by a multitude equally numerous, bearing only the cross. Having pitched their tents, which shone resplendently with the glittering arms, the green, gold, and crimson bucklers, and floating banners of the knights, they anxiously awaited the signal for attack. For some time the Turks gave no appearance of any preparations for defence; and the Christians, lulled into security, resigned themselves to ease, and, if we are to believe very creditable historians, to the most licentious pleasures. At length the besieged began to sally from their defences, and several of the crusaders fell victims to their fury. Attempts were immediately made to effect a closer blockade; but this, from the want of engines, could only be imperfectly done; and the knights had ample opportunity for trying their strength and courage. The noble Tancred performed deeds of the most astonishing valour; but with the self-denying spirit of a true Christian hero, desired his squire, who alone accompanied him, not to publish his conquests to the army. Godfrey, also, the Duke of Bouillon, with equal boldness signalized himself in single combat; and on one occasion struck his enemy with such fury, that he divided him in two, —the head with one part of the body falling into the river, and the other remaining on the horse,

which carried it back to the city; so that, continues another chronicler, "One Turk was made two Turks!" *

But, notwithstanding the glory which was conferred on the crusaders by these daring exploits of their chiefs, they neither made any progress in the siege, nor were free from the constant surprises of the Saracens. Every day some party or the other of their companions was cut off; and the unfortunate Suenon, an accomplished and amiable Danish prince, thus fell a victim to the enemy. The most lively regret was felt at this event; and the circumstance, that the young and beautiful daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, had forsaken her home to share in his perils, and reward him, when Jerusalem should be taken, with her hand, associates his name with the most romantic of his cotemporaries. But famine, and all the evils attendant upon it, now appeared in the Christian camp. With the violation of morality the besiegers had also sacrificed to their licentiousness the only means they enjoyed of support. In a few days, it is said, they had wasted sufficient provisions to supply them for months; and reduced, in consequence, to the most deplorable condition, they felt the complicated miseries of want, cold, and pestilence. In the midst of their sufferings they uttered the most fearful blasphemies, which, it deserves remark, appears to have been generally one of the consequences of their distress; and the exhortations of their leaders were listened to without effect. The description which is given of the camp at this time by spectators of the scene, fills the mind

* Robertus Monachus.

with horror. The soldiers, who had so lately exulted in all the glory of their chivalrous apparel, were now many of them destitute of the commonest clothing, and lay perishing on the bare ground. Herbs, which they eat raw for want of fire to cook them, and even dead dogs, nauseous insects, and impure animals, were seized to appease their hunger; while the horses, so important to an army of which the main force consisted in its chivalry, perished to the amount of near seventy thousand.

The conduct of Baldwin had, at the time of his defection, been regarded with horror by the rest of the crusaders; but impatience of privation had the same effect on others, which ambition had on him; and retiring from their suffering brethren, Robert of Burgundy and several others sought safety in flight, and were only brought back by threatening exhortations to return to their duty. But that which occasioned the most surprise was the conduct of Peter the Hermit, who, notwithstanding his natural enthusiasm, and the great share which he had had in giving rise to the expedition, secretly forsook the camp. He was pursued, brought back like a prisoner, reproached by Tancred for his disgraceful conduct, and then compelled to swear on the Gospels that he would make no further attempt to desert. It was afterwards proclaimed, that whoever should be guilty in future of this offence, so ruinous to the cause, should be punished as a homicide.

The conduct of Peter may be accounted for without difficulty, if we suppose him to have been at the first solely instigated either by a blind enthusiasm, or by motives of interest and ambition. The part which he had to perform, after the

princes of Europe embarked in the undertaking, was insufficient to occupy his mind, or preserve it in the state of excitement into which he had been thrown, while preaching as a divinely commisioned missionary. The power which he had possessed no longer existed; the multitudes whom he had been able to sway with his words had all perished; and neither the proud chevaliers nor their licentious followers cared to hear exhortations which had brought them into so many troubles, and had lost their influence in moving and subduing their hearts. He was thus become a cipher in the crusaders' camp, and he saw the authority which he had possessed transferred to other hands. The mantle of the prophet had fallen, the multitude were ready to think on the steel-clad captains who could lead them to victory, and whose deeds they saw were worthy of admiration. The ideas, consequently, so encouraging, so fitted to support him in his labours, were destroyed. While he believed himself to be under the influence of heaven, and could raise the universe by his summons, he felt neither the ruggedness of the road to his bare feet, nor the want of bodily food to support his spirits. But he now found himself treated with comparative contempt; and the strength which enabled him to suffer and rejoice was vanished. If he had all along been a mere calculating hypocrite, it is still plainer why he deserted. Imposture will endure unshaken, so long as there remains the least balance in its favour; but when the evil it has to bear becomes greater than the advantage in reserve, it will throw off its disguise, and make the best escape it can. The only principle of constancy in such a situation, is that of sincere devotion to the cause, which

is rarely found to fail; and if Peter really set forth with this feeling, his conduct is a lamentable instance of human weakness, when least expected to be witnessed. "The stars," says Guibert, "seemed as likely to fall from heaven." The apology which has been offered for him, that he could not endure the sight of the debaucheries and blasphemous folly of the crusaders, will hardly avail in such a case. There was still a large number of his companions as ready to fight for the cross as when they first left Europe. There were others whom exhortation might have reached, and who, while in such a state, ought never to have been deserted; and he knew that his forsaking the camp would be to thousands, notwithstanding his diminished authority, an available excuse to desert also.

The vices daily committed in the camp were at last become so numerous, that those of the leaders who remained faithful to their trust, determined upon punishing them with all the severity they deserved. The first measure they adopted, was to separate the multitude of women which accompanied the army, and confine them to a distant division of the encampment. This was followed by the condemnation of the criminals who had been most guilty of the late disorders; but licentiousness still reigned to a disgusting degree, and, mixed with the barbarities which the chieftains exercised towards the Saracens who fell into their hands, formed a scene of appalling wretchedness.

With the return of spring, the situation of the crusaders was somewhat ameliorated. Their leaders acquired spirit and resolution, and a new ener-

gy seemed gradually diffusing itself among the soldiers. Provisions sent from Armenia, and from the isles of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Chios, assisted in restoring their strength; and when ambassadors arrived from the Caliph of Egypt, offering a treaty of peace, if they would agree to lay down their arms, and visit Jerusalem as simple pilgrims, they returned an answer, expressing their determination to enter the Holy City only as conquerors, and to form no alliance with the enemies of Jesus Christ. Shortly after the ambassadors quitted the camp, a battle was fought between several Turkish Emirs who had arrived with succours, and the Christians under Bohemond. The victory declared itself on the side of the latter. Two thousand men, a thousand horses, and a fortress, rewarded their valour; and messengers were sent to inform the servants of the Caliph of the event. A success even still more decided followed upon this; and in a battle which was fought under the walls of the city, all the principal knights in the army rivalled each other in showing prodigies of courage, till the governor of the city was obliged to open its gates to the small and discomfited remnant of a band composed of his best warriors.

These advantages encouraged the Christians to push the siege with renewed spirit. Discipline began again to be observed in the camp, and means were taken to employ even the most idle of the rabble which followed the army in some useful labour. Both Raymond and Tancred also offered to construct towers, and defend them with their own men. By these efforts, the city was at length so closely beset, that the besiegers had no longer any danger to apprehend from the sorties of their

enemies. But cruelties of the worst kind continued to be exercised on both sides, whenever an unfortunate straggler was taken by either party; and the Christians of Antioch were not exposed to more barbarous treatment than that which their brethren inflicted on whoever fell in their way. A truce which was desired by the Saracen, and not unwillingly granted, put a stop for a short time to these barbarities. But they were recommenced by a party of the enemy murdering a Christian knight, and literally cutting him into piecemeal. His young and afflicted wife besought every knight to avenge his death, and her prayers were attended to; but when the besiegers renewed their attack, they found the city replenished with fresh stores, and prepared to endure another attack as long as that which it had already supported.

The efforts of the crusaders were redoubled without effect, and no hope appeared of success till Bohemond conceived a project which promised to accomplish the desired object. Among the commanders of the Saracen army was a Syrian renegado, by name Phirouz, to whom Baghisian had committed the defence of three towers. The important post which he held, he had obtained by denying the Christian faith in which he had been brought up; but his avarice was ever on the watch, and ready to take advantage of any circumstance which might put a new value upon his ready treason. Bohemond had made himself acquainted with this man; had fully learnt the nature of his character, and became convinced of the possibility of bringing him over to his designs. Not willing, however, that such a discovery should be made without producing any particular advantage to

himself, he stipulated with the council of chiefs whom he assembled for the purpose, that if he should make them masters of Antioch, the sovereignty of the city should be resigned to him as his independent possession. At first the proposition was rejected with disdain, and Raymond indignantly declared that, after having undergone so many perils, and spent his blood freely in the cause, he would never consent either to an individual reaping the advantages which belonged to all in common, or to obtain a victory by artifices fit only for women to employ. But Bohemond was not to be thwarted in his designs by a single repulse. On leaving the council, he lost no time in disseminating intelligence which might alarm the army as to the danger of its situation. Shortly after, the scouts which he had sent out returned with the appalling news, that the powerful Kerboga, Prince of Mosul, was approaching with an armament of two hundred thousand men, commanded by twenty-eight of the bravest Emirs. Another council was immediately called on the receipt of this intelligence. Bohemond again represented his power to save the crusaders from the danger with which they were threatened; repeated the offer of Phirouz to deliver up the towers he commanded, if his friend Bohemond were promised the command of the city on its being taken; and assured his auditors, that he had already spent large sums of money in endeavouring to accomplish an affair so likely to prove advantageous to their cause. The debate having been continued for some time, and there appearing to be no alternative between accepting his proposals, or exposing themselves to utter ruin, the assembled chiefs, with the

exception of Raymond, at last agreed to unite with the Prince of Tarentum on the conditions he offered, and proceed without delay to the surprisal of the city.

Early the next day, the army received orders to prepare for quitting the camp, and was led a short way in the direction by which the forces of Kerboga were said to be approaching. With the first decline of the light, however, it was ordered back, and, under the darkness of evening, was carefully intrenched near that quarter of the city where the treacherous Phirouz commanded. A rumour of treason, which suddenly spread through the garrison, put him in momentary peril of his life. He was summoned before the governor, and questioned; but his self-command and consummate art saved him, and he was sent to resume his station. But the late occurrence convinced him that no time was to be lost; and he proceeded to inform his brother, who commanded near him, of the project in which he was engaged. Disgusted with the treason, the latter regarded him with an eye of scorn that fired him with hatred; and, not deigning to reply, Phirouz instantly buried his dagger in the heart of his bold and faithful reprover.

The crusaders were now only waiting for the signal to commence the assault. The night had set in with gloom and tempest; the hills echoed with furious blasts of wind; and the impetuous Orontes, lashed into foam by the storm, rushed beneath the walls of the city with a wild and constant roar. Every now and then the extreme darkness which prevailed was broken by lightnings that seemed to envelope the whole atmosphere in fire; and when the night was restored to its awful gloom,

the ominous glare of a comet was seen on the western horizon, and gave fresh terror to the solemnity of the hour. At length, after the interchange of messages between Phirouz and the Christians, directions were given to commence the enterprise; but, to the dismay of Bohemond, no one was found willing to venture on the service. Finding entreaties vain, he himself mounted the scaling-ladder which had been let down from the walls; and, having conversed a few moments with his ally, who accused him of dangerous delay, he rejoined his companions. Animated by his example, sixty of the boldest among them seized the ladder, and gained the summit of the fortifications. These were followed by others; and, with only a slight accident, owing to the breaking of the ropes, which helped them to ascend, the whole band was in a short time safely within the city. Phirouz immediately gave up the three towers, pointed to the body of his murdered brother as an additional evidence of his sincerity, and proceeded to direct them to the most favourable points of attack. Seven more towers were speedily gained possession of; greater numbers of the crusaders ascended the walls; and a gate being forced, the streets were shortly filled with the unexpected enemy. The accustomed war-cry of the Christians, shouted through every quarter of the city, roused the inhabitants from their slumbers, and they hastened to inquire the cause of the tumult; but perished under the swords of the enemy before they could learn the origin of their danger. The massacre was long and bloody, and when the standard of Bohemond, displayed on the walls, informed the remainder of the army that the place was won;

multitudes rushed in; and, though they could not now partake in the glory of the enterprise, determined to have their full share in the work of slaughter and pillage. In that one terrible night, the blood of ten thousand slaughtered citizens washed the streets of Antioch; and satisfied with their success, though the citadel yet remained untaken, the Christians prepared to enjoy the luxuries of their new dominion. The unfortunate Baghisian, finding himself betrayed, had fled, the moment he found resistance was of no avail, and was hastening alone to summon Kerboga to his protection; but on his way he was met by some Armenians, who, recognising the miserable prince, approached him, and one of them seizing his sword, plunged it into his bosom, and carried his bleeding head as a sure passport to the favour of the conquerors. The baser Phirouz—who ascribed the whole of his conduct to a vision, which he affirmed he had seen, of Jesus Christ, and to the command which was then given him—was largely rewarded for the share he had taken in the capture of the city, and formally renewed his profession of the Christian faith. To finish his story at once, he afterwards went to Jerusalem with the crusaders, but again changed his religion, and died detested wherever his name was known, leaving a memory loaded with the blackest infamy.

The rejoicings of the conquerors were not long uninterrupted. The dreaded foe, who had precipitated the Christian chiefs into the design of obtaining possession of Antioch, was at hand; and his name, rendered terrible by the number of his battles, struck consternation into the hearts of the crusaders. From the ramparts of the city against

which they had so lately directed their forces as besiegers, they saw a host approach, to protect themselves from which, they would have to employ the same defences, and would probably perish beneath them in the same manner as their former enemy. On the third day after their triumph, the soldiers of Kerboga shook their threatening spears on the plain before Antioch. The Christian chiefs advanced to meet them, but were repulsed with fearful loss, and they were again punished for their profligate waste of the plenty which they had lately enjoyed by the most distressing want of provisions. To such misery were they at last reduced from this cause, that cotemporary writers profess themselves unwilling to relate the frightful means they employed to satisfy their hunger. A fatal dysentery followed upon this famine. Those who preserved existence through all their miseries, were scarcely able to support their emaciated bodies along the streets. The proudest knights were reduced to beg charity of those whom chance might make possessors of some article of food; and desertion again began to assist with sickness in thinning the ranks of the army. Some plunged themselves into the moat, which defended one side of the city; others stole down the ramparts by means of ropes, and were branded in consequence with the title of rope-dancers; but few of them lived to blush at their shame, the sword of the Turks completing the destruction which disease had so effectually commenced.

At length the clamours of despair were hushed in a death-like silence. A deep and universal stupor prevailed through the city. All remembrance appeared lost of either hope or suffering; and, shut-

ting themselves within their houses, the famishing wretches laid themselves down to die, as the only refuge they could obtain from their misery. But suddenly, as if awaking from the exhaustion of a fever to rave again in its phrenzy, a belief seized them that they were the subject of miracles, wrought either for their deliverance, or to persuade them to make some desperate attempt to effect it. The invention of these supposed prodigies was, of course, the work of minds still capable of determining upon the means most likely to assist them in their purpose; but they had the effect of reality, or of a dream fully believed in, on the weak and feverish spirits of the multitude; who listened with an eager, bewildered earnestness to the relations. An Italian priest asserted, that watching one night in a church, he had seen Jesus Christ, who, in company with the Virgin Mary and the Prince of the Apostles, expressed his indignation at the conduct of the crusaders. The Virgin, it was said, threw herself at the knees of her son, and besought him, with many tears and supplications, to relent. "Rise, then," said he to the priest, "go and tell my people that I will again have mercy on them; declare to them that if they will return to me, the day of their deliverance is at hand." Another priest, of Marseilles, appeared before the assembly of chiefs, to tell them that he had had a vision of Saint Andrew three times in a dream. "Go," said the Apostle, "to the church of my brother Peter at Antioch. Near the chief altar, you will find, under ground, the iron head of the lance which pierced the side of our Redeemer. In three days, this instrument of eternal salvation will be manifest to his disciples. That mystic

iron, carried at the head of the army, will effect the deliverance of the Christians, and pierce the heart of the Infidels!"

The circumstances under which they were now placed, induced the chiefs to listen to this strange relation. Those who, at another time, might have despised it as an absurd invention, were willing to conceal their incredulity; and the rest, either partaking in the superstition of the multitude, or rendered easy of belief by exhaustion, eagerly received it as a true indication of speedy succour. Their hopes were lately grievously disappointed by the intelligence, that the Emperor Alexis, who was on his march towards Antioch, having heard of their miserable condition, had turned back in despair of being able to deliver them. To the other circumstances, also, which contributed to render their condition more horrible, was added the destruction of churches and palaces, which were set fire to by the order of Bohemond, who thought, by that means, to drive the fugitives from their retreats. A deputation, lastly, which they had sent to Kerboga, with an offer to resign the city on condition of being permitted to return to their own country, was scornfully rejected; and death or slavery seemed inevitable.

So timely a revelation, therefore, as that of the priest of Marseilles, was not to be rejected. It offered the only chance of safety which remained; and Tancred swore never to forsake the enterprise, while he could muster sixty companions. Raymond, Godfrey, and one or two others, had done so likewise; and they now saw a possibility of rallying their discomfited followers. On the third day after the vision had been seen, a party

of twelve, composed of knights and priests, and accompanied by several workmen, proceeded to the church of St Peter. They dug, however, for several hours, and to the depth of twelve feet, without discovering the object of their labour. The night had by this time set in, and the despairing Christians began to lose that fervour of faith with which they had commenced their undertaking. At last the priest Bartholemy, who had been favoured with the vision, descended, amid the prayers of his companions, to search the cave which had been dug. All at once the sacred lance head glimmered in the doubtful light. A shout of joy was sent up, and having wrapped the venerable relic in a cloth of costly purple, the discoverers admitted their wondering and gladdened brethren to behold the instrument of their deliverance. By another vision of Saint Andrew, the priest declared that Raymond was to be the keeper of the mystical iron, and that the day on which it was found should be for ever after kept as a festival.

The chiefs lost no time in taking advantage of the joyful excitement which prevailed among their followers. They exhorted them to be prepared for shortly attacking the enemy, and to support their spirits by the certainty of receiving celestial assistance. A deputation was then sent to Kerboga, at the head of which were Count Herluin, and Peter the Hermit, who seems by this time to have recovered all his former zeal and resolution. With a haughty tone and gesture he thus addressed the Saracen, as if supported by an army that could at a moment confound its antagonists with defeat: "The Christian princes, those heroes favoured of

God," said he, "who are now assembled at Antioch, command you, within three days, to abandon this city. These provinces, these towns, marked with the blood of martyrs, are the proper possessions of Christians; and as all Christians are brothers, we are come to avenge the sufferings of the persecuted inhabitants, and defend the heritage of Christ. Heaven has permitted that Antioch and Jerusalem should, as a punishment for our sins, be for a time under the power of the infidel. But we have repented, and our tears have restored us to divine favour. Respect, then, our right. We give you three days to effect your departure. If you refuse compliance, fear the power and vengeance of an army of which God is the leader. But as soldiers of the cross, we desire not to steal a victory; and we offer you the choice of a general battle, or of one waged between a certain number of your bravest men against a like number of Christian warriors, or, if you will, let the contest be decided by yourself in single combat with one of the Christian princes."

Kerboga listened to this address in astonishment; and, manifesting the most contemptuous disregard of the Hermit's threats, replied, that "it was not for men in the situation of the Christians to offer conditions. They had only to choose between slavery and death." So saying, and preventing Peter's attempt to reply, he had them driven from his presence. On their return to Antioch, the reception they had met with was eagerly demanded by the anxious Christians; but Godfrey prudently stopped the discouraging recital, and joined with his brother chiefs in exhorting them to prepare for battle on the next day. All was im-

mediately bustle and confusion. The spirit which had formerly animated them returned. They collected their arms, sharpened their swords and lances, and repaired their armour, whilst those who had been fortunate enough to gain any supply of food, went about and shared it with their less happy brethren. About midnight the busy hum of martial preparation was changed into the solemn murmur of devotion. A hundred thousand crusaders bowed their knees in humble confession, and partook in the sacrifice of the mass.

CHAPTER XI.

DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS BEFORE ANTIOCH—THE CRUSADERS APPROACH JERUSALEM.

JUNE 28. On the morning of the following day—that of Saint Peter and Saint Paul—all the troops were assembled under their respective banners, and the Bishop of Puy, and other prelates and ecclesiastics, clad in white robes, and bearing a cross, walked through the ranks, exhorting the soldiers to continue firm in their holy contest, and assuring them of a triumph both temporal and eternal. The whole army, consisting of six battalions, each of which was divided into two parts, then moved toward the river. The infantry took the lead, and Count Hugo had the command of the first squadron. After him went Godfrey, who was followed by the Counts of Flanders and Normandy. Then came Adhemar with the soldiers of Raymond, who was obliged, by a wound lately received, to remain behind, and commit the custody of the holy lance to his chaplain, who now bore it to the battle. Tancred led the fifth division, and Bohemond commanded a body of reserve; the disabled Raymond having it in charge to defend the city, if attacked.

But this army, though consisting of the bravest knights and the best soldiers of Christendom,

would have seemed, to a casual observer, little calculated to contend with the forces of the proud Saracen. All the horses which could be collected amounted only to three hundred, and most of the knights were, therefore, obliged to appear on foot, or, as many did, on camels and asses. Even Godfrey himself, the leader of a squadron, and one of their most renowned heroes, only possessed a horse by obtaining the loan of one from Raymond. The Duke of Normandy was forced to beg the same favour, or he must otherwise have fought on foot. But these disadvantages, as well as the weakness which so generally oppressed the soldiers from their late want of provisions, were overbalanced by the enthusiasm and confidence which universally inspired them, and by the concord which prevailed among their chiefs. The experienced Kerboga, aware of the strength which his hitherto despised enemy derived from this circumstance, looked with a doubtful eye upon his vast and splendid armament. Owing to the rivalships which existed between the different Turkish princes, he could depend with no certainty upon their co-operation, if any thing should occur to awaken their pride or jealousy. When intelligence, therefore, was brought him that the Christian army was advancing, a sensation of fear was mixed with the astonishment which the tidings occasioned; and he despatched a message to the chiefs, offering to decide the contest by a single combat. But the Christians were now as disinclined to risk their success on such a chance, as they were anxious to do so, a few hours before; and they returned an answer, signifying their determination to place their trust in the God of battles, and await the issue of a general combat.

The Saracen, therefore, immediately prepared for the onset, and the Christians were beset by numerous bands of his boldest troops, who endeavoured to cut off one part of the army from another. But urged on by the prayers and exhortations of the clergy, many of whom had posted themselves on the ramparts, and by the sight of their wives and children, who joined their voices with those of the priests, the crusaders passed forward with irresistible courage, fearlessly marching through the conflagration of vast heaps of hay and stubble with which the enemy had beset them, and striking down whoever opposed their passage. In this manner they proceeded towards the mountains, the principal fury of the infidels being directed against that part of the forces which possessed the sacred lance; "but," says the pious chaplain who bore it, "not a man of them was wounded—not an arrow struck them, but fell harmless to the earth. * In the mean time," says the same author, "God sent a shower of small, but odoriferous and grateful rain upon the host, thus comforting and refreshing his people; for whoever it touched felt inspired with new strength, and went forth rejoicing as if he had been nourished in celestial palaces." Nor was this, it is asserted, the only miracle which was wrought in favour of the Christians. † The horses, which had scarcely received any food for seven days, failed not in vigour to the end of the battle; and the army itself, which at first appeared smaller than that of the enemy, was wonderfully enlarged by the Lord. The same belief in the interposition of heaven remained from

* Raimond de Agiles. † Idem.

the beginning to the end of the combat; and Saint George, Saint Theodore, and Saint Maurice were said to have been seen fighting in the ranks, clad like knights, but showing their angelic nature by the excessive lustre of their armour, and the resistless might with which they hewed down the Moslem.

The force which these feelings gave to the Christian arms was soon experienced by the Saracen chiefs. One after the other was obliged to give way before the faithful Tancred, the invincible Godfrey, and the rest of the distinguished knights, who all vied with each other in the glory of the day. At length the example of the Emir Sockman, who fought with the same bravery and devotion for the crescent as the Christians did for the cross, animated the sinking spirits of his associates, and a desperate attack was made upon the body of reserve, commanded by Bohemond. The assault was unexpected, and pressed with such fury, that that important part of the crusaders' army was beginning to give way, when Godfrey flew to its assistance, and in a little time the Saracens were totally routed. They endeavoured for a moment to rally on the mountains, but were immediately pursued by the impetuous conquerors; and Kerboga, who had beheld the discomfiture of his forces from the lofty station on which he had fixed his tent, fled in dismay towards the Euphrates. The superior horses of the Moslem cavalry enabled a part of his army to elude the pursuit of the Christians; but Tancred continued to follow them till sunset; and hundreds fell under the hands of the Syrian and Armenian Christians,

who rushed upon them in different parts of their rout.

The wealth which the conquerors found in the camp of the enemy was immense. The jewels of gold and silver, which are represented as forming part of the spoil remind us of the heaps of precious ornaments which strewed the field of Cannæ. Horses, camels, and piles of stores, also met their joyful eyes wheresoever they turned; and they only ceased from the pleasure of taking possession of their booty, to gaze with wonder and delight on the glittering tent of Kerboga. That superb edifice, the whole of which was covered with the most costly silks, was of such extent, that in the apartments which surrounded the space occupied by the chief, two thousand men might be lodged with convenience. The sight of all these magnificent trophies of their victories, and the quantity of provisions with which they were suddenly supplied, were dangerous to the order and sober bearing of men who had for several weeks been suffering all the hardships of a besieged town. The Bishop of Puy, therefore, undertook the pious task of exhorting them to enjoy their triumph with temperance and moderation; and he went through the camp clad in his helmet and coat of mail, mingling his prayers with tears of holy gratitude, and bearing along with him the sacred lance, that powerful instrument of their victory.

The effect of this unexpected event on the minds of the Mahometans of Antioch and its neighbourhood was prodigious. A faith not supported by the clearest evidence of reason is always as unstable as any other product of the imagination. So

confident had the Moslems been of their prophet's assistance, so sure that he would destroy the Christian army, that when Kerboga was seen urging his rapid flight across the desert, numbers of them renounced their religion and became disciples of the cross. Their conversion was, perhaps, as little sincere or productive of good, as the belief of the thousands who, pretending to war for the glory of God, gave themselves over to every species of licentiousness; but it served well to indicate the state of mind in which the worshippers of the prophet fought under his standard, and to prove, that, so far as religious enthusiasm was concerned, both Christians and Mahometans were subject to a similar excitement, and to the same kind of variations in its influence. We have every reason to suppose, that there never was a large body of professing Christians in which so many disbelievers could be found as among the boasting hosts of the crusaders; for, whenever want and suffering assailed them, they appear to have lost all soberness of trust and devotion; and in the season of plenty and repose, licentiousness reigned, to such a complete annihilation of all moral feeling, that it is impossible to regard the men who committed it as retaining their Christian faith.

The want of good policy among their leaders was again apparent after the victory of Antioch. The people, exalted to a height of confidence which would have rendered them invincible, earnestly begged to be led immediately to Jerusalem. But the chiefs had private views to consult before they could proceed on their enterprise; and it may be remarked throughout the history of the crusades, that while the multitude were impelled

forward by a thoughtless and determined enthusiasm, their superiors had always a regard to personal safety or aggrandizement, which tempered the liveliness of their zeal. So far, indeed, does this appear to have been the case, that the readiness with which many of them took the cross may be fairly ascribed to the situation of their estates, their want of employment for numerous bands of retainers, and the chance which the Holy War seemed to offer, either of new possessions, or of booty which would enable them to return to Europe in wealth and splendour. This selfish spirit had already shone forth in Baldwin and Bohemond; and not a few of the inferior knights had manifested an equal eagerness to provide for themselves on the first occasion which might offer. In the present instance, however, the cause of the sacred sepulchre suffered materially from the prevalence of this disposition. The Counts of Hainault and Vermandois were deputed to call upon Alexis for his promised assistance; and for that purpose set out for Constantinople. The former perished on the way, but the latter arrived safely at the supposed end of his journey; and having remained there a short time, proceeded to Europe, without sending any message to his brethren, to inform them either of his defection, or of the result of his mission. Bohemond, on the other hand, had been installed, according to his original stipulation, as prince of the conquered city; and the surrounding provinces were well fitted to excite the cupidity of avaricious nobles and adventurous knights.

The consequence of all this was a determination, on the part of the chiefs, to defer their march to Jerusalem till the autumn, the alleged reason

for the delay being the extreme heat, and unhealthiness of the season. But people unused to luxury, and who, from being unaccustomed to inactivity, are liable to sink into sloth, or burst out into a lawless triumph over morality, are exposed to much less peril in the most difficult of enterprises, than when resting idly in a camp. A contagion of a destructive nature shortly made its appearance among the crusaders. Their numbers had been increased by new forces from Europe; and in the crowded city and its neighbourhood, disease sent thousands and tens of thousands to the grave. Among those who thus perished, were several warriors of distinction; and in Adhemar, the Bishop of Puy, the army lost one of its most powerful and conscientious supporters.

Some relief to their sufferings was sought in a determination of the chiefs to explore the surrounding provinces. By this measure the multitude became divided; and the quarrels which were daily arising between Bohemond, Raymond and others, were for a short time effectually stopped. But the winter approached before they were aware, and bad and threatening weather made them again doubtful whether it would be prudent to recommence their march. A supposed sign from heaven, however, revived their doubtful courage. In the middle of the night, the watchmen on the city walls gazed with awe upon a globe of fire that wrapped half the sky in flames. The city was awakened by their cries of awe, wonder and delight; and multitudes assembled to admire and interpret the sublime vision.

But things were far from being in the state in which they ought to have been, with so many

brave and Christian knights at the head of the armament. Much blood had been spent in the separate expeditions which had been lately undertaken; and the town of Marra was conquered at the expense of every quality of humanity. Were the recitals given respecting the siege and conquest of that place found only in the writings of infidels, we should at once rank them with the most detestable slanders; but their truth unfortunately is rendered probable by their being the assertions of Christian authors, and of those who eulogized the crusaders as the most faithful servants of God. We should, however, derive little profit from enumerating the barbarities committed on several of these occasions, and the state of feeling to which the Christians were reduced, after committing their deeds of wild ferocity, may be sufficiently understood from our simply stating the fact, that after having made themselves masters of Marra, they banqueted on the dead bodies of their enemies,—an instance of terrible savageness, which not even the extremity of famine can sufficiently account for. The absence of Godfrey also, who was on a visit to his brother Baldwin, and the bitter dislike which existed against Bohemond, on account of his possession of Antioch, and the obstinacy with which Raymond was pressing the siege of Archas, as a means of private advantage, greatly weakened the forces, and dissipated on inferior objects the energy which should have been reserved for the great end of their expedition. Several circumstances occurred during this interval, which served to agitate their minds, and afford fresh indications of the power which the grossest superstition exercised upon their un-

derstandings. It was at the siege of Archas that the miraculous nature of the lance-head began to be openly doubted. Raymond had imprudently endeavoured to make it a source of honour and profit exclusively to himself; this awakened the jealousy of the other chiefs, and at last he found that the whole story was treated with contempt by some, and with doubt by all. Bartholemy, however, still asserted, and probably believed, the holiness of the relic. As a proof of his sincerity, he offered to expose himself to an ordeal of fire. A large pile was constructed of inflammable materials, and a narrow path being made in the midst of it, it was then set on fire. The undoubting priest passed through the blazing alley, and appeared unharmed before the wondering spectators; but the next day he perished in the most dreadful agonies. The lance was, shortly after this event, forgotten, and Count Raymond left to seek another mode of increasing his importance.

A. D. 1099. But in the early part of March, all the chiefs of the Christian army were assembled in Laodicea, and found that their united forces amounted to no more than about twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. When it is remembered that three hundred thousand soldiers, ardent in the pursuit of conquest, had lately followed the banner of the cross, it requires no reference of the difficulties which opposed their progress, to give an idea of their sufferings. Never did such multitudes perish under the hardships to which war exposes its deluded votaries. The miseries, however, which had so greatly diminished the numbers of the army, were now much less to be dreaded. A fleet from Bologna brought large

quantities of provisions, and it was to attend them as near as possible on their route; while the forces, being at present composed of the choicest men, and of those who had been long tried in the worst times without shrinking, had much greater strength as an army than the vast and ungovernable multitude which had besieged Antioch.

Their course towards the Holy City was attended with little difficulty. They subdued, either by force, or by the terror which their name inspired, the different Emirs who ventured to oppose a temporary barrier to their progress. Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon, trembled at their hosts of glittering spears; and, as they proceeded, the towers of Acre, with its rich storehouses and strong bulwarks, rose before them—the most tempting and the most important prize which had yet offered itself to their view. If they had possessed any prudence, the siege of this place would have been undertaken as an essential part of their enterprise. It has always been regarded as the strongest safeguard to Palestine, indeed as being essential to the defence of that country, both on account of its powerful fortifications, and its safe and almost inexhaustible granaries. But the ardour which now inspired the crusaders would not suffer them to pause, though the delay was necessary to their future success. Jerusalem was within a few days journey; and had they even believed, that their route would be followed by a horde of lions, they would not have stopped to provide against their attack. Private feuds, the ambition and avarice of the chiefs, are represented as entirely disappearing under the strong excitement with which the Holy City was looked for; and they were satisfied with a pro-

mise given by the Emir of Accon, or Acre, that if Jerusalem should surrender, he would immediately resign the keys of his city. The same assurance was given by other governors; and, contented with these promises, they hastened their march till they entered upon the wild and mountainous district in the midst of which Jerusalem once raised its marble domes and spires, the glory of the whole earth. Lydda and Ramla, two small cities on the way, fell immediately into their hands; and having expelled from their minds a slight feeling of terror at the remembrance of what they had suffered before Antioch, they determined on attempting the capture of the Holy City without further delay. Ramla is but ten leagues from Jerusalem, and Emmaus, which they next reached, is but sixty furlongs. At this latter place, some Christians came from Bethlehem to hail the approach of the crusaders, and to implore their assistance. The chivalrous and noble-hearted Tancred heard their entreaties, and determined on rendering them the succour which, as a soldier of the cross, he was bound to give, whenever it might be demanded. In the night, he proceeded to the birth-place of our Saviour, attended by a band of bold and devout followers; and in the same hour in which Christ was born, the victorious believer planted his banner on the walls of the conquered town.

It was with the most eager impatience the crusaders expected the return of day to pursue their march to the very gates of Jerusalem. Long and perilous had been their pilgrimage. They had undergone miseries which had mowed down near three hundred thousand of their brethren. Prodigies had attended them on their way, and their

ranks had been sifted of the weak, the wavering, and the faithless. Whatever temptation they had felt to turn back was now conquered; the doubts which once assailed their belief in the special favour of God, vanished in the solemn impressions which the surrounding scenes made upon their hearts. They had passed over deserts, vanquished myriads of fierce and powerful foes, and now saw before them the reality of that holy vision which had haunted them in their native land, and been their only support and consolation, when sufferings worse than death had bowed their spirits to the earth. Even the coldest and the least devout among them could not contemplate his present situation without being deeply and strongly moved. He was resting near the holiest spot of all the earth; and he was about either to triumph, and be counted among the men who were blessed for the valour of their arms, or to make his grave where the whole land was fragrant with the dews of Paradise. The least enthusiastic of mankind, after a long series of trying anxieties and dangers, could hardly resist such an appeal to the imagination.

The Christians passed the hours of this last night of their pilgrimage in watching; and celestial phenomena appeared to give additional solemnity to their reflections. The moon was eclipsed, and seemed covered with a bloody veil; and as they looked upon the portentous sign, a hundred anxious voices repeated, from one part of the camp to the other, the interpretation which the priests gave of the appearance. At length the night grew near its close, and with the earliest speck of day the crusaders began their march to the city. The

scenery round about Jerusalem, according to the accounts of all who have visited Palestine, is wild and picturesque in the extreme. Rugged and precipitous rocks rise above valleys of great beauty and luxuriousness. In the happier times of the land those dark precipices were clothed with the fruitful olive, and the rich and graceful vine; while the small plains and valleys which they enclosed flourished with glorious harvests of corn and fruit. But the ravages of war had not been more destructive to the cities of Judea, than to the surrounding territory. That patient culture, which had clothed the steepest mountains with verdure, was discontinued when the old inhabitants of the land were expelled by the sword of the enemy. The barren rocks, no longer covered with the scanty soil with which art and industry had concealed some of their ruggedness, presented in many places a wild picture of desolation; and the crusaders were, by turns, awed and delighted as they contemplated the savage chasm, the stern and gloomy mountains, or the few intervening tracks which were still beautified with flowing springs, and groves of mulberry and olive trees.

But every eye was strained to catch the first sight of the Holy City; and at length Jerusalem rose before them in all its sacred majesty. A cry of exultation announced the triumphant joy with which it was beheld. The knights threw themselves from their horses, and every soldier in the army prostrated himself upon the earth, to adore his God and Redeemer. Floods of tears bedewed the ground where they knelt; their breasts heaved with the most tumultuous sighs; and their stony

hearts, says the historian, * were taken away, and replaced by hearts of flesh. When they arose they bared their feet, as if they were treading on the altar of God; and, weeping sometimes for joy, and at other times in the deep anguish of penitence, they proceeded towards the gates of the city.

The feelings which thus affected the crusaders were natural to their situation and the state of their minds. But no person, perhaps, of ordinary susceptibility could contemplate the same scenes without similar emotions. The accounts given by travellers of later times confirm this opinion. "Hagiopolis!" says Doctor Clarke, "exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade; and, instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen upon his knees, bare-headed, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. The effect produced was that of perfect silence throughout the whole company. Many of our party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed bare-footed, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis, presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and mo-

* Robertus Monachus.

nasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour." *

The account which the Jewish historian has left us of Jerusalem and its fortifications in his time, enables us to form some idea of the advantages which it possessed by nature as a place of defence, and of the manner in which it had been rendered almost impregnable by the skill and perseverance of its original inhabitants. "The city of Jerusalem," says he,† "was fortified with three walls on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder;—at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the 'Citadel,' by King David;—he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first;—but it is by us called the 'Upper Market-place.' But the other hill, which is called 'Acra,' and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon, when she is horned. Over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it, to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now, the Valley of

* Travels, vol. iv.

† Josephus. Wars, B. v. chap. iv.

the Cheese-mongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys; and, by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable.

"Now, of these three walls," continues Josephus, "the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But, besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following Kings, were very zealous about this work. Now, that wall began on the north, at the tower called "Hippicus," and extended as far as the "Xistus," a place so called, and then, joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called "Bethso," to the gate of the Essenes; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's Pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called "Ophlas," when it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate, which they called "Gennath," which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus,

whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was Queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates. It then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the 'Monument of the Fuller,' and joined to the old wall at the valley called the 'Valley of Cedron.' It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is called 'Bezetha,' to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation; for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the city was called 'Bezetha' in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called 'the new city.' Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundation, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Cæsar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall

was built, in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this it was erected with great diligence by the Jews, as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

"Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height; they were square and solid, as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints and the beauty of the stones were no way inferior to the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad. Of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitch-

ed his own tent; for being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus; and hard by two others were erected by King Herod, in the old wall. These were, for largeness, beauty and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain, out of his love, and jealousy; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it.—Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits; over which was its solid height of forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered

from enemies by breast-works and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits; the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was the queen's name; it was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other; its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife, better than those denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

"Now as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were, was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one

entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterwards cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear. Now, as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious, as to want no cost or skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about, to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests a-piece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendour of their ornaments; the number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were, besides, many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of these porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air everywhere green. There were, moreover, several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons about the canals; but, indeed, it is not possible to give a complete description of those palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one

in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers had consumed."

The smouldering ruins of Jerusalem long remained to mark the footsteps of the Almighty's wrath; but at length the Emperor Adrian erected a tower on part of Mount Sion, to which he gave the name of Ælia Capitolina, and the spot of so many holy and wonderful occurrences remained consecrated to pagan idolatry, till Constantine again devoted it to the service of the true religion. The attempts made by Julian the apostate to rebuild the temple, were all frustrated; and whether by miracle or otherwise, the prophetic cause of desolation was irreversably fulfilled on the polluted sanctuary. Of the fate which attended Jerusalem after it fell into the hands of the Mahometans, we have already spoken, and when the crusaders arrived to attempt its recovery from the infidel, it presented the aspect of a Turkish fortress which concealed every vestige of former sacredness, save such as were impressed by nature on the external hills, or by imagination in the hearts of the devout spectators. The circumference of the walls measured about two miles and a half, * and enclosed within that space the Mounts Moriah, Acra, Bezetha, and Calvary.

When seen from the Mount of Olives, from which it is separated by the valley of Jehoshaphat, it presents an inclined plane, and, consequently, is on that side greatly exposed to the assaults of the enemy, who, by intrenching himself on the hill, commands the whole of the city. But the crusaders were unprovided with the means of

* Gibbon.

taking advantage of this circumstance; and Iftikhar, the caliph's lieutenant who commanded the fortress, had employed every precaution to resist the expected attack. The garrison consisted of forty thousand men; and such was the enthusiasm on the side of the Saracen inhabitants of the city, that no less than twenty thousand of them had obeyed the exhortations of their defenders and taken arms themselves. A determined spirit of resistance prevailed in every class of the people, and their confidence was raised to the greatest height, by seeing the store-houses filled with provisions sufficient to protect them for a considerable time from want; while the ramparts and other means of defence were every hour improved or increased by the caution of Iftikhar.

On the day after their arrival, the chiefs of the Christian army took up the positions which they intended occupying with their respective forces. It had been determined in a council of war, that the city should be attacked on the northern and western sides, and the lines extended from the Gate of St Stephen, to the Tower of David; the other sides of the town being too well defended by the deep valley of Hinnom, to give a chance of success to the besiegers. As soon as this resolution was formed, Godfrey took his station against the western side of the Tower of David, in which quarter the enemy was expected to make the most vigorous resistance. Near him was Count Raymond with his Provincials, the noble Tancred, and two Italian Bishops. Robert of Normandy, the Counts of Flanders and Brittany, were posted near the church of St Stephen, and west of them, by the gate of the same Saint, Baldwin du Bourg and several

other knights and barons. Raymond shortly after changed his position, and placed his camp on the Hill of Zion, to the great offence of many of his companions who retained their former post. The disposition of the troops, however, having been thus made, the leaders had the discouraging view of nearly half the circumference of the city left unencompassed by their army. Their numbers amounted to about eighty thousand; but the half of these was composed of women, or men incapable of bearing arms, and many of the rest were unprovided with accoutrements.

The disputes which had for some time existed between the different princes of the Saracen dynasty, were properly regarded as a most fortunate circumstance for the Christians. At the time when they arrived before Jerusalem, it was doubtful whether the Fatimite caliph of Egypt, who expelled the children of Ortok from Palestine, had not a greater hatred against the Turk, his natural ally, than he had against the Christian, his old and inveterate enemy. On the death of the Emir Ortok, his sons Sockman and Ilgazi succeeded to the government; but they had not reigned long, when Afdal, the Sultan to Mostaali, Caliph of Egypt, entered Asia with a large army, and having besieged and taken Tyre, proceeded against Jerusalem, which he speedily reduced, and forced Sockman and Ilgazi into exile. The Emir Ifthikar then received the command of the city as the lieutenant of the Caliph; and the crusaders having resisted all offers of an inglorious peace, it was now left for him to make the best defence which his hastily gathered forces enabled him to offer.

CHAPTER XII.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM, AND CONSEQUENT SLAUGHTER OF THE SARACENS.—GODFREY ELECTED PRINCE—GAINS THE BATTLE OF ASCALON—PROMULGATES HIS CELEBRATED CODE OF LAWS.

A. D. 1099. JUNE. THE excitement which the first view of the Holy City had occasioned, was kept up by the interest with which every hill and valley in its neighbourhood was redolent. The bed of the wild and gloomy Cedron, which was dry in summer, lay at their feet. In the awful valley of Hinnom, the flames of the heathen sacrifice still seemed to rise, and point it out as the Gehenna, the type of the eternal prison, and above it rose the hill of Sion, recalling to their memory all the promises which its King had made his people of an everlasting triumph. The Mount of Olives and Calvary had lost nothing of their solemn grandeur by the lapse of a thousand years. If not still marked by the footsteps or the blood of the Son of God, they could never be divested of the consecration which his presence had bestowed; and over them, and over the whole scene on which the pilgrims fixed their devout gaze, the ancient glory of the land seemed still diffused—dim and shadow-like, it is true, but making them feel, in the depths of their hearts, that Divinity had once been present

there, as it had never been on any other spot of the universe.

Four days had scarcely passed, when the impatience of the army to commence the assault could no longer be restrained. Besides the influence which the enthusiastic contemplation of the objects around them had on their feelings, they were further moved by the affecting spectacle of large numbers of Christians who had escaped from Jerusalem, and came to detail the dreadful sufferings which they had endured under the infidel. With the most earnest exhortations they besought the crusaders to attack the enemy immediately; and to the prayers of the multitude, a venerable hermit, who dwelt on the Mount of Olives, added his solemn assurance, that they would infallibly triumph notwithstanding their want of all the means necessary for an assault on a strongly fortified town. Thus encouraged, on the fifth day from their arrival, they made a desperate attempt to storm the ramparts. Protected by their bucklers, they succeeded, by incredible exertions of strength and courage, in forcing the outward barrier. But the inner wall defied their efforts. The only scaling ladder which they possessed, served but to aid a few dauntless assailants to ascend, who instantly perished by the sword of the Moslem. Courage and enthusiasm were in vain exerted against barriers surmountable only by an army well furnished with the means proper for such a warfare; and the crusaders were at length obliged to retire to their camp, deploring the loss of many brave companions and the disgrace of a defeat.

Hitherto they had felt only a holy exultation at being within view of the sacred city. Sen-

sations of a far different kind now began to be felt. The repulse they had met with filled them with the most discouraging thoughts, for they now found the impossibility of succeeding in taking the city without constructing machines; and for this purpose they had neither wood nor any thing else. The little timber which they obtained by the destruction of whatever buildings lay within their reach, was insufficient; and the rocky hills around them furnished few or no trees which could be applied to their present service. They had the gloomy prospect, therefore, of being obliged to remain where they were, till either a miracle, or some occurrence almost equally wonderful, should aid their arms.

But it was not their impatience only to enter the Holy City which rendered this circumstance distressing. They had arrived in Palestine when the burning heats of summer converted the whole land into a desert, drying up every spring and brook that watered the valleys, and leaving the fainting traveller to perish under the glaring cloudless sky. The fountain of Siloa afforded them at intervals a scanty supply of water; but it was speedily exhausted; and the enemy had taken care to prevent their deriving any benefit from the reservoirs in the neighbourhood, by poisoning them before their arrival in the country. But no fear of poison, or disgust at the most fetid smells, could turn them from the precious liquid wherever it was to be found. Day after day, and night after night, they explored the rocky fastnesses around them; and when water was found, the discoverer was able to obtain almost any price for a scanty draught. The same sufferings as had been experienced dur-

ing the siege of Antioch again oppressed them. The camp resounded with groans and wild supplications for rain. But the heavens shone on in their fierce unchangeable brightness, and the air became thick and heavy with infectious smells from the carcasses of the horses and other animals that were daily perishing, and putrifying on the ground.

The sight of Jerusalem alone kept the crusaders, on this occasion faithful to their vows; and their constancy was rewarded by the arrival of succours, brought by a fleet from Genoa, which had entered the port of Joppa. Among other stores which it brought, were instruments for constructing machines and engines wanted in the siege, and Genoese carpenters and engineers accompanied these valuable articles. It was not without some difficulty, however, that the stores thus opportunely sent were conveyed to the camp. The vessels which brought them were attacked and destroyed by the infidel; and it was only by the valour of a detachment of crusaders sent to Joppa for the purpose, that they were finally rescued from the hands of the enemy.

The spirits of the sinking warriors were greatly revived at the view of this timely succour. Timber was now the only thing wanted to enable them to prosecute the attack with every hope of success; and it was not long before this was discovered in abundance about the heights which rise in the woody district of Naplosa. The merit of the important discovery is variously attributed to Tancred and a Syrian who attended the Christian forces. It seems most probable that the honour belongs to both; the latter having, perhaps, by his knowledge

of the country, pointed the forest out; and the former, in the spirit of enterprise for which he was noted, having first led his detachment to the spot, and commenced filling the sacks. *

As soon as a sufficient quantity of timber to commence the construction of the machines had been transported to the camp, every soldier, and every knight and baron in the army, devoted himself to some laborious undertaking. Towers, catapultas, battering-rams, and other warlike instruments, were quickly constructed, and fitted for the purpose of immediate assault. Water was sought for at greater distances, and with more resolution; and the beasts which had died were stripped of their skins, which were used to cover the machines, and protect them from the fire with which the besieged might assail them.

Every effort, in the mean time, was made by the prelates and other ecclesiastics in the army, to unite the chiefs in the closest amity; and the Hermit of Mount Olivet again appeared before them to direct their proceedings by his spiritual counsels. He exhorted them to imitate the Jews of old, when, by Divine command, they marched round Jericho, the walls of which fell at the sound of their trumpets. This advice was hearkened to; and after a fast of three days, a solemn procession took place, commencing from the valley of Rephraim, opposite Mount Calvary, and pausing on Mount Olivet, from the summit of which Christ ascended into heaven. The most striking tokens of brotherly union were there interchanged between the chiefs and the rest of the crusaders; their

* See Tasso's romantic description of this Forest. Ger. Lib. B. xviii.

hearts were warmed by the inspiriting discourses of the priests; and they looked towards Jerusalem with feelings of devotion, which seemed to them a certain promise that they would shortly sing their songs of triumph within its walls.

The devotion of the Christians on the elevated station which they had chosen, was not unobserved by the Saracens; and they hastened to insult them, by exposing crosses on the ramparts, which they polluted in every possible way. The zeal of Peter the Hermit broke forth at this spectacle, and diffused itself throughout the assembly. His exhortations were interrupted by the indignant sympathy of his auditors; and he swore by their piety and by their arms, that the reign of the infidel was arrived at its last hour. "The army of the Lord," continued he, "has but to appear, and that vain host of the Moslems will be dissipated like a shadow. They are now full of pride and insolence; but tomorrow they will be flying in terror and confusion, and they will be dispersed on Calvary, sinking before you like the soldiers at the Sepulchre, who dropped their arms, and were like dead men when the earthquake announced the presence of the reawakened God. Yet a little time, and these walls, so long the defence of the infidel, will protect a Christian people—these mosques, which have risen on the ruins of holy edifices, will become temples of the living God—and Jerusalem will again hear only the praises of Jehovah"! The procession, at the conclusion of the address, moved on; and the crusaders returned to their camp, where a council was held by the chiefs, and the plan of attack immediately resolved on.

In the middle of the night Godfrey, Tancred,

and the two Roberts, began their exertions by placing the immense wooden towers which they had caused to be constructed, against the parts of the city walls where they intended making their principal assault. The largest of these machines were of the same height as the ramparts, and consisted of three floors or stages, the lowest of which was occupied by the engineers who had the charge of moving the tower according to the command of the captain; while the other two were filled with the men-at-arms employed in the assault. There was a small wooden bridge also affixed to the highest part of the machine, and which could be turned so as to form a connection with the ramparts, if the besiegers succeeded in repelling the enemy from their defences. It was not without considerable difficulty that all this was effected; and Raymond was obliged, before he could approach the walls, to fill up the ravine which gaped on the southern side of the city, and which he did by offering the reward of a denier to whoever should throw three stones into the chasm.

By the fourteenth of July, the preparations for renewing the assault were complete; and early on the morning of that day the engagement began, by a furious and simultaneous discharge of missiles from the moveable towers. Godfrey had, during the night, taken his post near the entrance of the Valley of Jehosaphat, and with him fought Eustache and Baldwin du Bourg. The assault continued for some time with unabated violence; and the chivalrous chiefs exposed themselves at the head of their men, as became their former professions of faith, and the enthusiasm which animated the Christians in general. But the resolution of

the enemy, and the caution with which he had made his preparations, seemed to render him proof against the sacred fury of the faithful. The boiling oil which was rained down upon the assailants, defied their attempts to approach the walls, even under the protection of their serried shields; and the Greek fire which was hurled without ceasing against the wooden citadels, speedily reduced that of Raymond and other inferior machines to ruin.

The doubtful fate which thus, for a second time, hung over the crusaders in their assault of the Holy City, filled them with apprehension. Their courage was on the point of yielding to despair; and after a strife of twelve hours, they were obliged to return to their camp, many of them, among whom were Robert of Normandy, and the Count of Flanders, mournfully exclaiming, that the Lord judged them unworthy of worshipping at his holy sepulchre. *

With the return of day, the besiegers recovered somewhat of their hope and confidence. The conflict was commenced with equal bravery, on both sides, as on the preceding day. The Christians flung their javelins, and masses of heavy stones, with such incessant activity, that they would have quickly forced the enemy from the ramparts, but for the destructive effects of the Greek fire upon their machines. They had succeeded for some time in extinguishing it by vinegar; but this only means of safety was now exhausted, and they saw their lofty and heavy towers falling beneath the flames, and crushing many of their bravest

* Guibert.

warriors under their ruins. But notwithstanding the discouraging aspect which affairs were again assuming, they found leisure for sporting with the feelings of humanity. Two magicians were engaged on the walls of the city in exhorting the Saracens to persevere, and in promising them certain aid from the potency of their art. These were fortunate enough to die by the weapons of the assailants, without falling into their hands. But two other magicians, who were endeavouring to steal their way from Ascalon to Jerusalem, were not so happy. One of them was accordingly butchered by those who took him; and the other was forced into a machine, and fired from it into the city.

The conflict continued for seven hours; but the Christians saw so little hope of success, that they were beginning again to exclaim, that their sins rendered them unworthy in the sight of the Lord, to obtain possession of the Holy City. But just as these discouraging thoughts were becoming prevalent through the army, the pious Godfrey, who had been performing prodigies of valour, suddenly saw standing on the Mount of Olives, a knight of celestial mien, who, shaking his refulgent shield, summoned the retreating believers to resume the assault. * In an instant a fresh spirit of devotion and courage appeared in the camp. The women refreshed the wearied warriors with food and wine, and exhorted them to fight with more boldness for the sacred prize.

Under the protection of Saint George, they rushed to the walls with a precipitation that proved their confidence in the strength of his uncon-

* William of Tyre.

querable arm. Both Godfrey and Raymond had placed their towers so near the ramparts, that they could reach the enemy with their lances; and the bridges with which the machines were provided were soon fixed to the fortifications. To increase the confusion of the besieged, the straw and wool with which the walls had been protected were set fire to; and thinking all was lost, many of them retreated before the lances of the assailants.

The advantage thus gained was pursued with unabated strength; and in a short time two brothers, Rudolph and Engelbert, stood upon the ramparts. Godfrey, his brother Eustache, Robert of Normandy, Baldwin du Bourg, and some other knights, immediately followed. These were speedily joined by more, among whom was Tancred, who forced their way through breaches in the walls; and Godfrey, hastening to the gate of Saint Stephen, admitted whole crowds of rejoicing warriors. The streets of Jerusalem, thronged with the conquerors, beheld the Moslems flying on all sides in despair; and the triumphant war-cry, "'Tis the will of God! 'tis the will of God!" was echoed from every quarter of the Holy City. This memorable victory was achieved at three o'clock on a Friday, the same hour and day of the week, says Raymond, as those in which Christ suffered.

We should scarcely believe the record which history has left of the barbarities perpetrated by the conquerors on this occasion, did we not remember, that they believed they were honouring God by their bloody sacrifices. Thousands have fallen victims to the same monstrous error, when those who harboured it were, in all other respects, in their right senses, and had nothing to

heat their blood, or mar their humanity. It is not so surprising, therefore, as at first sight it may seem, that the crusaders, accustomed to sights of blood, and raging from the madness of conflict, should have given themselves to the work of slaughter, or that they should not have spared, in the moment of triumph, the wretched beings whom they hated both for their faith and their opposition. It is a melancholy thing, that we can only find an apology for the detestable barbarities of these religious warriors in the more detestable atrocities of the supposed defenders of religion: but so it is; and if we wanted any argument to prove that a divine faith, corrupted by human inventions, ceases to have any divine influence, we have it in these sanguinary exhibitions, and in the martyrdoms which followed a few centuries after; for in all instances in which blood is shed, or any cruelty perpetrated, under the pretence of aiding the progress of Christianity, it is not what God has given, but what human invention has added to the system that men seek to defend.

For a short time the vanquished Saracens found shelter in their public buildings and mosques; but, pursued by their conquerors, they fell an instant sacrifice to their fury. In the mosque of Omar, the slaughter was so great, that the reins of the horses were bathed in blood.* At length, the minds of the crusaders were forcibly reminded of the nature of their victory; and their thirst for blood gave way to an eager desire to worship the Saviour in this his city of suffering and triumph. The Hermit Peter appeared amidst a crowd of de-

* Raymond d'Agiles.

vout followers; and at the sight of the great preacher of Jerusalem's deliverance, the hearts of all present were melted with gratitude, veneration and piety. His frailty at Antioch had been long forgotten. He had since that time manifested all his original boldness and patience of suffering; and he now stood among the thousands whom he had incited to undertake that mighty enterprise, as one who had been indeed inspired by God, and invested with divine authority, to lead the mighty host of believing warriors to the conquest of the Holy City. The Christian inhabitants, who had long sighed almost hoplessly for relief from the Moslem yoke, could not sufficiently express their joy at beholding the man to whom they owed their present triumph, and their expectation of future liberty; and they pressed around him, like children about a father, whom they had long looked for to free them from the troubles and calamity endured in his absence.

By this time the day grew near its close. The devout Godfrey had already been at the sepulchre of our Saviour; and, attended only by three of his followers, had confessed his sins, and wept in bitter penitence on the sacred spot. The same feeling of devotion soon diffused itself through the numerous ranks of the army; and the fierce shouts and raging triumph of the conquerers were changed into an expression of the most humble acknowledgment of past guilt, and of gratitude for being admitted to worship the crucified Author of their redemption in his own Holy City. But these emotions only continued during the darkness and solemnity of night. With the return of day, the passions which had instigated their first

barbarous use of victory recovered their strength, and the blood of the Saracens again flowed in torrents. Those whom the glutted sword spared were destroyed by other means; some being precipitated from the roofs of houses into the streets; others were beheaded; and many were exposed to a slow fire, satisfying, by the extremity of their tortures, the zeal of their conquerors for the glory of their faith. Through the streets and open places of the city, were everywhere to be seen heaps of hands and feet mixed with the heads of the slaughtered Moslems; and no part of the town was without some huge pile of mangled corpses, or left unwashed by rivers of blood.

For nearly a week did the carnage continue, with hardly any intermission; the spoil which was discovered in the mosques and other public buildings satisfying the rapacity of the Christians, as the slaughter of the infidel did their thirst for vengeance. So great was the booty which Tancred found in the temple of Solomon, or rather the mosque built on its site, that it required two days to carry it away. The eyes of the conquerors were also charmed with the sight of the Cross, declared to be the very one on which our Saviour suffered; and the contemplation of this holy relic was amply sufficient, in their minds, to justify the ardour with which they turned themselves from the slaughter of the Moslems to that of the Jews, who either perished beneath the sword, or in the conflagration of their synagogue, in which they had in vain sought for shelter.

When the work of destruction was complete, the chiefs of the army ordered that the city should be cleansed, as the blood and putrifying carcasses

of the enemy were beginning to fill the air with pestilence. When this was done, and the division of the spoil concluded, the thoughts of the conquerors were anxiously directed to the future disposition of their new possessions. Every soldier had been permitted to claim as his own, the house, or whatever it might be, against which, on first entering the city, he had fixed his shield, spear, or other token of his success. Had this regulation been as strictly observed in regard to the capture of prisoners, many hundreds of miserable creatures would have been spared from destruction. The brave and merciful Tancred, who, of all the leaders of this crusade, deserves to be most honoured by posterity, had promised protection to the Saracens whom he found in the mosque of Omar; but they were put to death, in spite of his entreaties to the contrary. Raymond also, it may be here mentioned, gave a similar promise to those whom he captured in the Tower of David, and succeeded in keeping his word; but the glory of the action has been rendered doubtful by the accusation, that he was corrupted by avarice, a large sum of money having been paid him to allow of their escape. *

From the general performance of devotion at the sepulchre, the confession of sins, and other acts of religious duty, which, together with much feasting, occupied the Christians for seven days, they turned to consider the important subject of electing a ruler. On the eighth day, therefore, from the capture of the city, the chiefs assembled; and having invoked the assistance of the Holy Spirit,

* Albert Aquensis.

a council, composed of ten, proceeded to inquire into the merits of the several nobles who might aspire to the honour. Many and different were the feelings which agitated the leaders on this solemn occasion. Some were filled with ambition; and having left Europe only from motives of private aggrandisement, anxiously expected the result of a deliberation which would so materially affect their interest. Others, satisfied with the spoil they had already obtained, looked with less anxiety for a decision which they had no hopes of finding in their favour; and some were moved with the most pious zeal for the future glory and security of the sacred territory. At first it was contended, that a Patriarch ought to be elected prior to the choice of the temporal prince, and that the latter should be appointed by the sacred potentate. Dreams and visions were related to induce the council to proceed in this manner; but they had sufficient good sense to discover the impostures which had been practised, and determined to be influenced by no other reasons than those which might be afforded by the undoubted personal merits of the candidates. In order to discover the character of the several nobles in the army with certainty, they examined their domestics, and all persons connected with them, in the strictest manner; binding them, on oath, to reveal whatever, whether good or bad, they might know of the chiefs in question. Many of those who had before thought to stand well with the assembly, saw their hopes suddenly blasted by this method of procedure; and others were equally raised in the estimation of their companions. Among the answers which the servants

and followers of Godfrey gave respecting the character of their master, was the singular confession, that he was guilty of too long and strict an attendance on the ceremonies of the church; that he would linger after the service was over, to ask questions of the priests about every picture and image on which he set his eyes, and by that means wearied his attendants; and what was worse, often suffered their dinner to get cold, and so become bad and tasteless. *

The worth and piety of a man against whom no worse accusation could be brought than his too strict attention to the duties of his religion, were at once apparent to the chiefs who sat in judgment upon his character. But the valour and noble conduct of Godfrey had already obtained him the respect and admiration of his comrades; and, with the universal consent of the assembly, and, as it seemed to them, according to the will of God, he was proclaimed prince, and leader of the Christians. Immediately after his election, he was borne, with hymns and other expressions of joy, to the holy sepulchre. † Endeavours had been made to place Raymond, the Count of Toulouse, on the throne; but he was accused of too much ambition; and the accusation, it is probable, prevented his obtaining the high dignity to which, it is said, on the one hand, he most ardently aspired, while, on the other, it is asserted that it was offered him, but rejected with many demonstrations of humility. The Count of Flanders is also said to have refused the crown of Jerusalem, confessing his yearning desire to revisit his native

* William of Tyre. † Ibid.

country; and the brave adventurous son of the Norman conqueror preferred, says the historian, rather to obey quiet and sloth in Normandy, than to fight for the King of Kings in the Holy City.* It seems less likely, however, that Robert declined the honour for the reasons here alleged, than that his unsettled disposition shrunk from the tasks which the new government would have imposed upon him; not those of war, but of peace, for, so far as bravery was concerned, he was a knight without reproach. There was but one other of the chiefs, therefore, who could compete with Godfrey in fitness for the important post of commander of the faithful, and that was Tancred. But the disinterested character of that excellent man made him turn with repugnance from receiving any honour or advantage which might be regarded as a payment for the exercise of his pure and chivalrous virtues. He fought because he believed that he could greatly assist the cause of truth by the strength of his arm; and on every occasion in which either his fidelity or disinterestedness was put to the proof, we find him sacrificing all things to the holy cause for which he struggled.

Godfrey was thus chosen prince of Jerusalem, both on account of his own virtues, and from the disinclination of other noblemen, similarly endowed, to accept the office. At the sepulchre of the Saviour he manifested his possession of at least one of the graces which were to be looked for in the ruler of so holy a kingdom. His humility was deep, and, from the actions of his life, there is every reason to believe that it was sincere. When

* Brompton.

his companions offered him a diadem he refused it, declaring that he would never receive a crown of gold in the city, where the Saviour of the world had worn a crown of thorns. In the same manner he rejected the title of king, desiring to be only styled the Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. Having thus demonstrated the purity of his intentions, in allowing himself to be appointed to the high station he was about to occupy, he took a solemn oath to protect and execute with fidelity the laws of truth and justice.

William of Tyre, himself an Ecclesiastic, has left a melancholy picture of the principal prelates who were at this time in the army of the crusaders. Some of them were infamous for the most licentious lives; others for their avarice; and all for the ambition and craft with which they sought their private advancement. But it was from among men like these that a bishop was to be selected to govern the Christians of Jerusalem; and Arnold, a man degraded by many of the worst vices, attained that conspicuous station in the city. His disposition was soon made apparent, by his haughty demand that Tancred should restore the booty which he had taken in the Mosque of Omar, as belonging of right to the church. After declaring the injustice of the pretension, the noble warrior yielded to the order of a council of chiefs, and paid a considerable sum as the tithe of his just possession. This affair having been settled, the new bishop commenced his work of purifying the Holy City from the profanations of its late masters. Godfrey appointed twenty ministers to perform the divine services in the church of the

Sepulchre, and gave other proofs of his conscientious desire to preserve the peace and sanctity of his new dominions.

But before he could arrange his measures for the future government of the Holy State, he was called to provide for its defence against a near and powerful enemy. The fall of Jerusalem had induced the different Mahometan princes to forget their private animosities, and unite for the protection of their common faith. In less than a fortnight from the capture of the city, the Vizier of Egypt was advancing at the head of a numerous army, to attempt its recovery. Tancred, Eustache of Boulogne, and Robert of Flanders having made themselves acquainted with the number of the enemy's forces, returned in haste to rouse their brethren to prepare immediately for battle. The most fearless resolution reigned among the Christians. Their confidence in the miraculous aid of Heaven was still unshaken; and having passed the night in prayer, they set forth, with Godfrey at their head, with the cheerfulness of men secure of triumph.

From some prisoners whom they took during their march, they learnt that the Vizier was encamped on the plains of Ascalon, whither they directed their route, with the same demonstrations of faith and enthusiasm, as they had shown in setting forth. When they arrived on the bank of the brook Soreck, numbers of mules, buffaloes, and asses, were seen laden with stores belonging to the enemy; but Godfrey and the Patriarch forbade their being touched, lest the delay might be fatal to the success which they anticipated in a speedy battle. On approaching the scene of con-

test, the southern extremity of the wide-stretching plain appeared covered with the troops of Egypt But the Christians continued to advance with undaunted courage, and, by their stern and resolute composure, threw terror into the ranks of the Moslem.

Immediately on descending into the plain, Godfrey took up his position with two thousand knights, and three thousand foot soldiers, against the town of Ascalon, and Raymond occupied the richly planted orchards which lay between the city and the sea, so as to hinder its communication with the Egyptian fleet. Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and the Count of Flanders, commanded the forces directed against the right wing and centre of the hostile army. The conflict began with a discharge of darts from the Christian infantry, while the cavalry drove with impetuous bravery against the ranks of the enemy. Their assault was met by a fierce band of Ethiopians, and the flower of the Moslem forces; but these were quickly thrown into confusion, and their flight became general. Those of the Moslems who fled not at the first signs of the panic, remained fixed in terror on the field, and were hewn down by thousands under the swords and lances of the victors. Such was the consternation of those who thought to find shelter in the city, that two thousand were crushed to death in the furious rush which was made towards the gates; while the Vizier, giving up all for lost, is said to have cursed Jerusalem, as the source of all the misfortunes suffered by himself and his brethren. His flight to Egypt left Ascalon and its unprotected inhabitants to the power of the Christians; but after a

short expression of joy at the victory they had gained, the army had to lament the discord which arose between Godfrey and Raymond, and which threatened to undo all the advantages gained by their bravery. The spoil which had been found in the enemy's camp was immense; but the share in booty of this kind was not sufficient to satisfy the more ambitious of the Christian knights; and the Count of Tholouse, having summoned the city to surrender to his forces, claimed it as his own possession. The King of Jerusalem rejected this claim with indignation; but Raymond having directed the inhabitants to yield to no one but himself, and immediately withdrawing the part of the army under his command, Godfrey was obliged to retire likewise, leaving a city only half subdued, which belonged to his small territory by every right of conquest, and even feudal law. The quarrel between the chiefs was renewed a few days after, and they were proceeding to determine their claims by force of arms; but their good sense and feeling prevailed over their ambition; and they embraced each other, with many assurances of affection, in the sight of the whole army.

The return of the victorious troops to Jerusalem was hailed with the most triumphant exclamations. The only doubt or anxiety which had prevailed among the Christians, after the conquest of the Holy City, arose from the long threatened approach of the army of Egypt. This source of uneasiness was now entirely destroyed. The power of the Moslem was so broken, that no present danger could be apprehended from his arms; and as the sword and standard of the Vizier were displayed before the devout worshippers in the church of the Sepulchre,

they lifted up their voices in songs of praise and thanksgiving, for the glorious victory which had been given in answer to the prayers of the faithful.

With the battle of Ascalon, the first Crusade, as a military expedition, was concluded; and several of the most noble of the Christian warriors prepared to return to their native country. Among these was Robert of Normandy, whose calamitous and licentious life was terminated in Cardiff Castle, where, after having lost his duchy, he was confined for twenty-eight years by his ambitious brother Henry I.

Peter the Hermit, was also another of the distinguished actors in these great events, who left the scene of their exertions for Europe. In his passage across the sea, a violent storm threatened him and his companions with instant death. In the extremity, he made a vow to build a monastery if he should be permitted to arrive safe on shore. His prayer being granted, he founded an abbey at Huy, on the right bank of the river Meuse, and there terminated one of the most singular and adventurous of human lives. * The character of this extraordinary man has been already sufficiently delineated. Of all who engaged in the conquest of the Holy Land, he seems, notwithstanding his occasional frailty, to have been the most sincere and the most devoted in his enthusiasm. Situated as he was in early life, and when he commenced his remarkable project, he could have had no motives but such as sprung from his deep religious temperament, to deny himself and become a wanderer; and if it should seem

* Oultremain.

scarcely credible that a man of his disposition, and with so many opportunities of distinguishing himself, should forsake the world and the enticements of pleasure and ambition for the exercise of prayer and penitence, the wonder will be lessened when it is considered, that the afflictions which he had suffered were of a kind not unlikely to produce this effect upon his feelings; that in the age in which he lived, solitude and meditation were the remedies most commonly sought for under the pressure of distress; and that Peter, both from his naturally thoughtful disposition, and the studious habits he had acquired in his youth, was well prepared for passing his time in retirement.

But the effects of solitude, so constant and entire as that to which he devoted himself, are seldom a calm and temperate seriousness of mind, or the happy and healthful thoughts which succeed to melancholy, when subdued by the active duties of life, rather than softened by indulgence. With men, at least of the Hermit's bold and ardent mind, this is rarely to be looked for; and it is scarcely surprising, therefore, that visions and trances of inspiration should have succeeded to his long melancholy, and his lone and nightly vigils.

The supposition that he was employed by the Pope in forming a scheme to support his authority, is rendered highly improbable, by the ardent and imaginative disposition of his mind; politicians never employing enthusiasts as allies, but only as instruments. If ever any such connection, therefore, did exist between Peter and the Pontiff, it is probable that it originated in the sincerity and undeviating devotion which marked the Hermit's cha-

racter: But that he was a mere creature of the Pope's, as Fuller and some others would have it, there is no just or sufficient reason to believe. It ought to be remembered, also, as a further argument in his favour, and one which, considering the men with whom he was associated, carries no little weight with it, that he forced himself into none of the rich benefices, which he might have reasonably claimed as so renowned a servant of the church; that he is not accused of the infamous vices which so generally disgraced the ecclesiastics who accompanied the crusaders; and that his life was terminated in a monastery founded by himself, in the churchyard of which he directed his remains to be deposited with the humility of a primitive Christian. We must not judge of Peter's character by the rules of modern opinion; and if we transport ourselves back to the age in which he lived, his extraordinary career is far more fitted to gain upon our regard than awaken our scepticism.

Raymond, Count of Tholouse, had sworn never to return from the East; but bade adieu to the Holy City, to receive from the Emperor the principality of Laodicea. Eustache, the brother of Godfrey, also, refused to remain with his noble relative, and died in his native country. Several brave knights accompanied these distinguished captains; and the new king of Jerusalem was at last deserted by all his companions, except the generous and faithful-hearted Tancred, who continued to defend, with a little force of three hundred knights and two thousand foot-soldiers, the sacred territory.

The institution of the celebrated code of laws, termed the Assise of Jerusalem, is supposed to

have taken place about this time. Many doubts have been started as to the degree of praise precisely due to Godfrey for so complete a system of jurisprudence, according to the politics of the age. But the groundwork of the constitutions was unquestionably his, and manifests a wisdom and consideration in the author, which entitle him to the respect of posterity. According to tradition, he assembled several persons, reputed for knowledge and understanding, out of each division of the army, and endeavoured to gain from them clear information respecting the institutions of their respective countries. Having fully reflected upon the subject, he accompanied a solemn procession to Jericho, and on his return proclaimed the establishment of his new laws.

According to the system of government thus instituted for the people of the Holy City, the king was the temporal head of the constitution; but he was to acknowledge the supreme authority of God, as King of Kings, by offering up his crown at the Sepulchre on the day of his coronation. He was to have four principal officers in his palace, a seneschal, constable, marshal and chamberlain. The second great authority in the kingdom was the Court of Barons. Over this august assembly the king was to preside in person, or, in his absence, one of the most powerful princes, among whom are named the Prince of Galilee, the Lord of Sidon and Cæsarea, and the Counts of Jaffa and Tripoli. This court, which every noble was bound to attend who held lands in fief of the crown, determined upon all the most important affairs of the state, and was the supreme court of